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The *IHS Journal* aims to provide, to those interested in the history of Australian-Italian communities, an outlet for the circulation of news and reports, the exchange of information and the notification of future activities. We invite readers to contribute newsworthy articles and short notes. Guidelines for contributors are available on application.

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FRONT COVER:

The wedding of Peter Nooy to Tanina Lazzara at Robinvale, Victoria, in 1972 was a grand affair for the whole town. The wedding party included Peter's siblings and Tanina's immediate and extended family and friends. Peter was a postwar immigrant from Holland. Tanina was born in Australia to Italian parents. Her mother was from Calabria and her father from Sicily.

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Errata

IHS Journal Volume 9 No 1. p. 9.

The figures given for wine production in the Province of Sondrio should read as follows:

1838 – 106,000 hectolitres

1852 – 4,000 hectolitres

1853 – 3,300 hectolitres

A THEMATIC HISTORY OF ITALIANS IN LEICHHARDT

by Anne Reynolds

Anne Reynolds teaches in the Department of Italian Studies at the University of Sydney. Her research, teaching and publications cover the Italian Renaissance, Twentieth-Century studies, and the immigration and settlement experiences of the Italy-born community in Sydney. She is author of a recent study on Leichhardt, NSW, A Thematic History of Italy-born in Leichhardt and the Leichhardt Municipality, commissioned by Leichhardt Council and funded by the Heritage Office of NSW. The following three articles are based on this study. The complete list of References for all three articles is appended to Article 3.

Article 1

St. Fiacre's, the San Francesco Catholic Italian Association and the Italian Capuchins in Leichhardt, New South Wales

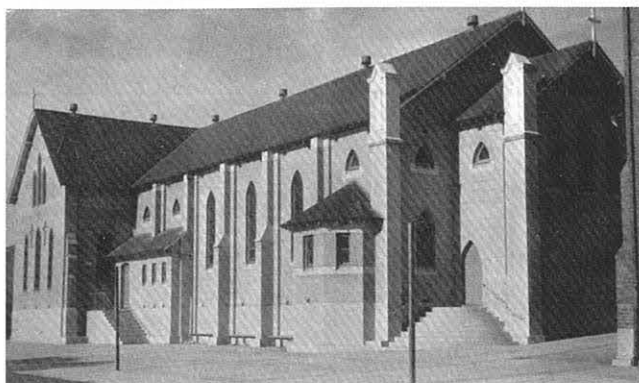
The individuals mentioned in this article made a significant contribution to Australian society in the first decades of the period after the Second World War, a time of mass emigration from Italy to Australia, much of it directed towards Sydney. One centre for their activities in Sydney, that focused on the spiritual and material welfare of Italian migrants, was the church of St Fiacre's in Leichhardt.

The history of St. Fiacre's is indissolubly linked in the postwar period with the history of the Order of Capuchin Franciscan Friars in Australia and, in particular, with Capuchin friars of Italian origin or descent. As Pino Bosi has noted, there is a long history of a Capuchin presence in Australia 'either singly or in groups, about 25 Capuchin Friars [came] to Australia' after 1837 (Bosi 117). Irish and Scottish Capuchins were active in Australia around the mid-nineteenth century, and the Italian-born Capuchin, Elzear Torreggiani, served as Bishop of Armidale from 1879-1904. In the period between the First and the Second World Wars, the Capuchins responded to the invitation of the Archbishop of Brisbane, James Duhig, to carry out missionary work in Queensland. They intended to minister to communities in rural Queensland where there were significant concentrations of Italians, many of whom had settled in the 1890s, working and establishing communities in the cane-fields agricultural belt. While the outbreak of war interrupted these plans, at the cessation of hostilities the lost momentum was quickly regained.

Fr Anastasio Paoletti was among a group of four Capuchin Friars who arrived in Brisbane in 1945. Their point of embarkation was America, where they had all lived for many years. An Italian-American background or their length of service in the United States ensured that the friars were bilingual and possibly also, as Bosi notes, 'more acceptable to the Australian clergy than the mistrusted Italians' (Bosi 121). On 3 November 1946, the Capuchins were formally granted the parish of St Fiacre's in Sydney by Cardinal Gilroy, in recognition of their missionary work from 1945 among the Italian immigrants, first at Wynnum, near Brisbane, and later in Halifax, North Queensland. In 1946 the Capuchins were granted not only the parish of St Fiacre's but the role of chaplaincy for Italian immigrants in Sydney. While the spiritual welfare of Italians was possibly uppermost in Gilroy's thoughts, the question of their material welfare had been brought into focus over a prolonged period by the combined effects of economic depression, racism and discrimination during the 1930s and the internment of many Italians during the Second World War.

St Fiacre's was initially staffed principally by Capuchins who, like Fr Anastasio, had strong links with Italian immigrant communities in the United States. Fr Anastasio was born in Philadelphia of Italian immigrant parents. Capuchin Friars began to arrive in Australia directly from Italy soon after 1948. The first Capuchin Friars at St Fiacre's included Henry Kusnerick (a German American), Adalberto Salerno, Silvio Spighi, who arrived in Australia from India, Samuel Rodomonti, and Anastasio Paoletti, who was first parish priest at St Fiacre's and later, from 1948, Superior of the

Australian Province at the new Capuchin House in Sydney. Among the Capuchins who followed were Frs Alfonso Panciroli, Atanasio Gonelli and Romano Franchini, as well as Frs Paolo, Filippo, Claudio and Carlo (Bosi 125).



Parish of St. Fiacre's in Leichhardt, c.1960.

In the late 1940s, Italians in Australia carried a triple burden, first as recent national enemies, secondly for what was seen by many as their racial and cultural deviation from Anglo-Celtic norms, and thirdly as Roman Catholics in the climate of parochialism, bigotry and mutual distrust between Catholics and non-Catholics that characterised Australian society until well into the postwar period. The Reverend Dr Ryan observed in Sydney in April 1947, at a reception offered by the Italian community to honour the arrival of the Capuchin Friars, with reference to the missionary work during the war of Fr Giuseppe La Rosa:

You Italians are here in a land where there are people whose attitude towards you is determined in large part by racial and religious prejudices which are based simply on ignorance, ignorance of history and ignorance about Catholicism. There is no need for you to be ashamed of being Italian, just as there is no need for you to be ashamed of being Catholics.¹

In 1950 Fr Anastasio reflected on the Australia he discovered in 1945:

After one week in Brisbane in 1945 I was shocked and hurt to realise the amount of dislike towards all foreigners, in general and to Italians in particular. I told myself that it was the war. But then, on second thoughts, we had a war in America and there were no such ugly feelings. As I talked to the hundreds of Italians who returned from internment camps, I was bewildered at the resentment expressed by them. Internment had made

them bitter... All this is the result of hostile public opinion and that alone. That is my conviction. Public opinion is a mighty weapon... The basis for this antagonism I do not know fully. I believe that it is partly due to Australia's long isolation in the Pacific, to what the Hon. A. Calwell calls xenophobia; and partly due to a racial pride that seems to have deep roots in countries with non-Catholic majorities.²

These words went on to call on Catholics to come to the moral and material help of 'New Australians'. The article concludes: 'It is well to mention that of the 33,000 Italians in Australia in 1947, only 7,000 were not naturalised'³. In this very early postwar period a clear majority of Italian immigrants had demonstrated that they were keen not to be considered as outsiders or foreigners but citizens in a new country.

St Fiacre's was (and still is) a reference point for many of Sydney's Italy-born. Italy-born residents and non-residents of Leichhardt, made contact with the parish in increasing numbers over the 1950s. The clergy ministered also to Australian parishioners since it was not Church policy to create exclusively 'ethnic' parishes. Australian-born members of the congregation at St. Fiacre's traditionally sent their children to the parish school, adjacent to the church, which was run by the Sisters of St Joseph. From the 1950s, the school was frequented by increasing numbers of Italian-born and Australian-born children of Italian parents. Father Henry was instrumental in the building of a second school in the Lilyfield parish, which Cardinal Gilroy blessed in 1951 (Bosi 125).

One Australian-born resident of Leichhardt for twenty-two years until 1957, Mrs Patricia Fin, who attended the St. Fiacre's parish school during the war years, reports learning Italian from the small number of Italian-speaking children who attended classes at that time. However, Italian was not part of the school curriculum. After-school Italian classes were instituted in the early 1960s on Saturday mornings, taught by volunteers. In the early 1960s the Sisters of St Joseph sponsored twice-weekly evening English classes for immigrants, taught by lay volunteers.

The services and assistance offered in Italian at St Fiacre's would have been a significant factor for some new immigrants in their choice of an area for settlement. By the mid-1950s all the

clergy at St. Fiacre's were reportedly Italian speakers. In the mid-1950s the interior of St Fiacre's was re-modelled: the marble used to replace the timber floor and furnishings of the sacristy would have created for many Italian-born parishioners a memory of churches in Italy.

Catherine Street, where the church is situated, gradually grew into a recognisably Italian community. By 1960 an estimated ninety Italian families lived there. It is estimated that around three-quarters of the houses in the street were owned by Italians at that time. Gradually the Church itself also bought up houses near the old presbytery in Catherine Street. In accord with the Christian mission of the Friars, St. Fiacre's played a significant role in services and assistance for Italian immigrants and the presbytery was at its heart. Peak years for the church's direct involvement in material assistance were 1949-1955 when Italian immigrants in increasing numbers attended the Missionary Centre at the church that offered varying types of support, such as help in finding accommodation and work.



The wedding of Guido Zuliani and Gianna Bacchiella at St. Fiacre's, Leichhardt, 22 February 1959. Courtesy G. Zuliani.

One important role played by the Capuchins was meeting immigrant ships on arrival in Sydney. Fr Romano Franchini reported that Customs officers were at first suspicious of the help the Friars offered. However, a degree of trust did develop between the two groups. The Capuchins regularly accompanied Customs officials to board the ships at the entrance to the Harbour. They provided a service that few Australians were capable of at that time. As Italian speakers, they shared cultural experience and memory. They were themselves immigrants. The Friars also

ministered to Italians in hospitals and sanatoriums, and occasionally made visits to prisons as well as to rural work sites, such as the Kandos cement works and Warragamba Dam. When Co.As.It was founded in 1968, it took over much of the welfare role that the Friary had borne.

In 1962 *La Fiamma* described St Fiacre's as the 'Italian church', near where Italians preferred to live. At that time, Fr Adalberto Salerno, an Italian American, was parish priest, and chaplains to the Italian community were Frs Silvio Spighi and Bonifazio Zurli, both of Tuscan origin. Social contacts, housing, employment, legal and translation assistance continued to be among the services offered by St. Fiacre's. Fr Atanasio Gonelli reported the involvement in the early 1950s of Callagher's Real Estate agency in nearby Annandale that assisted with rental accommodation for new arrivals at a time when the housing market was tight and rent control the norm. Another pattern of accommodation was sub-letting of rooms in houses by small-time landlords in the area, many of whom were Italian.

In the early years, single Italian males were the primary group to benefit from the assistance offered through and at St. Fiacre's. Proxy weddings were later common. In a majority of cases, the couple were already known to each other. According to a Capuchin publication of 1972, *Almanacco Cappuccino*, over the period 1947-1972, St. Fiacre's services were used by an estimated 60,000 Italy-born, and its registers included 10,000 baptisms and 5,000 weddings for that period. Given the ageing of the Italy-born community, today funerals are a more common service.

Relatively soon after being granted the parish, the Capuchins began to hold Italian-style saints' feast days (*feste*), with processions in the streets surrounding the church. When there were complaints about noise, the processions were transferred to the church grounds. These celebrations were followed by social activities such as picnics, often to the accompaniment of a traditional band, with singing. St Fiacre's initially held about three *feste* per year. Soon the number rose to about five or six annually. Fr Romano Franchini reported crowds of 1,000 people at *feste*: people came from all over Sydney. Celebration of regional saints' feast days was an important part of church celebrations. *Feste* were celebrated in honour of the Saints Bartholomew, Anthony, Catherine, Sebastian, Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of the Martyrs.

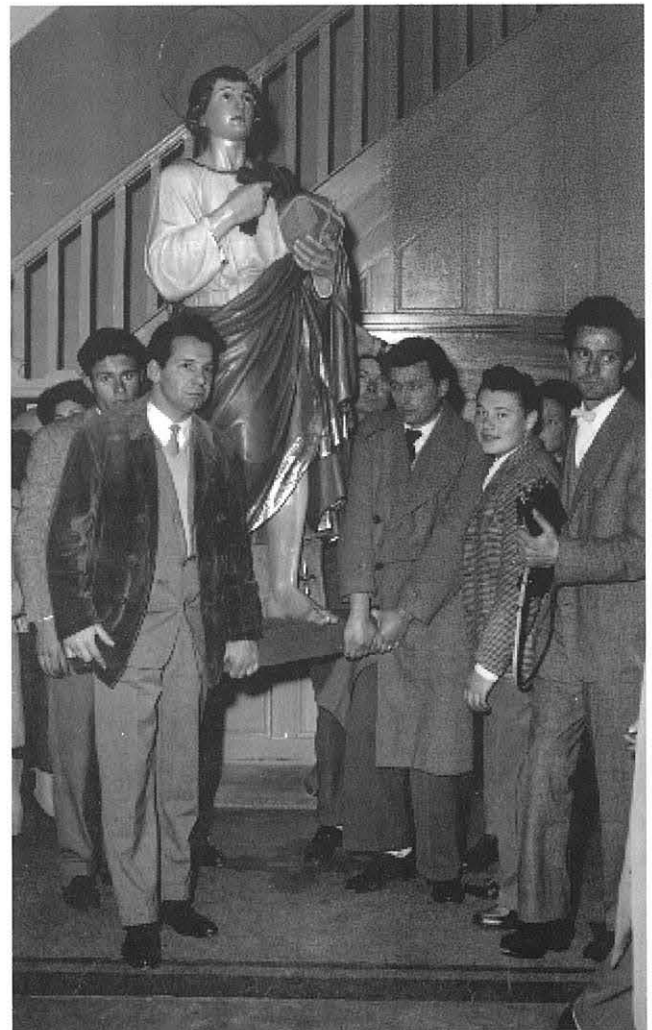
To enhance the *fiesta*, a rudimentary, portable stage was sometimes erected, where the *fiesta* band, singers and speakers performed. Traditional and sentimental songs were sung. These occasions celebrated patron saints of different regions and villages. Regional groups provided the saint's statue and music for the procession. These celebrations were one of the ways in which diverse Italian regional groups achieved a sense of solidarity and common purpose. These occasions possibly helped to create cohesion links between the regionally diverse Italian congregation. In the mid-1950s an Italian choir was formed by Fr Silvio Spighi, which sang at one service each Sunday and also for social evenings. Many of its members were from the Veneto region.

Other aspects of parish activity, such as social events including dances and picnics held at parks around Sydney, often near the Harbour, were co-ordinated by the San Francesco Catholic Italian Association (S.F.C.I.A.). In 1945 Fr Giuseppe La Rosa, in addition to his roles in the groundwork for establishing *La Fiamma* and in directing the newspaper in its first year, established the San Francesco Catholic Italian Association in 1945 for Sydney's Italian-born laity. In 1946 when the parish of St. Fiacre's was handed over by Cardinal Gilroy, the Capuchins took over the Association's spiritual and other directions. In the early years of its existence, S.F.C.I.A. temporarily used for meetings and functions two premises in the city, Cusa House and the Australia Hall. As a result of the post-1946 involvement in the organisation of the Capuchin Friars, S.F.C.I.A. became closely linked to St Fiacre's. S.F.C.I.A. was linked in the early years to the Italo-Australian Welfare association (I.A.W.) through common membership of their respective committees. I.A.W. and S.F.C.I.A. worked in tandem until 1951 when S.F.C.I.A. officially made its base at St Fiacre's.

Fr Anastasio Paoletti (1946-1951) and Fr Alessandro Merighi (1951-1958) were the first two directors of S.F.C.I.A. In the early years of the 1950s, S.F.C.I.A. operated a *mensa* and social centre, designed mainly for single, male immigrants, many of whom who lived at that time in the local area, on the upper level of 444 Elizabeth Street, Surry Hills, on the site of what was later to become the *Chianti* restaurant. S.F.C.I.A. aimed not only to respond to the material needs of Italians but to encourage a Christian

lifestyle through a program of religious, cultural, social and sporting activities. The Association organised fundraising for charitable institutions and causes. It supported the Villa Fatima in Hurstville, a hostel for the needy which the Capuchins purchased in 1951 to provide accommodation for sixty single male immigrants. A drama group was formed, and a soccer team was fielded in the Canterbury Metropolitan League in 1950, the C-grade Annandale Franciscan soccer team. This team had a large following among pre- and postwar Italian immigrants and, although it did not prosper in the competition, it is considered by many to be a forerunner of the A.P.I.A. team. S.F.C.I.A. also sponsored the inaugural *Festa dei Pescatori* (Fishermen's Festival), held at Iron Cove in the Leichhardt Municipality in 1952.

In 1968 Bishop James Freeman opened a hall for S.F.C.I.A. in the grounds of St Fiacre's, known as the Sala San Francesco, built mostly by voluntary effort and eventually demolished when the parish



Preparations for a religious festa at St. Fiacre's.
[Photograph Zuliani Satudio]

school was extended. Dances and other social functions were held in the hall. In 1972-1973 S.F.C.I.A. constructed a pre-school kindergarten in Styles Street, Leichhardt, with funds raised from the Italian community, donations, and Government assistance. The kindergarten was designed primarily to cater for working immigrant women whose children's linguistic and other needs were not being met by mainstream kindergartens. The Mayor of Leichhardt at the time of the official opening was Alderman Nick Origlass, born Nicola Origliasso in Queensland of a Piemontese father and Australian mother. Alderman Origlass was probably the first Mayor of Leichhardt of Italian descent. The Styles Street kindergarten was subsequently sold to Leichhardt Council.

From around the mid-1950s another important and far-reaching link between St Fiacre's and the wider Italian community was established through the medium of radio. The work of a number of Italian-born women who made this possible has never been fully acknowledged. Radio transmissions in Italian were apparently first organised under the auspices of the Capuchin publication, *La Croce del Sud*, via Sydney radio station 2SM. Fr Anastasio Paoletti was the first manager of *La Croce del Sud*. The editorial and administrative offices were located in Catherine Street, next to the church. 2SM, owned by the Catholic Church, broadcast the first Italian language program in July 1954.

The idea for the Italian program was reportedly devised by Fr Anastasio Paoletti and Evasio Costanzo. However, women were the radio voice of the Italian community. The inaugural presenter and writer of what became formally known as *L'Ora Italiana* was Ines Raffaelli (later Mrs Ines Ianitto), followed three years later in 1957 by Mrs Rosa Lauriola. The early program format included a religious reading, Italian news, sport, music, local news and listeners' requests. Lena Gustin and Franca Arena were later members of this important group of Italian-born women who contributed as announcers on Radio 2SM and other Sydney radio stations from the 1950s.

Mrs Gustin was editor of the Catholic monthly, *La Croce del Sud* (1957-1958) and a columnist for *La Fiamma* (1957-1964), under the pseudonym Grazia. In 1959, when Radio 2KY initiated a half-hour Italian program, *Melodie Italiane*, Lena Gustin and Franca Arena were heard regularly on the airwaves through 2SM. Mrs Gustin's

broadcasting career began with *L'Ora Italiana*, an hour subsequently extended to well over two hours as more material became available. Mamma Lena, as Mrs Gustin became affectionately known to listeners, within two years moved to Radio 2CH where her program 'Arriverderci Roma' (and related programs) flourished for ten years from 1959-1969. Mrs Arena remained as an announcer with Radio 2SM from 1959 for more than six years.



Mrs Ines Ianitto in the office of the presbytery of St. Fiacre's. Courtesy I. Ianitto.

The person with the longest association with *L'Ora Italiana* was Mrs Ianitto. In October 1966 she returned to the microphone at 2SM and continued with the program until December 1981 when it finally folded. On 14 December 1981, Mrs Ianitto wrote to the editor of *La Fiamma*:

Desidero portare a conoscenza dei nostri connazionali che la Direzione della Stazione Radio 2SM di Sydney ci ha comunicato che... ha deciso di sospendere con la fine di novembre il programma italiano che andava in onda ogni domenica sera, dicendo inoltre che, gli italiani, avendo ora quattordici programmi sulla stazione etnica 2EA, non necessitano più di mantenere l'Ora Italiana sulla 2SM.⁴

I would like to bring to the attention of our fellow Italians that the Management of Radio Station 2SM of Sydney has informed us that... it has decided to terminate our regular Sunday evening Italian program at the end of November, stating that since Italians now have fourteen programs on Ethnic Radio 2EA, there is no need to maintain the Italian Hour on 2SM.

November 1981 marked the twenty-seventh year of the first wholly Italian language program on

Sydney radio, that had been supported by its many listeners and Italian and Australian companies, including the Commonwealth Bank, Cantarella Bros, Melosi, and Transfield. In his response to the letter, the editor of *La Fiamma* noted that Ines Ianitto was 'una delle primissime [se non la prima] annunciatrici di programmi radio italiani in Australia' (one of the first, if not the first, radio announcers on Italian programs in Australia), as well as 'una delle più brave anche se, per innata modestia, forse una delle meno note' (one of the best although, because of her innate modesty, possibly one of the least well known).⁵

Not only was Fr Anastasio Paoletti responsible for the early organisation of Italian radio programs but he was also the instigator of other significant religious and lay structures that supported the Italian-born community of Sydney. His role in *La Fiamma* and the formation of the A.P.I.A. association are two lasting elements of his work in Sydney. Pino Bosi reports that Fr Anastasio was instrumental in the formation of I.A.W., the Italian Association of Assistance. Whatever the details, which remain to be fully documented, Fr Anastasio's role on behalf of Italian immigrants in its breadth, depth and diversity can best be described as legendary. It must be underlined that a detailed history of the Italian Capuchins at St Fiacre's remains to be written.



Election of the Queen of 'Miss Saint Francis Association' in St. Francis Hall, at St. Fiacre's Parish Church, Leichhardt, 1960.

The year 2000 marked a special anniversary for the Capuchin friar Fr Atanasio Gonelli. Born Luigi Gonelli near Massa Carrara in Tuscany on 11 February 1923, Fr Atanasio arrived in Australia in 1950, beginning missionary work in Sydney in Surry Hills and Woolloomooloo where the Capuchins preceded the Scalabrinian Fathers. Fr Atanasio's contacts with the parish of St Fiacre's have lasted over forty of the more than fifty years spent in Australia. Fr Atanasio was instrumental in 1950 in organising the youth group, Catholic Action, and in writing from the early years for the religious page of *La Fiamma*, with which he always maintained close links, eventually becoming director of the newspaper in 1963 for a number of years. Fr Atanasio was also involved with the religious elements of Capuchin-sponsored radio broadcasts on 2SM.

Another initiative promoted by Fr Atanasio was the establishment around Sydney from 1963 of a network of Italian language classes for the children of immigrants, a forerunner of the Sydney-wide after-school and language insertion program now administered by Co.As.It. Fr Atanasio has been at St Fiacre's continuously since 1964. In a commemorative article in *La Fiamma*, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his mission in Australia, he recalled celebrating 4,000 weddings, 8,000 baptisms (up to 23 in one day) and many funerals.⁶ Like other Capuchins, Fr Atanasio also carried out missionary work in other Australian locations.

Over 55 years, Capuchin achievements and support for Italians in Australia have a rich and varied history. Through the Italian Capuchins, St Fiacre's at Leichhardt has played a central role in the history of Italians in Sydney and throughout Australia.

Notes

¹ Translated from the Italian, in *La Fiamma*, 15 April 1947, p.7.

² *La Fiamma*, 13 October 1950, p.8, an article written by Fr Anastasio Paoletti titled 'Italian Immigration in USA and Australia'.

³ Art. cit., p.8.

⁴ *La Fiamma*, 14 December 1981, p.36.

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ *La Fiamma*, 5 April 2000, p.42.

Article 2

Italian Language Print Media in Sydney: A Short History of *La Fiamma* Newspaper

The Italian language newspaper, *La Fiamma* ('The Flame' or 'Beacon'), has been an institution in Sydney and beyond for over fifty years, and it has maintained a constant association with the suburb of Leichhardt. *La Fiamma*'s sub-title from 1951, *Il Giornale degli Italiani di Australia*, 'The Newspaper of Italians in Australia', makes clear its primary function and rationale. When it was first published in 1947, *La Fiamma* met a need that Italians would otherwise have been denied, news from Italy and international and local news in Italian (and English) as well as articles designed to assist directly with the problems of settlement.

The origins of *La Fiamma* date to 1946 and are closely linked with the Catholic Church and the Capuchin Order. *La Fiamma* evolved from an idea for an Italian language newspaper that Fr Giuseppe La Rosa expressed in 1945 to the Sydney Archdiocese. Fr La Rosa was attached to the Apostolic Delegation in Sydney for the duration of the war, having been prevented from returning to Italy by the outbreak of hostilities. In 1942 La Rosa was appointed chaplain of the Italian-born community — many of whom were at that time in internment camps — by the then Archbishop, Cardinal Norman Gilroy.

One motive for the founding of a newspaper with a strong religious and spiritual content was the perceived need to combat the 'radical, anti-clerical' newspaper *Il Risveglio* (The Awakening) that began operation in 1944.¹ *Il Risveglio* was the first Italian language newspaper in Australia after the end of the Second World War. As Gaetano Rando reports, it was published by the Australian-based anti-Fascist movement Italia Libera, after permission was granted in 1944 by the Attorney-General, H.V. Evatt. Claudio Alcorso was an early editor. *Il Risveglio* ceased publication in 1956.

In April 1946, the Australian Government responded positively to a request from Fr La Rosa to publish an Italian language newspaper. However, the restrictions and limitations imposed meant that permission, for a newspaper that was to be called *L'Apostolo*, was not acted

on. Cardinal Gilroy was in favour of a newspaper directly under the control of the Archdiocese and run by an association, consisting of a representative of the Diocesan Office, the Provincial of the Capuchin Friars, and Mr Ulisse Pellegrini (of *Pellegrini's*, the shop of religious books and articles situated in Roma House in George Street in the city) who had expressed an interest in financing the venture.

La Fiamma Pty. Ltd. was formed in April 1947, and the newspaper *La Fiamma* had its first issue on 15 April 1947. At the end of 1947, Fr La Rosa gave up direction of the newspaper, and the American-born Capuchin friar of Italian descent Fr Anastasio Paoletti took over as director and editor-in-chief. Gilson and Zubrycki record an interview of 25 July 1961 with Fr Paoletti, in which he is reported to have said that he realised two years after beginning the newspaper that 'by devoting it entirely to religious affairs we would not attract a wide readership' (Gilson 35). Once a decision to broaden its scope was made, 'from then on it was all plain sailing...when [Evasio] Costanzo took over [in 1951] he easily implemented the policy of devoting the newspaper largely to news but news presented objectively in a true Christian spirit' (Paoletti, as reported in Gilson 36).

The first monthly issue of *La Fiamma* consisted of four pages in magazine format. For a number of years the newspaper was sold exclusively through subscription. A newspaper published in Italian in the immediate postwar years was of course not readily saleable on the open market. First of all, it was a small-scale operation in the early years and circulation was limited by available resources; and secondly, Italians themselves were reticent about subscribing to an Italian language publication. As Davino Zadro recalled of the days in May-June 1947, when he delivered newspapers by hand, subscribers were afraid to receive it:

Il nome stesso del giornale era una sfida: a quell'epoca era pericoloso parlare in italiano, figuriamoci stampare un giornale in lingua straniera e per giunta, in una lingua di ex nemici.

The name of the newspaper itself was a challenge; in those days it was dangerous to speak Italian, let alone publish a newspaper in a foreign language that was, moreover, in the language of an ex-enemy.²

including his own son Ivo. By 1957 the office of *La Fiamma* had moved to 499 Parramatta Road. In that year, Costanzo started a special Sunday edition, *La Fiamma della Domenica*, which did not prosper (Gilson 36). By 1967, *La Fiamma* had a weekly circulation of 44,000 and it continued to be issued twice a week (Wednesdays and Saturdays). In the period 1963-1971, Fr Atanasio Gonelli, who assisted Fr Anastasio with the newspaper from the time of his arrival in Sydney in January 1950, also as editor of the religious page, was director of the newspaper.

From the late 1960s, under Costanzo's editorship, the newspaper began to identify with the Australian Labor Party and continued to be vocal in issues affecting immigrants. As Rando observes, the 1972 petition of 72,000 signatures, sponsored by *La Fiamma* to urge the transferability of Australian pensions to Italy, was part of a history of involvement of the newspaper in social issues. In fact, *La Fiamma* also had a long tradition of fund-raising among its readers to support disaster relief in Italy, reportedly collecting over \$300,000 over the years 1947-1967. On the Australian scene, for example, the newspaper responded to the 1953-1954 crisis of the assisted immigrants at Bonegilla migrant camp. Its journalists, especially in the early years, were frequently approached by members of the Italian community in need of help: 'journalists often found themselves acting in a referral role, sometimes as interpreters' (Rando 207).

Advice and support for readers was an integral part of the newspaper's brief. Mrs Lena Gustin was a columnist for *La Fiamma* (1957-1964), using the pseudonym Grazia, dealing with daily issues of settlement. Mrs Enoe Di Stefano, as Gianna, was involved in writing 'L'angolo di Gianna', a section dedicated to a different theme each week, which also answered letters from both male and female readers. Mrs Di Stefano has reported that women commonly expressed a desire to return to Italy, since they found their new life isolating and difficult and they missed family in Italy. Those who lived on farms sometimes took to drink to relieve their loneliness. Single men experienced similar feelings. Cultural and language differences were a source of tension in the wider society. The view that Italians commonly carried knives was well entrenched in the community. Fights often occurred between Italians and non-Italians at work sites where the

language barrier caused communication problems. Workplace accidents were also the result of language and communication problems.



Vito Nigro, from Melbourne, was the winner of a return trip to Italy, awarded jointly by the shipping company Flotta Lauro and *La Fiamma* newspaper, c1959.

In November 1969, *La Fiamma* was sold by the Capuchins, and it eventually passed into the control of Costanzo. Costanzo remained director and proprietor for around five years until 1974. A crisis befell the newspaper in the period 1975-1977 when it appeared that it would fold. This was averted by the sale in May 1978 to the company connected with the Italian language newspaper *Il Globo*, in its 1959 origins associated with Melbourne and Victoria. In 1994, the proprietors of *Il Globo* and *La Fiamma* added to their holdings the Italian language radio network, Rete Italia. In 1997 *La Fiamma* moved to new premises at 92-94 Norton Street, Leichhardt where Rete Italia also has its Sydney offices.

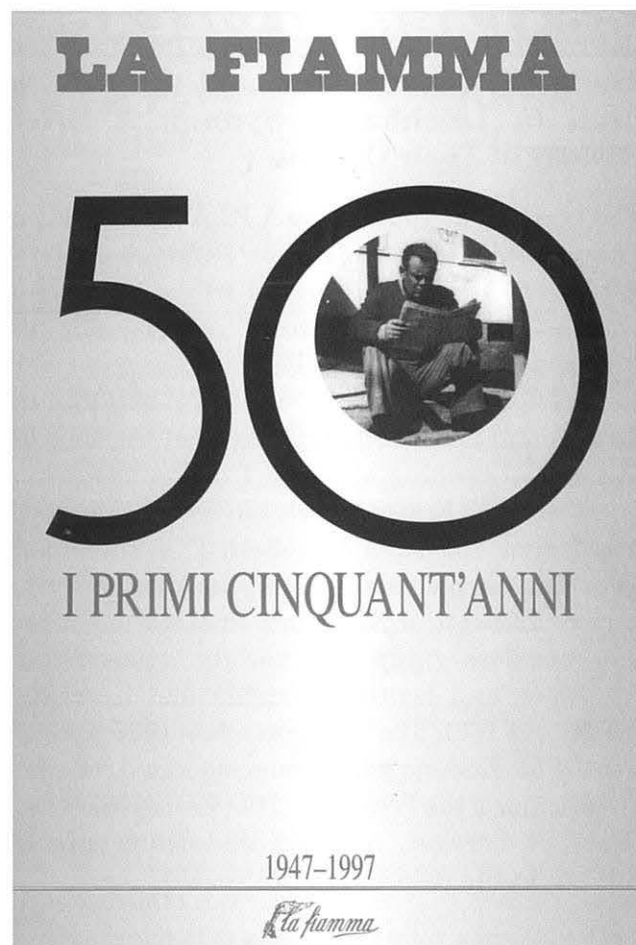
La Fiamma has had over many years an authentic and important connection with the Italian-born community of Sydney and beyond. For more than

fifty years, *La Fiamma* has played important roles in Italian language and culture maintenance, transmission of news from Italy and the provision of information in areas which mainstream print media did not address. Davino Zadro, Evasio Costanzo, Pino Bosi, Giuliano Montagna, Rosa Rossi, and Armando Tornari are just some of the journalistic and editorial staff who have over time made a major contribution to *La Fiamma*.

In content, the newspaper has undergone many changes of focus. The front page of the first issue of *La Fiamma* in 1947 had a strong religious flavour, with a message about the Resurrection and news of papal politics in Italy, relating to the renewal of the Lateran Pacts, as well as two short columns in English. The use of English in the newspaper from its inception was directed at overcoming the language barrier for newly arrived immigrants. The newspaper in fact carried sections devoted to the learning of English. The purpose of using English shifted when, from the early 1980s, a distinct section directed at the second generation was introduced into the newspaper.

Front pages of the first decade of *La Fiamma* cover such topics as the Australian Government policy on immigration, the 1951 accord between Italy and Australia over assisted immigration, problems of emigration and settlement, problems and inconsistencies of the assisted migration scheme, and institutional racism and discrimination. Gilson records some interesting data on a range of broad categories (and their relative proportions) covered in *La Fiamma* over the period 1956-1959. Australian affairs ranked almost equal in column space with news from Italy and news related to migrant group activity in Australia (Gilson 56-57). In the 1960s, topics and events covered on front pages included the riots at the Bonegilla migrant hostel, the Italian Prime Minister Leone's campaign about the economic revitalisation of Southern Italy, urging Italians to return to Italy, the need for the children of immigrants to maintain or learn their mother tongue, and the widening of sponsorship rules to facilitate emigration of extended family members and friends.

At the time of writing, *La Fiamma* is published in three issues per week, and it covers both Australian and Italian news, including a regular section in English aimed at the second and third generations. *La Fiamma* is an essential part of a thriving Italian language media in Australia. It must be remembered that in 1996 Italian was



La Fiamma newspaper: cover of the anniversary issue celebrating the first fifty years of its publication. This issue included a selection of many important front pages of the newspaper.

reportedly the most widely spoken language in the domestic sphere in Australia after English. More than fifty years on *La Fiamma*, with formalised transnational links, is a significant part the national media structure.

Notes

- ¹ Gaetano Rando provides a very interesting account of this newspaper which ceased publication in 1956 in his article 'Aspects of the History of the Italian Language Press in Australia 1885 – 1985 in *Italians in Australia. Historical and Social Perspectives*. Wollongong: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, 1993.
- ² *La Fiamma*, special supplement, *La Fiamma* 1947-1967, 29 July 1967, p. 10.
- ³ 'I miei vent'anni a 'La Fiamma'', special supplement, *La Fiamma* 1947-1967, 29 July 1967, pp. 10-11.

Article 3

The A.P.I.A. Association and the A.P.I.A. Club in Leichhardt, Sydney: A Brief History of Their Origins

The creation in 1954 of the A.P.I.A. (*Associazione Polisportiva Italo-Australiana*, or *Italian-Australian All Sports Association*) proved wrong those who claimed that Italians were not capable of transcending regional loyalties and uniting in order to work towards a collective goal. An editorial in *La Fiamma* (19 March 1962) around the time of the official opening of Stage 1 of the new Club premises at 38 Frazer Street, Lilyfield/ Leichhardt noted that the A.P.I.A. reflected 'a transition from the amorphous community to social life, from agglomeration to organisation, from the indistinct and voiceless group to a society representing traditions and legitimate rights and interests' (Di Nicola 166). The 26 September 1967 special issue of *La Fiamma* which commemorated the visit to Australia of the President of the Italian Republic, Giuseppe Saragat, recorded the significance of A.P.I.A. in the following terms (p. 87):

Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney... gli italiani emigrati erano riusciti a darsi una comunità, cioè un ordine, una sede. Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney gli italiani avevano dato generosamente senza interesse, senza sospetto, senza timore. Per la prima volta nella storia di Sydney gli italiani erano diventati maggiorenni, avevano dato prova di virtù civiche e democratiche.

For the first time in the history of Sydney... Italian emigrants have succeeded in creating a community for themselves, an order, an association. For the first time in the history of Sydney... Italians have given generously, without self-interest, suspicion or fear. For the first time in the history of Sydney... Italians have come of age, and provided proof of civic and democratic virtues.

What were the origins of this long-lived Sydney institution? In 1954, Tullio Bearzotti, Fernando Spessot and Ivo Clagnan met informally to discuss the question of soccer in Sydney. Their discussion was in part prompted by problems that the Julia soccer team was experiencing in the Canterbury District, when it was suspended from the Soccer Association because of over-enthusiastic fans invading the field. At that time, there were other Italian soccer teams, including the Pro Patria

and the San Francesco soccer teams. A group of interested parties, including those mentioned, as well as Giuliano Hreglich, son of the manager of Lloyd Triestino, the two Celoria brothers, Aldo and Angelo (who looked after publicity and administration in the office of *La Fiamma*), Mr Laginestra of EPT, the Capuchin friar Fr Anastasio Paoletti, Evasio Costanzo, Jim (Giacomo) Bayutti, and Mr Arquilla met at Cusa House in the city on 4 November 1954 and formed a committee to spearhead the establishment of an Italian sporting club.

Besides their interest in soccer and other sports, many of the group were concerned to provide a point of reference for the large numbers of single Italian immigrants. As the first A.P.I.A. constitution of 1957 stated: 'The prime object is to promote and encourage the sporting activities of Italian migrants, thus assisting their assimilation into the Australian society'. Ivo Clagnan and Ignazio Stillone wrote the first constitution for the Association. Evasio Costanzo promoted A.P.I.A. through the pages of *La Fiamma*. And in 1954 Jim Bayutti held a meeting at the Caltex refinery at Kurnell on Botany Bay, where 185 members joined, swelling the initial membership of thirty-five.

The name A.P.I.A. was decided upon and a committee was formed, consisting of Bayutti (President), Arquilla and Laginestra (Vice-Presidents), Bearzotti (Treasurer), and Clagnan (Secretary), together with ten committee members. As the 1957 Constitution stated: 'The activities of the Association are of a purely sporting and social nature and are strictly non-political and non-sectarian. The Association is open to all who seek to advance themselves in the amateur sporting fields'. The first sport promoted was basketball which, however, did not prosper. In 1955, A.P.I.A. promoted a boxing match at Redfern Oval. Boxing was much followed at that time, with visits from many famous Italian boxers, including Coluzzi, Visintin and Falcinelli. The frustrations of newly arrived immigrants were occasionally vented at boxing matches where tensions were often high and scuffles broke out among spectators.

The question of where A.P.I.A. meetings could be held in the early days was solved when Callagher's real estate agency in Annandale offered use of an office and telephone in their Parramatta Road premises. For bigger gatherings in the early years, the first floor of the Chianti restaurant in Elizabeth Street was used. Funds

were raised through social events such as gala dances. There were three such events in 1955, at the Maccabean Hall in Darlinghurst, the Dungowan Restaurant in Martin Place (where guests paid ten shillings per head for a 'cena fredda all'italiana' and heard the Orchestra Arquilla), and on the Showboat, *Kalang*, where 400 people paid 1 pound to attend. In 1956 the A.P.I.A. ball at the Trocadero in George Street had 700 guests. These events brought the older-established Italians who had arrived in the 1920s and 1930s to mix with newer arrivals. Raffles were held to raise money, and established Italian businesses such as Cantarella, Lucchitti, Fiorelli and others donated prizes.

True to its name, the A.P.I.A. Association sponsored a number of sports, including swimming, tennis (first played at the Italian Legation in Ocean Street, Woollahra), Italian *bocce*, boxing, indoor bowls, and cycling. Mr Val Gasparini of De Martin and Gasparini, an early benefactor and later President of A.P.I.A. from 1961-1971, offered transportation for the soccer team. The A.P.I.A. soccer team played its first matches in early 1956. The team colours, maroon shirts, white shorts and maroon and blue socks, were chosen to commemorate the untimely death of the Italian national team in May 1954 in a plane crash in Torino. The A.P.I.A. team played in the Canterbury District, against teams such as Hurlstone Park, and its home ground was Blick Park in Canterbury and, later, Lambert Park in Leichhardt. As *Soccer World*, the weekly publication of the N.S.W. Federation of Soccer Clubs, reported on 11 May 1957: 'It is the policy of the A.P.I.A. club to create better understanding with their fellow men through sport' (p. 11). In May 1956 the monthly accounts of the Association read as follows: 'Debit 31 pounds, Credit 41 pounds'. As surviving petty cash records reveal, the monthly laundry bill for the soccer team was a constant and ongoing expense. In September 1956 a new soccer ball was purchased for 7 pounds and six shillings. In April 1957 the A.P.I.A. team had six Italian names and five non-Italian names in its line-up. In 1971 not one Italian name was represented.

A.P.I.A. mushroomed from these modest beginnings, based on a collective male effort. In June 1957, rented premises for A.P.I.A. were opened above Mr Cesare Lucchitti's grocery store and the original Zuliani photographic studio, at 276 Norton Street,



A.P.I.A. Soccer team, 1955.

where Villa Rosa now stands. Mr Lucchitti had started in business in Parramatta Road, Stanmore and he opened a second shop at the Norton Street premises in 1956. In 1957, the A.P.I.A. Club was registered. It was incorporated in the early 1960s. 1957 was a turbulent year for soccer in Sydney. New post-war immigrants were major soccer supporters and players, and new 'ethnic' teams were scattered all over Sydney. Penalties and suspensions meted out to 'New Australian' players were a trigger to a revolt which led in 1957 to the formation of a new Soccer Federation in which Jim Bayutti played a leading role.

Meetings of the Association at 276 Norton Street investigated the possibilities for a permanent location. Leichhardt Council offered a 49-year lease on wasteland at the end of Frazer Street, Lilyfield. With donations from members to purchase adjoining land, permission from the N.S.W. Government to resume a metre of parkland and payment to Council for the lease, a design for a clubhouse by the architect Arena was chosen. Work began on the site, under Keith Bates, an Australian builder from Sutherland who offered a loan without interest, on condition that he built the club. Bayutti provided heavy drilling machinery, Sergio Asquini, together with Antonio Fantuz, was involved with the project, and others such as Carlo Zaccariotto, Peter De Martin and Val Gasparini agreed to payment for their work when the financial position of the club improved. A loan of 25,000 pounds was secured from the Commonwealth Trading Bank. Foundation members were also asked to provide financial support, to the suggested amount of 25 pounds per head. As the Annual Report of 15 November 1960 noted, 'it has been decided that the

[Management] Committee itself will undertake the building of the club, drawing on the resources of all those members at its disposal'.

After the first annual general meeting of the Club on 11 November 1959, a liquor licence was obtained. The Licensing Magistrate, Mr E. J. Forrest S.M., remarked at the hearing: 'The idea of a Club of this kind is excellent for the assimilation of migrants. In its ideals and objectives it is to be commended and encouraged'. There was great enthusiasm for the building of the clubhouse, and construction of Stage 1 took very little time. Mr F. M. Bianchi was chief co-ordinator of the project. Construction companies including Asquini's Modern Cement, Romeo Bros., and De Martin and Gasparini provided services on credit, and others, including Melocco Bros. and G. Bayutti Contractors, took out debentures for materials and services involved in the construction. The new Club premises in Frazer Street began operating on 17 March 1962. Val Gasparini was then President of the Club and Filippo Maria Bianchi was Secretary-Manager.

Soccer was an exotic, 'Continental' sport and the new premises, with marble and other expensive decorative elements, were a fitting venue. Flotta Lauro donated mirrors that created a feature wall at the entrance to the main dining room, Lloyd Triestino provided the mural on the lower floor, and Alitalia was responsible for the painted wall panel in the main foyer, depicting Italian cities. Cantarella and Stock furnished bars. The bronze statue of the discus thrower, emblem of the club, which stood at the foot of the stairs leading to the foyer, was a gift of the Italian Government. Since the demise of the Club, the statue has been located in the Co.As.It. premises in Norton Street, Leichhardt. The Frazer Street clubhouse was by the time of its official opening in 1965 a prestigious symbol of the Italian community in Sydney.

The building's Stage 1 foundation stone, for the original ground floor construction, was laid on 9 July 1960 by the Minister for Immigration, Sir Alexander Downer. The official opening of Stage 2 (including the first floor and a re-modelled ground floor) was performed on 14 April 1965 by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies. A loan to part-finance Stage 2 was secured from the Commonwealth Bank which later opened a small branch in the lobby. In 1966, the estimated cost of building and fitting Stage 2 was 230,526



Dame Joan Sutherland with Secretary-Manager Filippo Maria Bianchi [right] at the A.P.I.A. Club, c.1963.

pounds. In the A.P.I.A. Club Annual Report of 1965, President Gasparini reminded members that guarantees of 30,000 pounds for the project loan from the Commonwealth Trading Bank were provided by four members of the management committee, himself, Bianchi, Bates and Asquini.

The A.P.I.A. Club opening was widely reported in the Sydney press of 1965, with an 8-page spread in the *Daily Telegraph*. In a newspaper supplement of 26 September 1967, celebrating the State visit by the Italian President Saragat, the official speech of the Prime Minister at the opening of Stage 2 in 1965 is reported verbatim. In part, Menzies observed:

You know, if I might make a quiet, confidential admission to you, we native-born Australians are occasionally a little narrow-minded about our own ideas and our own way of living. We say, 'Well, who are these fellows to tell us?' This is the best proof that we have a lot to learn... you have shown us new ways in which to walk, new ways to understand, and I venture to say that in one hundred years' time somebody writing what I will call — to use that abominable word — the cultural history of Australia, will be able to trace in it the influence of your people who have come here and settled here and contributed to the country a lot of faculties, a lot of ideas, a lot of standards that come in almost as new things... Don't be exclusive. Don't get off, but get in, get into the community, get mixed up with the community.

Let everyone have the benefit of what you can contribute and you get the benefit of what they can contribute, an integrated Australian society' (as reported in *Il Globo*, 26 September 1967, pp. 34-35).



The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, on the balcony of the A.P.I.A. Club, overlooking Iron Cove bay, on the day of the official opening of the Clubhouse. (Photograph Zuliani Studio)

The A.P.I.A. Club's restaurant soon achieved fame, and its variety shows and dances were among the well-patronised activities. Poker machines were also a feature. In 1966 the Club's members numbered 4,000; by 1968 membership stood at 8,000. In 1970 there were reportedly more than 13,000 members, 49% of whom were of non-Italian background. This was a considerable increase on the 630 members of 1956.

Other Italian clubs throughout Australia looked to the A.P.I.A. Club for inspiration and advice. There is no readily available record of membership figures over time. However Vartuli reports that of 9,450 members in January 1975, 82% were male and 18% female, and almost 50% were of Italian background. On the basis of a limited survey of members, Vartuli concluded that a majority was from Central or Southern Italy, even though the founding members of the Association were of Northern Italian origin (Vartuli 19). Almost 29%

of members were at that time of Anglo-Celtic background. Vartuli's survey suggested that one of the primary motivations for Italians to join the club was the opportunity that it provided for 'friendship and brotherhood within the Italian community'. (Vartuli 21). Certainly A.P.I.A. was a male-dominated organisation and it responded primarily to male interests. There were even those who felt that by the 1970s the club itself was not 'Italian enough' (Vartuli 21).



ANFE Ladies' luncheon at the APIA Club, Leichhardt, 27 October 1967. Pictured are: Mrs Sini, Enoe Di Stefano, Lena Gustin, Sally Basaglia, Rina Guido and Ester Penna. (Courtesy Mrs Enoe Di Stefano — Photograph Zuliani Studio)

One of the primary motivations of the founding members of A.P.I.A. was a desire to help Italian immigrants. They were themselves immigrants and knew first-hand of the difficulties of settling in a new society. The *Daily Telegraph* reported in 1957 that the constitution of A.P.I.A. mandated a representation of Australian-born athletes in all sports that the Association sponsored: 'This helps Italian migrants to meet Australians and speeds assimilation' (*Daily Telegraph*, 26 February 1957, p. 30). For example, in the eight A.P.I.A. Sporting Committees of 1968 there was a good mix of Italian and non-Italian names among the office-holders.

The glory and the cause of early financial burden for the A.P.I.A. was the soccer team. In 1960 the A.P.I.A. team reportedly had costs of 14,438 pounds. In 1960, over fifty players participated in the three grades, and all three teams reached the semi-finals. Junior soccer was also sponsored. The teams' honorary doctor was Dr Farinelli. In 1970, A.P.I.A. subsidised the team to the amount of \$18,000. As Solling notes: 'in the 1962 and

1963 seasons, peak years for Australian soccer, the Apia Soccer Club... attracted crowds of 30,000 at semi-finals at the Sydney Sports Ground' (Solling 228). In April 1968 a business consortium was formed to help finance the team, including Alitalia, Cinzano, Fiat, Lloyd Triestino and the Australian-Italian companies of Fiorelli, Lucchitti and Transfield, as well as the newspaper *Settegiorni* and Sutton's Motors at Petersham. In October 1987, *La Fiamma* reported a gathering of some of the legendary names from the earliest team line-ups, including Bertoz, Comandini, Cosatto, Molinaroli, De Francesco and Cortese who was the first coach (*La Fiamma*, 29 October 1987).

Di Nicola has observed that the role of A.P.I.A. 'went far beyond that of a social and sporting club. It soon came to be seen as the Italian club both by Italians and Australians: this made it politically relevant' (Di Nicola 167). The size and potential voting preferences of the Italy-born community in Sydney were of great interest to political parties throughout the 1960s and beyond. With visits by the politicians already mentioned, and later many others, A.P.I.A. provided a forum where mutual concerns could be explored. As Solling reports, citing Valente, 'it [A.P.I.A.] became a powerful vehicle for the expression of Italo-Australian opinions and attitudes' (Solling 228). The February 1974 twentieth-anniversary souvenir edition of the A.P.I.A. Club publication, *The Apian*, highlights in its photographic illustrations the presence in the Club premises of a range of State and Federal politicians from the two major political parties, as well as visiting Church and diplomatic dignitaries, together with sporting, cultural and show business notables. Guests of honour at the twentieth-anniversary dinner were the Prime Minister E.G. Whitlam and Mrs Whitlam.

Over the decades of its existence, A.P.I.A. was run by numbers of Italian-born businessmen, many of whom were highly successful and high-profile. Giacomo (Jim) Bayutti was among those from the business community who had a life-long association with A.P.I.A. Valente's sample survey indicates, however, that among the Italian-born community of Leichhardt there was a view that the A.P.I.A. was an 'elitist organisation', with an over-representation of businessmen. Whatever the truth of this, the soccer team regularly drew crowds of 7,000 to home games at Lambert Park. The sporting aims of A.P.I.A. clearly had wide popular support.

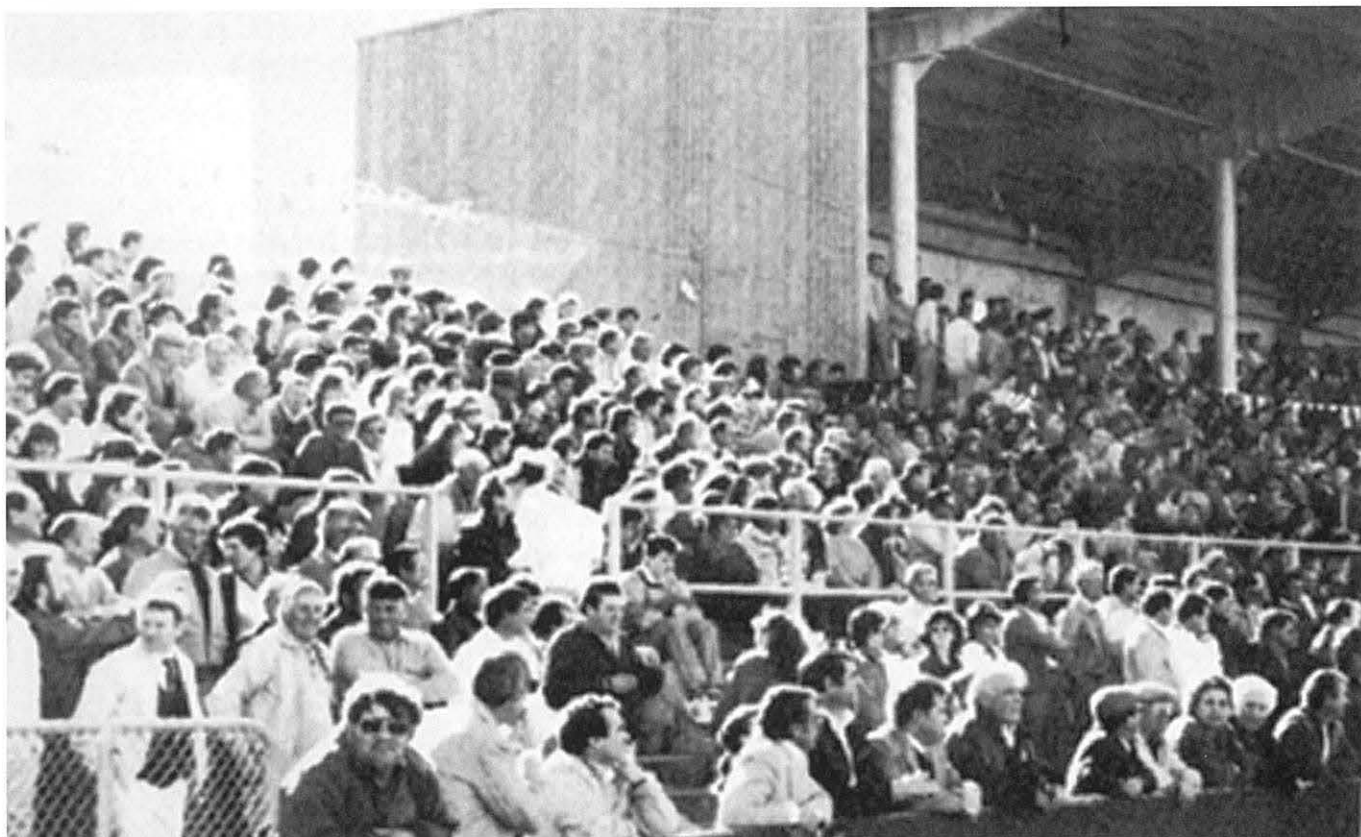
In the late 1970s, a decline in Club membership began. By the 1980s, although it was still a drawcard for both Italy-born and the wider community, there were other outlets that offered the facilities for which A.P.I.A. was initially well known, such as Italian-style eating. A.P.I.A. began to run into financial difficulties. The local newspaper, *The Courier*, of 19 June 1991, reported that the club had debts of \$5 million, membership had dwindled to 3,000, and there were difficulties in raising the money needed to maintain the soccer team (p. 2). When the A.P.I.A. was threatened with closure by liquidators in early 1996 (and did in fact close in May 1996), there was a campaign to rescue it through a public share float, with vigorous support from many prominent members of the Italian community. A *Save the APIA Club* committee was formed, with members including Franca Arena and Louise Bayutti, daughter of Giacomo. Although by July 1996 it seemed that the club would be bought and resurrected by a syndicate of businessmen, this plan did not come to fruition, and the building was re-sold towards the end of 1996.

The demise of the A.P.I.A. club in Frazer Street was seen by many as the end of an era in the history of Italians in Sydney. A reaction from Franca Arena was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 2 March 1996 (p. 27), in the following words: 'The Apia Club is part of our history. Back in the 1950s when Italians first came here in large numbers, it was the only meeting place where they could enjoy their own food and language and culture. Menzies came here, and Whitlam, and this was symbolic — for the first time we were not just a bunch of wogs, we were part of the community'. The blue-painted clubhouse near the Sydney Harbour foreshore was an important landmark to many Sydneysiders.

Acknowledgments

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The research on which these articles are based is still in progress. Feedback and comments are actively sought by the author, Anne Reynolds (Telephone 02 9351 3500 – email anne.reynolds@italian.usyd.edu.au)



A glimpse of the crowd of soccer supporters present at a match between A.P.I.A. and Marconi soccer clubs in 1988. The A.P.I.A. soccer team regularly drew crowds of 7,000 to the home games.

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FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: AN UNEXPECTED SOURCE OF HISTORY ON ITALIAN-SPEAKING PIONEERS

by Dr Nancy Renfree

During the course of her Ph.D research into Friendly Societies in existence in the Daylesford — Hepburn Springs area of Victoria in the 1870s, Nancy Renfree became aware of the sizeable Italian –speaking community that had been enrolled as members of these mutual benefit societies.

The origin of the Friendly Societies was based on the old English guild system with local societies in virtually every village. By the late 19th century, the Societies had evolved to cater for the welfare needs of a diverse and multicultural population in the new colonies. They were in fact an integral and essential part of many citizens' lives, providing them with social welfare benefits not otherwise available, and a level of protection against unforeseen adversities such as accidents, ill-health or loss of employment. A more mobile working population benefitted from the ability to gain a clearance from one lodge to another, without loss of benefits. Overall the Societies' role was modified to meet the needs of a changing society in a more egalitarian context.

More than fifty men of Italian or Swiss origin belonged to either the Daylesford or Hepburn Springs Lodges of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows in 1874. It was one Friendly Society among the thirty-two in existence in towns and country areas of Victoria in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of the other friendly Societies included the Hibernian Societies, the Foresters, The Free Gardeners, the Rechabites, the Independent Oddfellows, the Grand United Oddfellows and the ANA (Australian Natives Association). This latter did not by definition include Italians.

The lodges were secret societies with strict rules of governance and behaviour of members. Manchester Unity was, however, the biggest and the most efficient, and had a more comprehensive system of record-keeping; and their Registration Books provide valuable identification information on individuals of the Italian-speaking community who were members.

Throughout the Colony at that time there were at least 50,000 members of over 800 branches of the various Societies. If we add the 30,000 registered wives of members and the children of the marriages, it means that the Societies had a direct significance in the lives of a large number of the Victorian population of 798,688 in 1874. There was no government scheme in existence to provide sick pay, medical attention, or funeral benefits. A Royal Commission in England that year was 'decidedly adverse' to any such scheme,

stating that people must make 'their own provision against sickness and their own to work' and 'bear the consequences' if they failed to do so. A Royal Commission held in Victoria the following year totally agreed — which is hardly surprising seeing that of the 78 witnesses called before the Commission, 73 were connected with Friendly Societies which provided people with the means of making 'their own provision'.

Although the Friendly Societies had nothing to do with Freemasonry, they all employed to some extent a Masonic-type binding ritual, and as well as providing financial security, they played a social and cultural role in the lives of immigrants from all over the world. The only way to explain why members could not have escaped this influence is by describing how the Societies worked. The following procedure was that employed by the biggest of all the Societies, the Manchester United Independent Order of Oddfellows. The other Societies, such as the next biggest, the Foresters and the Rechabites, had a different ritual and might have varied in small details but essentially they all worked in much the same way.

There was a great deal more to becoming a member than just signing an application and paying a fee. Admission was by initiation and the candidate required a proposer and seconder from among existing members, one of whom must have known him for at least six months. The proposer would table a notice at one lodge meeting asking leave to propose a new member. A ballot was

taken at the next meeting on the question of whether such leave should be granted, one-tenth of the votes against the motion being sufficient for it not to be carried. A successful proposal was then referred to a committee of three whose task it was to investigate and report as to the character and moral standing of the applicant. Full particulars of the candidate were also circulated to all lodges in the District asking for information for or against the candidate. If successful to this stage, the candidate had to sign a declaration of age and health in the presence of a medical officer who gave a certificate. If proposed as a married man, proof of marriage was required and a declaration as to his wife's health.

One half of the initiation fee was paid on proposal and the other half on admittance. In the 1860s the scale ranged from twenty-eight shillings for an 18-20 year-old to five pounds six shillings for a 35-36 year-old at a time when the wages of skilled workers in country towns fluctuated around three pounds per week. The basic weekly contribution was a fraction less than one shilling and fourpence, roughly the price of 28 pounds of potatoes.

Quite apart from financial obligations, there was no escaping the necessity to abide by rules which were very strictly enforced. All contributions could only be paid on a regular lodge night at a particular point in the course of procedure. A powerful reminder of all that membership involved came in the form of a wide range of offences with penalties that hit the pocket. Fines were imposed for late arrival at, or absence from, or misdemeanour during, any sort of meeting and if not paid a member ceased to be 'good on the books' and therefore not entitled to any sort of benefits. More serious offences had to be heard at a meeting to which all members were summoned for that specific purpose. Strict secrecy was maintained and any member who revealed to an outsider matters discussed at such a hearing was subject to expulsion. Such was the fate of one member who could not resist the chance for a bit of a gossip with his sister-in-law who was not a trustworthy recipient of such a confidence.

A careful check was kept on those receiving sick pay. Sometimes a doctor's certificate might state that a little light work on his own garden would aid convalescence, but if a member was discovered to be engaged in any profitable employment while

on sick pay he was punished. A dairyman was seen milking his cows and his sick pay was stopped. Another member who acted as a bookmaker's marker while on sick pay, was fined 21 shillings and suspended from all benefits for six months. Anyone sick enough to stay home from work was too sick to go out at night, could not leave his house between sunset and sunrise, and must never be more than five miles from home unless a doctor had recommended a change of air. On these occasions travellers were required to supply details of their route so that a check could be made if there was any suspicion of imposition.

Not even the most genuine case nor the most regular contributor could expect to draw any benefits if his incapacity for work, or his need for medical attention arose from 'any immoral, intemperate, or disorderly conduct... provoking or engaging in wanton quarrels... venereal disease, or any species thereof... racing or wrestling for a consideration'. In 1861 a member was discovered to be 'unlawfully cohabiting' with a female. Despite the fact that he had been paying the extra contribution for her medical attention, the member was expelled. No sick pay could be claimed for an injury caused as 'the result of inebriety', and getting drunk while on sick pay was definitely out. A member was horrified to observe another member 'inciting his wife to prostitution'; another member was convicted on a wife-beating charge. After hearing before summonsed meetings of the whole lodge both members were expelled.

The rule that all such charges should be heard by the full lodge and that notices summoning members to attend had to state the nature of the business meant that members were constantly reminded of the required standards of behaviour and that swift retribution would follow any lapse. No serious punishment was inflicted, however, without exhaustive enquiries and careful attention to correct legal process. It took all of 1861 for a Maldon lodge to resolve the question of a member's blindness, diagnosed by one medical officer as gonorrhoeal ophthalmia and as something else altogether by another. Consultants were brought from Melbourne to give expert evidence. The decision eventually went in favour of the member who later returned to Germany and for the rest of his life regularly received his sick pay from Maldon through the burgomaster of his town.

What did a system so encumbered with checks have to offer? Apart from medical attention and

sick pay there were the funeral benefits. Only if a member or his wife died at a greater distance than ten miles was a death certificate required, and many funeral benefits travelled much further than that: they were sent to other Australian colonies, to New Zealand goldfields, and after one member had left Castlemaine and 'gone home to die' in 1871, the benefit was paid to his mother in England.

Subscription lists were often circulated within a district, the hat was passed around within a lodge, and donations from lodge funds were frequently voted for relief of members in distress. Similar payments were made to the widows of deceased members. When a Castlemaine member died while in Ballarat with his family, a Ballarat lodge helped the widow for some months at Castlemaine's request, keeping them informed as to her welfare and making payments to her on Castlemaine's behalf.

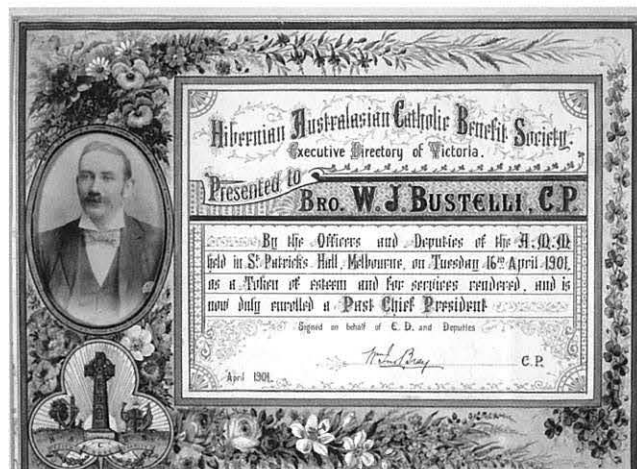
Finally, there was one further benefit that was of great importance for a very transient population during the years immediately following the first goldrushes. If the locality first chosen was found to be wanting, a member could move to a more promising location. While he tried out the new town he could present to a local lodge a Letter of Recommendation supplied by his old lodge vouching for him and requesting 'the kind attention of the Officers and Brothers of the Lodge he may desire to visit'. There is no doubt that these arrangements really worked. A Maldon member took sick while in Sydney. Maldon wrote asking a Sydney lodge to visit him in the Infirmary. This was done and his sick pay was advanced by Sydney. When reimbursing them Maldon tendered its thanks with an assurance that if ever the situation was reversed they would be happy to reciprocate. Earlier that year a Melbourne member was admitted to Maldon Hospital with a broken arm. A letter from Maldon to Melbourne brought no reply. Maldon wrote again, expressing 'great surprise' that a brother had not received the attention that he was entitled to expect. The rebuke brought immediate results.

Having decided on his new location, a member could be 'cleared out' by his former lodge and, armed with a very formal Clearance Certificate present it and gain acceptance by a lodge in his new town. He could move into adjacent Colonies, go to Queensland or Western Australia, New

Zealand or South Africa, or return to his land of origin. As long as he kept himself 'good on the books' he could enjoy all the benefits of membership. In the event of there being no lodge of his Order within a reasonable distance he could pay his contributions and receive his benefits by mail, either directly or through the nearest available lodge.

In towns where anything up to sixty per cent of adult males might be members of a Friendly Society, no public event ever took place without processions of members in full regalia led by a Society band, with at least one of their officers up on the rostrum as part of the official party. This meant that the Friendly Societies were a very visual presence, and an article in a journal of the Oddfellows at this time stated that a member 'is cordially recognised in the best society'. For the businessman or tradesman on the move, to be cordially recognised was like having a passport to a new community stamped with approval.

Some Registration Books for the period c1860-1880s have survived, covering Castlemaine and the surrounding districts, Maldon, Geelong, the Western District and Collingwood. A full list is lodged at the State Library of Victoria. Ritual books are not available as strict rules governed this 'secret societies' component of Friendly Societies of the nineteenth century.



Illuminated certificate awarded by the Hibernian Australasian Benefit Society to W.J. Bustelli of Daylesford in 1901.

The Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows (MU)

This select list of 66 members c1860-1880 is based on names in the surviving Registration Books of MU for this period. A full list is held at the State Library of Victoria. The correct spelling of names and towns of birth have been added by the Italian Historical Society and are indicated in brackets.

Name	Country and Town of Birth	Date joined	Branch	Profession	Age on enrolment	Other information
BADILOTTI [BADILATTI], Domenico	Switzerland [Poschiavo-Prada]		Hepburn Springs	Carter	26	
BELEMI [BALEMI], Giovanni	Switzerland [Minusio]	Dec. 1870	Hepburn Springs	Miner	23	
BELEMI [BALEMI], Peter	Switzerland [Minusio]	Nov. 1872	Hepburn Springs by Clearance in.	Miner	36	
BIONDA, Vincenzo	Switzerland [Carasso]	Oct. 1870	Hepburn Springs	Miner	31	Also described as Milkman, Italian Hill. Died 11 Aug. 1899.
BONELLI [BONETTI], Peter	Italy [Bormio]	May 1867	Maldon	Miner	21	Single
BUZZINI, Giovanni	Switzerland [Brione Verzasca]	July 1867	Hepburns Springs	Miner	30	Married to Rhoda.
CAPPONI, Antonio	Switzerland [Cerentino]	Oct. 1872	Hepburn Springs	Miner	33	
CASOLI [CASOLO], Sebastiano	Switzerland [Biasca]	Apr. 1866	Hepburn Springs	Butcher	22	Granted Clearance out in Aug. 1867.
CASSINELLI [CASINELLI], Angelo	Italy [Genoa]	Sept. 1872	Hepburn Springs	Miner	36	Married to Angelina.
DANELLI, Andrew	Switzerland	Oct. 1865	Castlemaine	General Dealer	31	Postal Directory 1869: still in Castlemaine. Aug. 1870 ceased payments to Lodge.
DELMOTTI, Giacomo (also known as James)	Switzerland [Verscio]	July 1871	Hepburn Springs	Baker	36	Married to Fedela
DELMUË, Serafino	Switzerland [Biasca]	Aug. 1867	Hepburn Springs	Farmer	28	Oct. 1869 ceased payment to Lodge.
DORSA, Antonio	Switzerland [Brusio]	May 1867	Maldon	Farmer	28	Married. Postal Directory 1869 lists him as a Woodcarter.
DUCHINI, Giovanni	Switzerland [Giubasco]	Apr. 1875	Hepburn Springs	Miner	34	Still in Lodge in 1899.
DUNKIN [DONCHI?], Peter	Italy [Teglio?]	Oct. 1866	Maldon	Miner	21	Single
FASOLI, Eugenio	Italy [Nobiello/Como]	11 Sept 1867	Daylesford	Baker	34	
FASOLI, Vincenzo	Italy [Nobiello/Como]	18 Sept 1867	Daylesford	Baker	27	By Dec. 1899 he is probably in Melbourne because he tries to get a Clearance from Daylesford Lodge to Melbourne Lodge. Melbourne will not accept him because he is over age, so he continues to pay his dues to Daylesford. In 1899 he is described as a Publican.

FATH, Martini	Switzerland	30 Oct. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	33	Married to Annie.
FERRARI, Andrea	Switzerland [Semione]	4 June 1873	Daylesford	Miner	30	Married to Louisa.
FINETTI [TINETTI] Andrew	Switzerland [Biasca]	20 Apr. 1870	Daylesford	Farmer	35	Married to Marie.
FINETTI [TINETTI] Felino	Switzerland [Biasca]	14 July 1869	Daylesford	Dairyman	25	24 Aug. 1870 granted Clearance out.
FOCHETTI, Filippo	Switzerland [Brione s/Minusio]	10 Oct. 1870	Daylesford	Miner	31	
FUSIO [FUSCO], Luigi	Switzerland [Locarno]	7 Feb. 1866	Daylesford	Carter	29	Married to Mary Ann. Still in Lodge in 1899. Died 1 June 1900.
GAGGIONO [GAGGIONI], Pietro	Switzerland [Gordevio]	21 Nov. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	32	Still a member in 1899.
GARZONI, Alberto	Switzerland [Maggia]	2 Mar. 1870	Daylesford	Miner	34	Married to Elizabeth, 18 Residing at Italian Hill.
GINNETTO, Aquilino		24 June 1868	Daylesford	Miner	28	
GIAVANELLI [GIANELLI], Michele	Italy [Castiglione Chiavarese/Genova]	20 Sept 1871	Daylesford	Miner	27	June 1877 ceased payments.
GIAVESI, Giuseppe	Italy	20 May 1876	Daylesford	Winegrower	29	Single. 1880 granted Clearance out.
GUARTI, Ben	Italy	26 Feb. 1879	Daylesford	Shoemaker	32	Married to Mary Ann, 26.
GUSCETTI, Frederick	Switzerland, [Quinto]	28 Oct. 1870	Daylesford	Wine merchant	23	
MAGGINETTI, Aquilino	Switzerland [Biasca]	26 May 1869	Daylesford	Miner	34	
MILESI, Battista	Italy	11 Mar. 1868	Daylesford	Miner	22	2 Jul. 1879 re-admitted to Lodge, aged 33. Married to Amelia. Still in Lodge in 1899.
MILESI, Giovanni	Italy	1868	Daylesford	Miner	30	20 July 1879 re-admitted to Lodge, aged 35.
MONETTI [MONOTTI], Giacomo	Switzerland [Cavigliano]	3 July 1867	Daylesford	Baker	30	Still in Lodge in 1899. (being referred to as James)
MONICO, Giacomo	Switzerland [Malvaglia]	30 Oct. 1872	Daylesford	Barber	19	Still in Lodge in 1899.
MONTI, Charles	Italy [Cuzzago/Novara]	11 Oct. 1871	Daylesford	Miner	25	
MORESCHI, Bernard	Italy [Colico/Como]	Apr. 1868	Maldon	Woodcarter	33	
MORETTI, Pietro	Switzerland [Cevio]	15 Mar. 1871	Daylesford	Miner	28	
NICOLAI [NICOLA], Sylvester	Switzerland [Gordevio]	Arrived in Victoria in c1860		Miner		Died 23 Mar. 1890 in Castlemaine Asylum, aged 79.
NICOLAI [NICOLA], Edward	Switzerland [Gordevio]	31 May 1860	Castlemaine	Gardener	29	Son of Sylvester. Married to Catherine, aged 24. Granted Clearance to Sandhurst in 1875.
NICOLAI [NICOLA], Robert	Germany [Switzerland, Gordevio]	6 Sept. 1860	Castlemaine	Gardener	25	Son of Sylvester. Single
PELASCI [PELLASCIO], Giovanni Domenico	Switzerland [Cugnasco]	2. Dec. 1868	Daylesford	Miner	28	

PERINONI, Domenico	Switzerland [Someo]	20 Oct. 1867	Daylesford	Miner	29	Married to Elizabeth. 31 Mar. 1869 granted Clearance out.
PIEZZI, Angelo	Switzerland [Giumaglio]	25 May 1870	Daylesford	Hotelkeeper	30	Married to Ellen.
PINCINI, Silvestro	Switzerland [Moghegno]	9 Oct. 1867	Daylesford	Miner	26	
POZZI, Stephen	Switzerland [Giumaglio]	30 Sept. 1868	Daylesford	Tradesman	34	Married to Jacomina. She died 25 July 1877. Still in Lodge in 1899.
RASPINI [RESPINI], Alexander	Switzerland [Cevio]	5 Aug. 1868	Daylesford	Miner	28	Married to Frances.
RIDA [RADA], Giovanni	Switzerland [Poschiavo-Prada]	4 Dec. 1867	Daylesford	Woodcutter	24	
RIGHETTI, Raffaele	Switzerland [Someo]	11 Dec. 1867	Daylesford	Miner	33	
RODINI [RODONI], Giuseppe	Switzerland [Biasca]	14 Aug. 1867	Daylesford	Baker	29	
RODOM [RODONI], Gabriele	Switzerland [Biasca]	10 May 1871	Daylesford	Miner	31	
ROSSETTI, Francis	Switzerland [Biasca]	17 Jan. 1866	Daylesford	Surgeon	32	Honorary Member. 17 Apr. 1867 granted Clearance out.
ROTANZI, Francia	Switzerland [Peccia]	17 Apr. 1867	Daylesford	Clerk	26	Died 26 Dec. 1880.
SOLIVA, Giovanni	Switzerland [Semione]	1 Jan. 1873	Daylesford	Miner	33	
TAMMO [TAMÒ], Pietro	Switzerland [Sonogno]	28 Apr. 1868	Daylesford	Miner	35	Married to Alice, aged 23. Died 29 May 1880.
TOGNI, Antonio	Switzerland [Brione Verzasca]	12 June 1867	Daylesford	Butcher	25	Died 22 May 1902.
TOGNI, Camillo	Switzerland [Semione]	23 Dec. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	19	Died 19 June 1902.
TOGNI, Constante	Switzerland [Semione]	23 Dec. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	32	
TOGNI, Michele	Switzerland [Bignasco]	23 Dec. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	34	Married to Eliza. Still in Lodge in 1899.
TOGNI, Virginio	Switzerland	23 Dec. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	20	
TONINI, Valentino	Switzerland [Poschiavo]	13 July 1870	Daylesford	Dairyman	25	
VALERY Antonio	Corsica	17 Nov 1872	Daylesford	Miner	25	
VANINA, Giuseppe	Switzerland [Biasca]	7 June 1871	Daylesford	Farmer	19	Died 1 Mar. 1874 of 'consumption'.
ZANOTTI, Giuseppe	Switzerland [Aurigneo]	19 June 1867	Daylesford	Miner	30	Married to Margaret.
ZANOLI, Martin	Switzerland [Gordevio]	18 July 1878	Daylesford	Miner	33	
ZANOLI, Peter	Switzerland [Gordevio]	11 Dec. 1872	Daylesford	Miner	27	Married to Virginia.

ITALIAN CENSUSES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY NEW ZEALAND

by Alan Poletti

Alan Poletti is a retired Professor of Nuclear Physics from the University of Auckland who says he was 'hooked' on history one very hot July day when Don Remigio the Archpriest of Villa di Tirano, gave him and his wife access to the church archives. In our last issue (Volume 9. No. 1), we published his research on the Draft Lists (Liste di Leva) which was very well received. We are now pleased to publish the following paper which he derived from source materials much closer to home. Alan can be contacted by writing to him at 11 Tole Street, Ponsonby, Auckland, New Zealand or by e-mail a.poletti@xtra.co.nz

Preamble

Public history is more than looking for ancestors. Thorough archival searches concerning ordinary individuals can obtain information not available in any other form, while a synthesis of the many pieces of information so obtained can allow the drawing of general conclusions. In this paper I focus on a very unusual source of such information: the forms that were part of three censuses of Italians living in Westland, New Zealand in about 1880. They contained much specific information on individuals which I have condensed into a data base, a copy of which is deposited with the Italian Historical Society. Combining the information in these censuses with that from other sources has allowed me to determine where the first Italian settlers in New Zealand came from, why they came and when.

Introduction

In 1975, Bruno Ballara published privately in Auckland a small book in Italian.¹ In it was a very much reduced facsimile of a form entitled '*R. Consolato Generale d' Italia in Melbourne: Statistica degli Italiani nella Colonia di Nuova Zelanda.*' This form was part of a census. Clearly it, and hopefully some similar sheets, contained some very interesting information. How Ballara came by these is unclear; however, in 1998 he deposited them with the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. The staff of the library very kindly provided me with photocopies of the six A2 size sheets, some of which are double sided. Examination indeed showed that they formed the basis of censuses of Italians living in Westland, South Island, New Zealand. Two were labelled '1877' and '1880' respectively, while the third was unlabelled. For convenience, I will refer to this as the '18??' census.

All three provided information concerning individuals. This was often accurate and detailed, but varied greatly. In general the list for '1877' was the most detailed, while the unlabelled one was the least detailed. That for '1877', filled in by one person was in a very clear hand, while the other two at times were almost indecipherable. It is clear, however, that not all of the 1877 census has survived. The returns for Okura ended abruptly at the end of the second page. Furthermore, people known to have been at Okura at that time do not appear in it. These include the Baretta families, five single men and a family consisting of three people — a total of 15 (8 male, 7 female).

Background — the Italian Consulate in Melbourne

The first regular Italian Consul General in Australasia, Giuseppe Biagi, took up his post in Melbourne in 1864 and was succeeded by Luigi Marinucci in 1874. Their responsibility extended not only to all of the Australian colonies but to the New Zealand colony as well. In addition to providing advice to the Italian Government concerning conditions in these colonies, they were also expected to look after the interests of resident Italians. For those living in Victoria, as part of this effort,² lists were maintained of those who had registered with the Consulate (*l'iscritti*) and who had not (*non iscritti*). In addition, from time to time, the Consulate was expected to provide estimates of the number of Italians living in the colonies. It appears that the lists from Westland, New Zealand were generated for this reason.

It is possible that they were produced by (or for) the Italian Consul for New Zealand, Gerald Perotti, who in turn would have been charged with the task by Marinucci. Perotti, born in

Barge Piedmont, left Italy in 1855 and arrived in New Zealand around 1861. After some time in Wellington and Otago, he moved to Greymouth in 1865 and became a successful local business man. He was clearly well educated and spoke fluent English, Portuguese and Spanish as well as Italian. Apparently he had at one time intended to enter the diplomatic service. It is not surprising then, that in 1874 he was appointed as Italian Consul, a position he held until his death in 1911. Just the man for the job.

The censuses

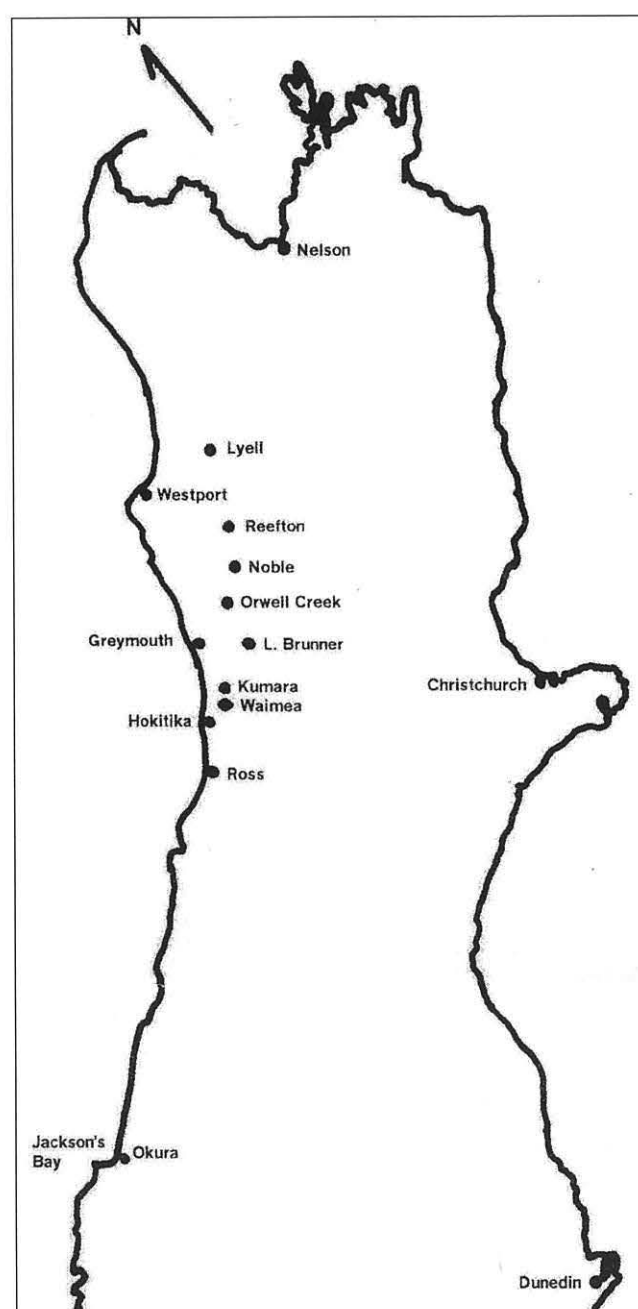
The 217 records in the three lists provided details for 139 individuals. Of these 48 were assisted migrants or members of their families, who arrived in the years 1874 – 1877, while 91 were unassisted and had arrived in New Zealand or Australia between 1854 and 1878, about three quarters of them before 1870. The assisted settlers travelled directly from Hamburg or Bremen³ to New Zealand with no intermediate stops, taking between 90 and 120 days. Commonly, the unassisted migrants travelled first to Australia. Names for about 20 of them were found in lists of passengers arriving in Melbourne mainly from Great Britain, almost all on British ships. In addition, several also turn up in records of the Italian Consulate in Melbourne which have survived from 1869.⁴ The pattern for these unassisted migrants is thus clear: in general, they came first to Victoria and then subsequently, perhaps after a year or so, travelled to New Zealand.

The information contained in the forms is best discussed by reference to the partial images of two of the pages. For each person, name, family name and father's name were in the first column, mother's name and her family name in the second, with date and place of birth in the third. In the fourth to sixth columns were civil status (married or unmarried), date of departure from Italy and the length of time already in the colony. Since the Consulate was in Melbourne, it was not clear whether this referred to time in Australasia or in New Zealand. Sequentially, the following columns concerned their occupation in Italy and in New Zealand, whether they worked on their own account or were day labourers, whether they possessed real estate in the colony and where they lived. Following that the headings for the next two columns enquired whether they could read and write or could speak English. A comments column completed the record. In many cases,

detailed information concerning individuals was given in the records, for some others, it was only name and surname.

Comparison with the New Zealand censuses for 1878 and 1881

The number of Italians in New Zealand in the Official Censuses for 1874, 1878 and 1881 were 280, 538 and 483 respectively. The large increase between 1874 and 1878 mainly reflects the influx of the 367 assisted Italian migrants. In Westland the corresponding figures were 57 (55 male, 2 female), 135 (107 male, 28 female) and 70 (68 male and 2 female). From the '1877' census there is a total of 85 in Westland (71 male, 14 female),



Westland, South Island, New Zealand, showing places mentioned in the censuses.

R. Consolato Generale

Statistica degli Italiani nella Colonia di *Okura*

No.	Nome, Cognome e Paternità.	Nome e Cognome della Madre.	Data e Luogo di Nascita.	Celibe Coniugato o Vedovo.	Epoca della partenza dall' Italia.	Da quanto tempo è nella Colonia.	Professione esercitata in Italia.
1.	Roberto Concesco del fu Francesco	Gesualdo Mucca	25. Aprile 1842 Livorno	celibe	27. Aprile 1875	1875	Bottegai
2.	Pietro Monacchi del fu Sebastiano	Commilla Cerrai	1833 Carpinello (Teramo)	id.	id.	id.	Muratore
3.	Aristodemo Frondi del fu Giovanni Degl' Innocenti	Patrona Pistoia	8. Luglio 1833 Pistoia	coniugato	8. Aprile 1875	id.	Impiegato
4.	Mangiata Tabbucci ma Frondi di Bruffallo	Elena Cognigni	29. Aprile 1820 Parola (Teramo)	id.	id.	id.	Muratore

1	Giacomo Dentella fu fu B. B.	Maria Rustici	1831. Alia di Colle	Coniugato	1858-	29 anni	Carbonaro
2	Alessandro Toddi fu Luciano	Maria Valerchi	1836 a Milano	conjugato	1855	26 anni	Regista
3	Gerardo Manoni fu B.	Cristina Manti	1843 a Merano	Celibe	1862-	17	agricoltore
4	Belio Prestano fu B.		Massara, Genova, 1840	id.	1855	26	id.
5	Felice Prebaj fu Antonio	Maria Durini	Dognana, Como, 1834-	coniugato	1854-	26	giornalaio
6	Pietro Luterio Sardi fu Antonio	Cristina Durini	1830 Alghero	celibe	1854-	26	allungatore

Extracts from two census forms

while for the '1880' census the comparable figures are 83 (78 male, 5 female). The comparatively low total for the '1877' census supports the contention that some of the records from Okura have not survived. If the number of people known to have been at Okura in 1877 is added to the '1877' figures there is a total of 100 (79 male, 21 female)

of whom 53 (32 male, 21 female) were living at Okura⁵. The '1877' census underestimates the Italians in the Westland, while that for '1880' is slightly above the official count.

Origins of the people in the data base

In the 1870s, the Vogel administration in New Zealand undertook a very large assisted migrant scheme. By 1880 more than 100,000 people had arrived in New Zealand under the scheme. Most were from the British Isles (93,000), with 3000 each from Scandinavia and Germany. However there were also 367 from Italy. These latter were mostly recruited with enthusiasm and little discrimination by a certain John Glynn in Livorno⁶. Many appear in the censuses. Rather more numerous were those Italians who, by their own resources had found their way to New Zealand, generally some years before the assisted migrants. Analysis emphasises the quite distinct origins of these two groups.

Table 1. Birthplaces by region in Italy

Region	Assisted	Unassisted
Lombardy	2	40
Liguria	—	11
Piedmont	5	7
Tuscany	34	1
Veneto	—	2
Others	2	5
Unknown	1	25
New Zealand	4	—
Totals	48	91

d' Italia in Melbourne.

Nelanda (Oceania)

Professione attualmente esercitata.	Lavorante a conto proprio giornaliero.	Se possiede nella Colonia e dove.	Luogo della sua attuale Dimora.	Sa leggere e scrivere?	Parla inglese o no?	Osservazioni.
Lavorante	si	si	Alcockham	si	si	Facc la campagna del 1860 con Garibaldi. d'ora in poi si occupa di regolare, quella del 1860 con Garibaldi (1860), e quella di Roma 1865.
id.	id.	id.	id.	no	id.	id.
id.	id.	id.	id.	si	id.	Facc la campagna 1853-54, 55-56.
id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.

Minatore	a Conto Proprio	Parte nel lavoro	Kumera, frontiera	si	si	
Paggiante	id.	Magazzino o Kumera	Kumera	si	si	amministrato a Luff para con
Minatore	id.	Parte nel lavoro	id.	id.	id.	
id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	
id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	amministrato in loco con Lucia Sadron Ogden
id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	

The predominance of Tuscany for the assisted migrants in Table 1 is a direct reflection of the recruiting efforts of John Glynn. The large number from Lombardy among the unassisted migrants, merits further discussion. As early as 1872, Consul Biagi had pointed out⁷ from an analysis of the origins of 800 Italians within his jurisdiction, that 57% were from Lombardy, with 13% and 10% respectively from Liguria and Piedmont. Tuscany and Marche were 9%. Veneto contributed 3%, while 8% were from Southern Italy. Despite the small numbers in the New Zealand sample, the relative contributions from the different regions to the unassisted migrant numbers are remarkably similar to Biagi's figures. It will be seen from the discussion below that this is no coincidence. That the dominance of Lombardy even applies to Italian migrants to all of New Zealand can be seen by figures extracted from a larger data base concerning 220 individuals that includes all such people known to have come to

New Zealand from Lombardy, Liguria and Piedmont.

From Valtellina to New Zealand

There is enough information on the birthplaces of many of the people in the censuses to give the origins of unassisted migrants from Lombardy by provinces.

Over 60% were from the alpine province of Sondrio which had only about three percent of the region's population. An even more striking result

Table 2. Migrants from Lombardy by Province

Province	Number
Bergamo	4
Como	6
Sondrio	25
Others & unspec	7
Total from Lombardy	42

is obtained by examining the origin of the 25 migrants from Sondrio by *comune*. All of them came from 7 *comuni* within 12 km of the town of Tirano, that stands right on the border with Switzerland and at the mouth of the Poschiavino valley.

These were: Teglio, Bianzone, Villa di Tirano, Tirano, Sernio, Vervio and Grosio. The concentration of origins is even more striking when it is realised that Sondrio province extends for over 100 km in an east – west direction and that it contains more than 70 *comuni* and two major valleys: Valtellina and Valchiavenna. None of the migrants were from Valchiavenna. This is exactly the pattern found by Jacqueline Templeton in her analysis⁸ of the origins of migrants from Sondrio province to Australia. Her convincing explanation for this striking migration pattern involves the activities of migration agents who first worked in the Poschiavino valley and then later extended their interests into Valtellina. These agents in their turn were driven by the shipping companies who were seeking ‘back cargoes’. After delivering grain from Australia to Europe, rather than returning empty, they filled up the ships with living ballast — the migrants.

Confirmation of the common origins of the Italians settled in Victoria and the unassisted migrants in the censuses comes also from an examination of passenger lists for arrival from Europe to Melbourne. Over half of the unassisted migrants from Valtellina were found on these, sometimes in the company of their fellow Italian speakers from Poschiavino. For instance, Filippo Canobbio arrived in Melbourne on ‘Red Jacket’ on 27 April 1860, in the company of 16 migrants from Poschiavino.⁹

Templeton also points out a further contributing factor — probably equal in importance to the activities of the migration agents. In 1851, the grape harvest failed in all of the Valtellina, as it did for the succeeding 13 years. The vines and fruit had been struck by a completely new disease, powdery mildew, *Oidium Tuckeri*. In 1838, Sondrio Province had produced over 106,000 hectolitres of wine. In 1852 only 4,000 hectolitres were produced, which further dropped to 3,300 hectolitres in 1857.¹⁰ The province was not self sufficient in food and had depended on wine exports to finance the needed imports. With the failure of the grape harvest, the people starved.

What drew the migrants to Westland?

We have seen above that there were two distinct groups represented in the censuses: the assisted and unassisted migrants. These two groups had ended up in Westland around 1880 for two very different reasons which I will discuss in the next sections.

‘Special Settlement’ — Jackson’s Bay and Okura

From the discussion above, there were probably at least 53 Italians living at Okura in 1877. By 1880, there were none. These figures illustrate the precipitate collapse of the ‘Special Settlement’ at Jackson’s Bay. Adriano Boncompagni in a recent issue of this journal has written of this settlement as have others¹¹. That it should ever have been attempted was the triumph of the parochial ‘boosterism’ of the Westland Provincial Government over reality. In 1875 when the first settlers arrived in this remote and desolate corner of Westland, the area destined for settlement was covered with dense bush. It also had one of the heaviest rainfall figures in all of New Zealand — about 380 cm per year. Furthermore, the only communication was by sea and the anchorage was exposed to the west, which is the direction of the prevailing wind. Okura is about 25 km north along the beach from Jackson’s Bay itself. The journey would have involved the fording of several rivers, notoriously liable to sudden flooding. Consequently essentially all communication with Okura was by sea on a coast



Map of mid Valtellina.

Probably from the 18th century, this shows (sometimes with quaint spellings) all of the *comuni* near Tirano from which the unassisted migrants came. It also illustrates the proximity to Tirano of Brusio and Poschiavo in the Poschiavino valley in Canton Grigioni, Switzerland. The map shows an area of roughly 50 x 35 kilometres.

that was even more exposed than Jackson's Bay. Nevertheless, in July 1876 37 Italian assisted migrants were landed at Okura. Land was cleared and crops planted, but the settlers found themselves flooded at times¹² as a result of torrential rain, road building work that was promised did not materialise and crops rotted after removal from the ground¹³. By December 1878, it was realised that the settlement had failed and during the summer of 1878/79 around 150 people were evacuated. Before this time a further 75 were known to have left. This left about 140 of the original settlers, many of whom departed in the following year.

Gold rushes and gold mining in Westland

The unassisted migrants were in Westland for a very different reason. Occupations in New Zealand were given for 96 individuals. That 63 were miners, says it all. Of the specified residences for the unassisted migrants, all except 15% were in gold mining areas — 40% in Kumara and 30% in Waimea with the rest distributed over six smaller fields, including Lyell. They had come directly or via Otago, from Victoria where many had already been living.

The discovery of alluvial gold in Otago in 1861 triggered the first major gold rush to New Zealand. This was followed by the discovery of alluvial gold in Westland in 1864.¹⁴ Miners flocked to this new Eldorado, not only from the Otago diggings, but from overseas, especially from Victoria, Australia where the rewards from alluvial mining were declining. An idea of the size of this influx is given by net passenger arrivals from Australia to ports in Westland¹⁵ in the years 1864 to 1867. In 1864 none were recorded. In the following three years they were respectively 3760, 4400 and 1180 for a total of 9340. The Westland rush was not to one well-defined area, but several. The first rush was to Waimea (later called Goldsborough) about 15 km inland from Hokitika, then the focus moved both to the south, and to the north as far as Greymouth, and then further north to Charleston just south of Westport. Not far from Waimea was the Kumara gold field, discovered in 1876, where many of the census population were recorded in the 1880 census. It also provided alluvial gold. Even before the 1864 discovery there had been several small ones in the adjoining Nelson Province, in particular at Lyell¹⁶ on the Buller River. The reef which was the source of this gold was exploited over several decades from 1870 by a company headed by

Antonio Zala who was from Brusio, in Italian speaking Switzerland. This town is just north of Tirano. Several of the people in the census population are recorded in Lyell. In the following two sections I will discuss a few of the unassisted migrants in the data base and the mining they were involved in.

Sluicing for gold

The gold fields at places like Waimea and Kumara were alluvial, but substantial tunnelling and excavation were required to reach the pay dirt. This required men to club together to work a claim. Quite soon hydraulic sluicing was employed to tear away the gravel overburden and find the gold. Again co-operative ventures were called for. The construction of dams and water races was required as well as tailings channels to dispose of the large quantities of gravel and water which resulted from the working of the claim. For instance¹⁷ on 27 July 1869, Oriola Miro, Lorenzo Ricetti, Giovanni Marchioni and two others applied for a licence for a dam in Italian Gully. In the 1877 census, all three are at Waimea, but by 1880, Marchioni was at Kumara, the area of the last gold rush in New Zealand. Italian Gully is 3 km from Waimea and 5 km south of Kumara, in both cases over rugged, heavily dissected country. In that same year, 26 Jan 1869, Filippo Canobbio was granted a similar license at Waimea. An even earlier permit on 18 Jan 1867 had been issued to Alex Foldi and a Luigi Canapa, again at Italian Gully. The 1877 and 1880 censuses find Foldi as a storekeeper at Kumara. The very name 'Italian Gully' emphasises the significant contribution of Italians and their fellow Italian speakers from Canton Ticino and Poschiavino Valley in Switzerland to gold mining in Westland.

From Tirano and Vervio to Lyell — Stefano De Filippi & Matteo Dellavedova

Alluvial gold was first discovered at Lyell in 1863, and it is claimed that 10,000 ounces were taken from the field in 1863 – 1865.¹⁸ However, it is quartz mining that was the basis of Lyell's prosperity for 40 years from 1870. In that year, Antonio Zala floated the Alpine Reefing Co with seven original shareholders, among them Stefano De Filippi (1880 census). Of the other shareholders, Alberto Iseppi and probably Romano Zala, like Antonio, were from Brusio, Bernardo Menghini was from near Poschiavo while Giorgio Zanetti was from Giubiasco in Ticino Canton, Switzerland (I do not know the

origin of the seventh man, Giovanni Robacco). All were Italian speakers and the company's name gives a very direct indication of their origins. This company with various changes in organisation and shareholders, endured until 1912. In that time, gold to the value of £315,402 was mined and dividends of £74,267 were paid¹⁹.

By 1874, Stefano De Filippi was farming at Three Channel Flat, a few kilometres down the Buller river from Lyell and in 1882 married Mary Rohan (or Ruane). His farming venture together with dividends from the Alpine Reefing Co, meant that he achieved a reasonable prosperity and on his death in 1926 his estate which passed to his four surviving children was valued at £2000, worth approximately NZ\$200,000 at prices as of 2001.

Matteo Dellavedova (1880 census) also farmed at Three Channel Flat. In his earlier days, he kept an accommodation house at Three Channel Flat and had been a miner. Married in 1875 to Annie Eliza Lester, upon his death in 1920, his estate which passed to his three surviving children was valued at £4500, worth approximately NZ\$350,000 at prices as of 2001. The names of two small creeks entering the Buller river at Three Channel Flat remind the traveller today of the contribution these two men made to the development of this area.

Chain Migration

There is little evidence either from these censuses or elsewhere of chain migration involving this group for more than two generations. However, members of a subsequent generation did follow both Matteo Dellavedova and Stefano De Filippi to New Zealand. It is also likely that Domenico Moratti followed Filippo Canobbio to New Zealand. Both were from Villa di Tirano. Canobbio had left Italy in 1860, was in New Zealand by 1864 and certainly in Westland by 1868. Moratti, an assisted migrant went first to Taranaki in the North Island in 1874, but in the 1877 census, he and Canobbio were sequential names in a group of 4 men from Villa di Tirano. This chain did continue into a third generation. Giovanni Poletti, when he arrived in New Zealand in 1893, first stayed with Domenico Moratti who by that time was again in Taranaki and farming.

Birds of passage or settlers?

Biagi²⁰ was indeed of the opinion that many of the Italians in Victoria were birds of passage. After arrival, they mostly worked in the country

districts, often moving to where new work offered. After 5 to 8 years, having saved from £100 to £300 (perhaps A\$11,000 to A\$33,000 at today's prices), they would return to Italy. To what extent was this the case for those in the Westland censuses? Answers come from two areas: naturalisations and marriage in New Zealand or Australia. Naturalisation is a clear signal of the intention to settle in the new country. Marriage to an Italian speaker is a more ambiguous signal but marriage to an English speaker can again be considered as a clear signal of intention to settle. Of the 76 males who were clearly over the age of 12 when they left Italy and about whom I had adequate additional information, I found that 28 had naturalised, 9 had married in Australia or New Zealand and 11 had both naturalised and married for a total of 48 cases. I am confident that I have found all New Zealand naturalisations, but some naturalisations in Australia could have been missed. A comprehensive search for marriages in New Zealand would be very time consuming. I have however searched 'Intentions to marry' for Westland for the years 1868, 1870, 1874–83 and 1887.²¹ Family histories yielded some further marriages and the 'Index to marriages' was sometimes searched for specific people.

Table 3. Naturalisations and or marriages

Category	N° in category	Nat'd	Marr'd	Both
Assisted	20	9	1	0
Non-assisted	56	19	8	11
Totals	76	28	9	11

Almost certainly the number of marriages has been underestimated, even so, at least 60% clearly signalled their intention to stay in the colony. As a group they were more likely to be settlers than birds of passage.

Occupations in Italy and New Zealand

Quite soon after the arrival of the first substantial number of Italian migrants to New Zealand, complaints were made that the occupations professed by the migrants bore little relation to those actually followed. Dr E F Johansen, the Surgeon-Superintendent on the *Herschel* (arrived Wellington 23 Oct 1875) had no doubts. In a report²² to H A Atkinson, the Minister for

Immigration, dated 21 Jan 1876, he had this to say: 'If some of them cannot find work it depends upon that they usually had put their name down as field labourer or any other trade favoured with free immigration whilst most of them had been loafing in the streets of Leghorn — some of them are even criminals as the others told me — Arturo Alexandri can give you interesting particulars about the matter if he does not fear the revenge of his countrymen'. (Alessandri, a chemist from Livorno and a passenger on the *Herschel*, had been employed as the English teacher on the voyage).

For the 15 male assisted migrants in the censuses, comparison between occupations as given in the censuses and those claimed on the passenger lists bears out the first of Johansen's contentions. Twelve from eleven different trades claimed to be either a labourer or a farm labourer. For only three did the trades agree. Other examples include Gottfried Lindauer, a passenger on the *Reichstag* who arrived in Wellington on 6 Aug 1874 and later became a distinguished portrait painter, who gave his trade as 'gardener'. University graduates Checchi, Catani and Baracchi²³, passengers on the *Fritz Reuter* who arrived Wellington on 6 Aug 1876, were listed as 'labourers'. But then what did the immigration authorities expect? Free passages offered to labourers must surely produce labourers.

The pioneer society of that time largely demanded manual labour, skilled or unskilled. The occupations in New Zealand of 92 men were given — 63 were miners, 16 were agricultural workers, there were 2 fishermen and 2 sailors. Nine out of ten laboured for their living.

Conclusion

Even for the assisted migrants, place of birth in Italy was rarely recorded elsewhere in New Zealand. The censuses have provided this information for 109 individuals and occupations in Italy for 72.

The genealogical information in these censuses is of great value for a public historian. For instance, Canobbio, whose place of birth in the Naturalisation Register was 'Villa di Tiliore' and in the censuses was 'Vella' could be identified without any doubt with Filippo Canobbio, born 5 Mar 1839 at Villa di Tirano, Sondrio. Again, De Filippi, whose place of birth in the Naturalization Register was 'Viruio', and in the census might have been Vervio, could similarly be identified uniquely with Stefano De Filippi, born 8 Feb 1839 at

Vervio, Sondrio. It is this specific information about individuals which provides the basis for the rather more important general conclusions.

Analysis of these census lists has demonstrated conclusively that the first Italians to come to New Zealand in any significant numbers were largely from Lombardy and more specifically from a small part of Sondrio Province. They shared their origins with the first Italian migrants to Victoria.

For generations, seasonal migration with the implied return home had been a way of life for many of the alpine people of Northern Italy. I have shown that the individuals in the census were more likely to be settlers than itinerants and hence for them this nexus with their birthplace was cut. They settled permanently in their new land as did their contemporaries from the British Isles.

Acknowledgments

David C Retter, at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington very kindly furnished photocopies of the census sheets in the collection donated by Bruno Ballara, whom I also thank. Bob Naisbitt and Margaret Mort at History House, Greymouth helped me to obtain much useful biographical information as did Julia Bradshaw at the Hokitika Museum and Geraldine Pickles at National Archives, Christchurch. Laura Mecca & Lorenzo Iozzi have provided much useful data from the Archives of the Italian Historical Society. In Valtellina, I have been greatly helped by Fausto Schivardi, Giacomo Ganza, Don Remigio and Don Cirillo Vitalini (Villa di Tirano), Rosella De Vita (Teglio), Don Rodolfo Sterlocchi, Giacomo Rinaldi and the library staff (Grosio), Diego Zoia and Bruno Ciapponi Landi (Tirano) and Don Giacomo Santelli (Mazzo).

Notes

- ¹ *Presenza Italiana in Nuova Zelanda*, published privately by Bruno Ballara, Auckland, 1975
- ² Fragments of these lists have survived. Copies of these are held by the Italian Historical Society.
- ³ In early December 1875, to avoid the danger of becoming icebound in Hamburg, the *Gutenberg* was towed to Bremen, where the passengers were embarked.
- ⁴ *Registro d'iscrizione*, which begins with no. 173 on 18 Feb 1868 and ends with no. 200 on 31 Dec 1868. *Quarta Lista alfabetico d' Italiani non Iscritti*, dated January 1869 with 106 names.

Variazioni occorse nel 1868... with details concerning 28 individuals, dated January 1869.

⁵ Defining a child as age 12 or less, this gives 23 men, 11 women and 19 children, total 53 in 8 families. MacFarlane (AJHR H28, p 8, 1877), gives 27 men, 9 women and 17 children, total 53 in 9 families as of 31 Mar 1877, however, this includes some non Italians and does not include the wife and family of Alessio Savieri and the three children born at Okura. All 7 arrived later in 1877.

⁶ Ersilio Michel *Emigrazione Livornese nella Nuova Zelanda*, Bollettino Storico Livornese 1938, pp 395-400. As part of his recruiting campaign, Glynn produced a small booklet in Italian entitled *Estratto della guida ufficiale della Nuova Zelanda compilata da Giulio Vogel C. M. G.* The book was only a little more laudatory of the prospects in New Zealand than the Official Handbook from which it was extracted. This latter was distributed to would-be colonists from the British Isles.

⁷ G. Biagi in *Bollettino Consolare*, vol 8, part II (1872), p 352.

⁸ Jacqueline Templeton, 'The Swiss connection: the origins of the Valtellina-Australia migrations', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol 26, 1995, p 393.

⁹ Joseph Gentilli, 'Swiss Poschiavini in Australia', *Geowest* 25, Dept of Geography, University of Western Australia, revised August 1989.

¹⁰ Stefano Jacini, *Condizioni economiche Provincia di Sondrio*, Stab. Civelli, Milano e Verona, 1858, p 23. These figures were misprinted in my previous article in the Italian Historical Society Journal, Vol 9 N.1, 2001, p 4.

¹¹ Adriano Boncompagni, *Italian Historical Society Journal*, Vol 8 N.1, 2000, p 4 and the many references therein; Bruno Ballara *op. cit.*; Irvine Roxburgh, *Jackson's Bay — a centennial history*, A H & A W Reed, Wellington, 1975.

¹² Carlo Turchi at Okura in a letter to Leonardo Pozzi, Hokitika, dated 16 Oct 1876: '...I find that many promises that were made to us have not been fulfilled... On the 20th of Sept we had floods and the water was about 3 feet deep in our tent and we had to take refuge in Mr Collyer's house where we were most kindly treated'. National Archives of New Zealand [IM 6 5/2].

¹³ From a statement by Aristodemo Frandi, Fortunato Luchesi and Egisto Calamai, AJHR 1879 H.-9A, p 89.

¹⁴ Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1967.

¹⁵ Murray McCaskill, 'The Gold rush Population of Westland', *N. Z. Geographer*, vol 12, 1956, p 32.

¹⁶ Margaret C Brown, *Lyell — the golden past*, Murchison District Historical Society, 1987.

¹⁷ National Archives, Christchurch: Goldsborough — Reserves & Dams, Warden's Court 21.6.65 CH 446 CAIF 2/2 JC - Goldsborough (2) Reserves & Claims 1865 – 1873.

¹⁸ Brown *op. cit.*, p 13.

¹⁹ In NZ\$ of the present day (2001), these figures are approximately NZ\$ 55 million and NZ\$ 13 million respectively. In A\$, the comparable figures are A\$44 million and A\$10.5 million.

²⁰ Biagi, *op. cit.*, p 376.

²¹ National Archives, Wellington.

²² National Archives, Wellington [IM, series 5/4/18, *Herschel*.] His report on the voyage and that of Alessandri are available. Johansen also kept a very detailed 'General Journal' for the voyage. Both men spoke English and Johansen also Italian, Danish and German.

²³ Daniela Volpe. In an address to the Dante Alighieri Society, Melbourne 24 Nov 1999.

Glossary of occupations in Italy

In the censuses, occupations in Italy were generally given. I have left them in Italian in the database given in the appendix and for convenience I give the glossary here.

<i>agente</i>	agent
<i>agricoltore</i>	agricultural worker
<i>albergatore</i>	hotel keeper
<i>barrocciaio</i>	carter
<i>boscaiolo</i>	wood cutter
<i>battaio</i>	cooper
<i>calzolaio</i>	shoemaker
<i>carbonaio</i>	charcoal burner
<i>carpentiere</i>	carpenter or shipwright
<i>casalinga</i>	housewife
<i>ciabattino</i>	cobbler
<i>contadino/a</i>	peasant or farmer
<i>cuoco/a</i>	cook
<i>falegname</i>	carpenter
<i>fornaio</i>	baker
<i>giornaliero</i>	day labourer
<i>giovane negoziante</i>	apprentice to shop keeper
<i>impresario</i>	entrepreneur or contractor
<i>legnaiuolo</i>	timber worker
<i>litografo</i>	printer
<i>locandiere</i>	inn keeper
<i>marinaio</i>	sailor
<i>minatore</i>	miner
<i>muratore</i>	miner or bricklayer
<i>musicante</i>	musician
<i>negoziante</i>	shop keeper
<i>ragioniere</i>	book keeper or accountant
<i>sarto/a</i>	tailor or seamstress
<i>scalpellino</i>	stone mason
<i>taglia pietra</i>	stone dresser or cutter
<i>tintore</i>	dyer
<i>verniciatore</i>	varnisher or painter

NEWS

Lecture on a prominent Italian immigrant

The Italian Historical Society is pleased to announce a forthcoming lecture on a distinguished Italian immigrant of the 19th Century: Ferdinando Gagliardi.

'The McCormick Paper on Ferdinando Gagliardi' will be given by Dr Piero Genovesi on Wednesday, 20 March 2002 at the Grollo Theatre, 199 Faraday Street Carlton, at 7.00 pm for 7.30 pm start.

The lecture will explore the life and work of Ferdinando Gagliardi (b. 1843 Pisa – d. 1898 Melbourne) who arrived in Australia in 1877. He rapidly became part of the 'establishment' through his involvement in the organisation and promotion of the Italian companies participating in the Melbourne International Exhibition 1880-1881.

In 1880 Gagliardi commenced working at the State Library of Victoria and later held the position of Assistant Librarian. He became well known in the Colony not only for his work at the Library but also as an enthusiastic silkworm breeder. From 1877 to 1880, Gagliardi was also foreign correspondent for the Italian newspaper *La Gazzetta d'Italia* based in Florence. In 1881 the newspaper published a collection of Gagliardi's correspondence in a book titled *L'Australia — Lettere alla Gazzetta d'Italia*.

Dr Piero Genovesi is a lecturer in the Department of Italian Studies, La Trobe University since 1983. With the late Emeritus Prof. Colin McCormick he founded the Italo-Australian Writers Association of which he was the President from 1979 to 1992. From 1985 to 1995 he was a member of the Editorial Board of the literary magazine *Spunti e Ricerche: rivista d'italianistica*, published by the Department of Italian, University of Melbourne. He has published and edited several works, including *La Cronologia del Silenzio: studi su Pietro Jahir*, C.I.S, Melbourne 1995 and *Lino Concas, Selected Poems*, Elgua Media, Melbourne, 2001.

The reference in the title of the paper to the late Emeritus Professor Colin Angus McCormick (1924-1987) underlines Dr. Genovesi's wish to fully recognise the work done by McCormick on Gagliardi which he 'inherited' from him.

Light refreshments will be served before the lecture which is expected to conclude at

8.30 pm. Admission is free. For catering reasons, please confirm your attendance by contacting the Society on (03) 9349 9020 (Laura or Lorenzo).

Change of Hours for IHS Library

We wish to inform our readers that as from February 2002 the new opening hours of the Library are from 10.00 am to 4.00 pm, Tuesday to Thursday.

Access to resources and archival material in the collection for students and researchers continues to be possible by appointment only.

Sir James Gobbo at the National Library of Australia

The *IHS Journal* is certain to express the wishes of most subscribers in congratulating Sir James Gobbo for his appointment as Chairman of the Council of the National Library of Australia. The appointment commenced on 27 June 2001 and is for a three-year term.

Sir James is currently Victorian Commissioner for Italy and is a retired Judge of the Supreme Court and immediate past Governor of Victoria. He is also Chairman of the Australian Multicultural Foundation and President Emeritus of CO.AS.IT. (Italian Assistance Association). Sir James founded the Italian Historical Society in 1980.

Missing person

It is not uncommon for the Society to receive requests of assistance in tracing lost relatives in Australia. The following request comes from Giovanni Battista Melis from Italy who has been looking for his brother Ruggero for over 40 years.

Ruggero Melis was born August 16, 1926 in Furtei, a town near Cagliari on the Island of Sardinia. He migrated to Melbourne in 1956 contracted out as a fruit picker. The following year the two brothers met in Melbourne on the occasion of the berthing in Melbourne of the Italian Navy ship on which Giovanni Battista was working. This is the last time they ever saw each other again.

They corresponded for a further period of two years, then Ruggero stopped replying to his brother's letters. Giovanni Battista's numerous attempts to trace his brother to re-establish contacts with him have so far failed. With the passing of years and the onset of old age, he is now desperate to receive any news on present or past whereabouts of Ruggero. If you can assist, please write to: Giovanni Battista Melis, Via Villasanta 3, 09040 FURTEI – Italy.

Appeal for funds for a new Migration Museum in Salina, Aeolian Islands

We are pleased to assist the International Research Centre for Aeolian History and Culture (C.I.R.C.E) in their endeavour to raise funds towards the purchase of better premises for the Museum of Aeolian Migration established in 1999. Details of their appeal are contained in the flyer enclosed with this issue of the *IHS Journal*.

A letter from a Friend

Most of our subscribers have been with us from day one (1989). Some may have noticed that when the subscription is not promptly renewed, we continue to send our Journal for some time, as we believe there may be reasons for a delayed payment. Our persistence often pays off as it happened with Peter Bertola from Western Australia in this entertaining letter to the Society in which he also shares with us his experience of a visit 'home' after 67 years of Australia:

Enclosed subscriptions to date, with apologies. We moved from Gairdner River some 3-4 years ago, I thought that I may have notified my changed address. All the back copies have just turned up! One a bit damaged, having part of a corner chewed off by a cockatoo which belongs to my grandchildren of Gairdner River (our original farm) which now belongs to son Francis and family. The magazines were there all this time! Make sure you note the new address.

Alice and I settled here in this lovely sited town of Esperance. Two sons, Paul and Danny, each farm some 110 km north east of here; we see them and families often, weekly. At least they keep us in meat and we grow and provide a few vegetables. All together a nice quiet evening of life, with many friends and acquaintances plus regular Mass, daily paper at the deli, then supermarkets as well! Luxury.

I must report this. After 67 years of Australia,

all in Western Australia, Alice and I (she is not Italian, by the way) we took a trip to Europe. First we went to Ireland to visit and stay with the priest, Father Tom Linnane, who married us 51 years ago at Mundaring. Father Tom retired to his ancestral land in County Clare – a lovely land I must say, very green! From there we went to Valtellina staying at a homely *albergo ristorante* in Sondrio where we were treated as family. We visited my birth place Casa Paini which is part of the Comune di Montagna and overlooks Sondrio. Ah! what a glorious place was Valtellina after 67 years! Just imagine it! The people were amazed at my broadly spoken dialect of *Montagnon*. I was 9 years old when we left, yet I remembered quite a bit of the geography: the snow-capped mountains and the lake of Como, the tunnels and also the Milan Railway Station. All these places I had only seen once on the way out to come to Australia.

I think I would be the only Italian so long absent and I wish I could afford another longer visit, but I first must visit other parts of Australia, something one should do before going overseas, I believe.

Cheerio to all of you. Home to Esperance! Sincerely, Peter (Piero) Bertola.



Peter Bertola and Alice Hill [centre] on their wedding day at Mundaring, Western Australia, 1950.

Bridegrooms and bridesmaids were: [left] Alessandro Bertola and Grace Hill and [right] Vince Armanasco and Maria Bertola.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The list outlines the books received by the Society by gift or purchase. They may not necessarily be recent releases. The Italian Historical Society Library is open to the public between 10.00 am and 4.00 pm Tuesday to Thursday. Access fee of \$4.00 applies to non members (Students \$2.00).

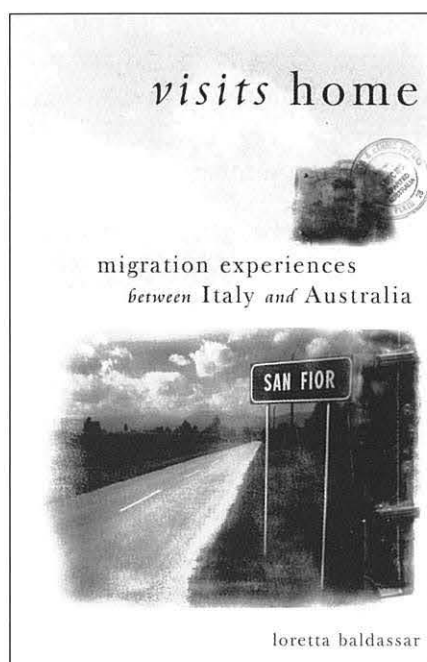
The accompanying illustrations are from the various publications.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE BOOKS

Visits Home: Migration Experiences between Italy and Australia.

Loretta Baldassar, Melbourne University Press, 2001. \$39.95.

An account of a remarkable 100 years of visits 'home' by a community of Italian-Australians from the village of San Fior near Treviso in the Veneto region. The poignant details of their experiences have parallels in those of all settlers in new lands — the painful farewells, the heartache of homesickness, the joyous reunions and the ambivalence of belonging. The author is herself a child of immigrant parents, and brings her own personal experiences to this engaging study. She explores the sense of homelessness commonly felt by both immigrants and their children, and looks with care and insight at the relationships between immigrants and also to that of their children. When 'home' is shifting centre, many people find solace in the temporary sense of home experiences during return visits. *Visits Home* is rich in vivid and intimate stories.



The Cook and the Maestro: Two brothers, two countries, two passions.

Judith Armstrong, Lothian Books, South Melbourne, 2001. \$29.95.

A dual biography of the lives of two gifted brothers: Sergio De Pieri, an acclaimed organist, and Stefano De Pieri, the larrikin chef of ABC television's 'Gondola on the Murray' cooking series. From a Veneto farmhouse to new worlds in Australia, this is an endearing tale of family, exploration and home.

Memories of the 20th Century: A Social Snapshot of Life Before 2000.

Arrow Publishing, Lowood Queensland, 2001. \$27.50.

A collection of 149 essays from a literary competition providing reflections upon changes in attitudes, personal recollections of the years between the two world wars and of major events in the 20th Century, the migration and settlement experience and life in rural Australia.

Journey Around Myself.

Tony Troiani, Insegna Publishers, Brunswick, 2001.

The story of a fictitious character, Tony Troia, whose life is drawn from the experiences of a generation of young Italian Australian migrants from the 1950s and 1960s. It is a quasi-autobiographical novel. This volume is the first in a series and covers the 50s and 60s.

Solid Brick Homes and Vegie Patches: A History of Italian Migration to Moonee Ponds.

Gioconda Di Lorenzo, Monograph No. 29. The History Department, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 2001.

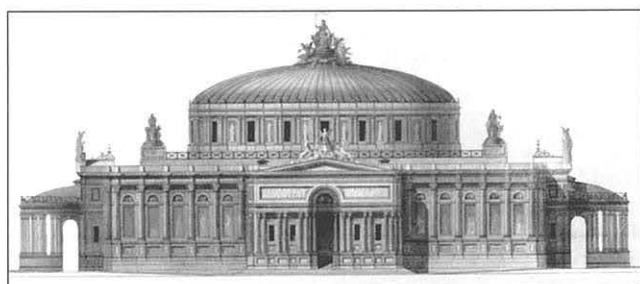
What initially started as an oral history project based on the memories of 27 Italian-born migrants, all residents of Moonee Ponds and members of the Circolo Pensionati di Moonee Ponds [Italian Senior Citizen's Club of Moonee Ponds], is now a thoroughly insightful account of the life of Italian immigrants in the suburb in the post-war era. The book also examines aspects of the Italian presence in the suburb throughout the twentieth century.

Augusto Lorenzini: Italian Artist Decorator in Victorian Sydney.

Scott Carlin and Megan Martin, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Glebe 2001.

This beautifully presented and written book was produced to accompany an exhibition of the same title of working drawings and designs by decorator

Augusto Lorenzini held at Elizabeth Bay House in mid-2001. Mega Martin's research into the life of Augusto Lorenzini is published for the first time along with an analysis of high Victorian decorative taste in New South Wales by the curator of Elizabeth Bay House, Scott Carlin. Lorenzini had arrived in Sydney in 1884 as one of a wave of Italian painters, sculptors and musicians who came to Australia in 1870s and 1880s. The fortuitous find of material in a locked trunk purchased by an Italian Australian at auction lead to the discovery of a remarkable collection of Lorenzini's drawings now acquired by the Historic Houses Trust of NSW. Sadly, Lorenzini's legacy in the form of intact decorative schemes has been almost entirely lost, either through being painted over or through demolition. However the archives of the artist's working drawings and designs held by the Trust are testimony of Lorenzini's contribution to Sydney's cultural history.



Elevation for a neoclassical public building, almost certainly an entry drawn by Lorenzini for the 1887 New South Wales State House competition.

***The Italian Medical Society of Victoria
Millenium Review.***

The Italian Medical Society of Victoria, Coburg, 2001. \$20.00.

A brief history of the contribution of past and present doctors to medicine in Australia. It also includes a directory of practising Italian Australian doctors in Victoria, as well as an Italian-English vocabulary of medical terms.

***Wrongful Prosecution of the Grollo
Brothers.***

Privately published by Grollo Australia Pty. Ltd., Thornbury, 2001.

A collection of excerpts of investigative and legal reports, correspondence and newspaper articles relating to the wrongful prosecution of Bruno and Rino Grollo and their accountant Bruce Dowding for alleged conspiracy to defraud the Commonwealth of Australia. This book gives an

interesting account of the lengthy legal battle which ultimately resulted in a full acquittal.

Espresso! Melbourne Coffee Stories.

Andrew Brown-May, Arcadia, Melbourne, 2001. \$16.50.

Celebrating a cultural revolution, this book chronicles Melbourne's coffee history and the personal desires and fortunes of the city's coffee pioneers amongst whom the Italian presence and contribution is well known. It is a small sized informative and interesting volume which has been illustrated with a number of photographs from the Italian Historical Society Collection.



Barman Angelo Guidolin at Don Camillo café, North Melbourne, c1955.

***Suburban Voices: Stories of Multicultural
Manningham.***

Whitehorse Manningham Regional Library Corporation, Box Hill, 2001. \$11.00.

An oral history Federation project produced to celebrate cultural diversity in the Manningham region and to acknowledge the contribution by members of its community.

***Quarant'anni di canto: An Illustrated
History of Brisbane's Giuseppe Verdi Choir.***

Franco Bottaz, The Giuseppe Verdi Choir Inc., Brisbane, 2001.

Written to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Giuseppe Verdi Choir of Brisbane, this short book chronicles the choir's achievements since 1958.

Walhalla Heyday.

Gwynydd Francis James and Charles Gordon Lee, East Side Printing, reprint 1999. \$36.00.

Originally published in 1970 and subsequently

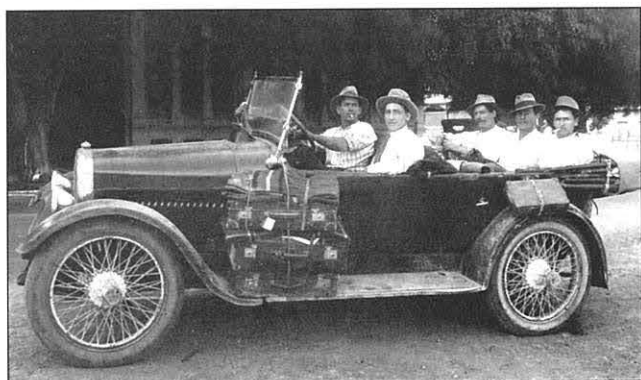
reprinted several times, this successful and beautifully illustrated book details the history of the gold discoveries, settlement, community life and calamities in the town of Walhalla and the surrounding mountainous region of North Eastern Victoria from the 1860s to c1910. A number of Italian and Swiss-Italian pioneers from Valtellina and from Poschiavo, settled in Walhalla in the 1880s.

ITALIAN LANGUAGE BOOKS

“Il perche andiedi in America...”: Immagini dell'emigrazione lucchese. La Valle del Serchio.

Maria Rosaria Ostuni, Pietro Luigi Biagioni, Annarita Rossi, Andra Santoro. Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, Lucca, 2001.

This is the first publication of the 'Archivio Paolo Cresci', an important archive recently acquired by the provincial government of Lucca. The holdings include important documents, photographs, newspapers and objects on the migration of people from the district of Lucca and nearby Garfagnana in Tuscany. The book contains images and documents of emigrants to the four corners of the world which are of exceptional visual quality and of great historical significance. Unfortunately the text is only in Italian!



Enrico Fiori, at the wheel, with fellow Italian migrants in Finch Hatton, North Queensland in the 1930s.

Polenta e goanna.

Emilio Gabbrielli, Angelo Pontecorboli Editore, Firenze, 2000.

This is a fascinating novel recounting the history of the meeting and odds between the Italian and the Aboriginal cultures. The narrative is based on the author's travel experiences in Western Australia and on stories of Italian migrants on the goldfields of Gwalia and Kalgoorlie.

Oltreoceano: Itinerari, luoghi e incontri con i giuliani e i dalmati sparsi nel mondo.

Marina Petronio, Edizioni ASTRA, Trieste, 2000. This publication is a compilation of migration and settlement stories of people from the districts of Gorizia, Trieste, Istria and Fiume whom the author has met during her travels to Australia, Canada, United States of America and South America.

Storie fuori dalla storia: Ricordo ed emozioni di emigrati giuliano-dalmati in Australia.

Viviana Facchinetti, Centro di Documentazione Multimediale della Cultura Giuliana, Istriana, Fiumana e Dalmata, Trieste, 2001.

A collection of individual stories of a number of migrants arrived in Australia in the 1950s from Trieste, Istria, Fiume and Pola. Part of this region was ceded to Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the Second World War. Many exiles from this area migrated as a consequence to Australia.

Stelle passanti.

Mariano Coreno, Caramanica Editore, Latina, 2001.

Coreno is a well-known Italian writer who migrated to Australia in 1956. In this fine collection of poetry both in Italian and in English he expresses his love for nature and mankind and finds inspiration in his migration experience.

*I went abroad
to seek my fortune.*

*I found
the same moon
and the same desperation.*

Ricordi.

Alessandro Faini, Insegna Publishers, Brunswick West, 2001.

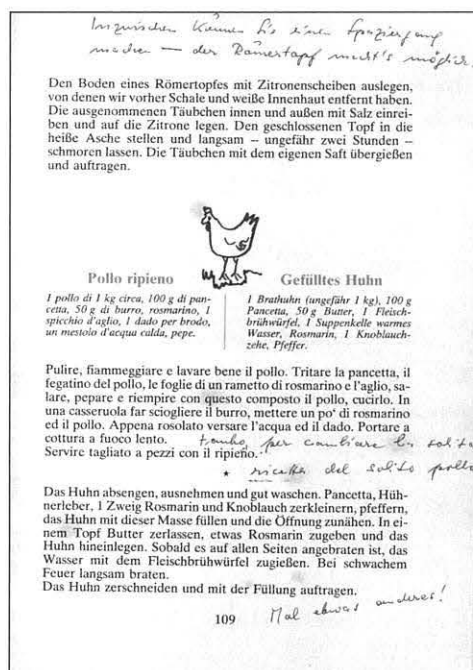
Faini was a journalist for the Italian language newspaper La Fiamma for more than twenty years from the 1960s. In this modest publication released soon after his recent death he recalls events and people who have left an impression in his life. His incisive wit and sense of humour which have always characterised his writing are evident in this collection of personal thoughts.

L'arte culinaria nel Ticino = Das kochbuch aus dem Tessin.

Desiderata von Zschinsky, Wolfgang Hölker, Munster, 1979. Sixth reprint 2000.

A delightfully presented cook book with Italian

and parallel German text of traditional recipes and foods from the Canton Ticino in Switzerland. The white and red chequered cover similar to a trattoria tablecloth and a number of hand-written comments next to the recipes add a homely character to this appealing publication. An English version would be extremely popular with the descendants of Australia's Swiss-Italians pioneers.



La religiosità popolare di San Marco in Lamis: Li còse de Ddì.

Gràzia Galante, Paolo Malagrino Editore, San Marco in Lamis, 1986.

An interesting presentation of religious festivals and traditions, prayers, songs and accounts of miracles from the town of San Marco in Lamis, Foggia. An important number of Sammarchesi immigrants arrived in Australia in the 1920s.



A religious procession to the Sanctuary of Monte Sant'Angelo, 1968.

La cucina tradizionale di San Marco in Lamis.

Grazia Galante, Paolo Malagrino Editore, San Marco in Lamis, 1986.

Enticingly delicious cooking traditions and recipes from San Marco in Lamis, Foggia which epitomises the best of the Mediterranean cuisine for its healthy and traditional merits.



A specialty of the cuisine of San Marco in Lamis is wood-oven bread.



ITALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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FONDAZIONE CASSAMARCA
Treviso

Primelife™ LexingtonGardens

When I first visited Lexington Gardens, in Westall Road, Springvale a year ago, I could not believe my eyes. Was I at the right address?

I was awe struck. Eleven years ago I stood in the same spot surrounded by brown bricks and dust. Food smells filled the air. It was humid.

They say you never get a second chance to make a first impression. Well, 11 years ago this place almost made me catch a return flight to Italy.

I am referring to the Enterprise Migrant Centre.

Purchased and developed by Primelife Corporation, this one-time dustbowl has become a popular address. Lexington Gardens, a Senior Living community, has sprawling gardens, tennis courts and bowling greens.

The old dingy Enterprise Migrant Centre rooms are no more. Instead Lexington Gardens now offers residents luxurious apartments at an affordable price. Card games on jerrycans under a tree have made way for a Community centre the size of seven tennis courts.

Lexington Gardens is a place where quality of life is of paramount importance.

Every time I visit Lexington Gardens, the trapdoor to my memory opens. I think back and reflect what was... and how wonderful it is now. It brings a tear to my eye.

Your mind, even for a moment stops, and like a cassette tape on playback, you relive certain moments, which seemed to be forgotten.

When I arrived from Italy I could speak no English. I knew I had to learn the language – and quickly.

I was living in Mount Waverley and through a Government grant, studied English at the old Enterprise Migrant Centre.

Well I was shocked! The teachers were great but the place was old and decaying, and also all those people! The stories they had to tell! Some left their home country because of lack of opportunity. Some left for political reasons. Me?

I decided to migrate because I followed my heart. The five hours of study at the Enterprise Migrant Centre became a chore. But as a young Doctor, I needed to learn the language so that I could sit for an Australian admission examination.

However, every day became heavier and heavier.

Not only were the buildings old and decrepit, but there were no flowers or green fields where I could relax and socialise.

Now the old Migrant Centre is gone. In its place is a complex which is an asset to the community. Lexington Gardens is a wonderful village for senior citizens.

There are luxurious apartments, beautiful gardens with flowers everywhere, a bowling green and tennis court, excellent Community Centre with computer room and internet access, library, craft room, games room, formal lounges, superb dining room, mail room, state-of-the-art kitchen and cappuccino lounge. This is only the first stage.

The next stage will include a magnificent reception area, heated pool and spa, retail store, gymnasium, hairdressing salon, consulting rooms for visiting professionals, podiatrist and manicurist.

There will be also a workshop for the avid handyman and a veggie patch for those with green fingers.

No doubt about it – Lexington Gardens is the place to be. Perhaps those responsible for building accommodation for migrants should visit Lexington Gardens.

First impressions last a lifetime.

Antonio Vaira



According to the 1996 Census, 4.4 million people - 24% of the total population living in Australia - were born overseas and originated from more than 200 different countries.

Another 3.5 million had one or both parents born overseas.

Another interesting statistic is that about 245,000 of the 19 million people living in Australia, were born in Italy.

Primelife is aware that Italian-born Australians represent the largest non-English speaking group and the fastest ageing group in the country. Also Primelife recognises the need to consider the culture of Italian people in the delivery of care and the risk of social isolation due to the language difficulties and cultural barriers.

Until a few years ago there was a small number of Italian people in Residential Care facilities. For many residential placement "meant they had entered the tomb before the time of Death". Primelife is changing this negative attitude with the provision of Residential Care facilities designed especially for them.

With Villa del Sole, Trevi Court and Medina Manor, the Italian community can now taste Italy and enjoy the lifestyle they richly deserve in popular Melbourne suburbs.



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