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The *Italian Historical Society Journal* aims to provide to those interested in the history of Italian-Australian 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 can be found on the last page of this issue.

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FRONT COVER: Playing bocce at Walhalla, c1910. The men and boys pictured include Giovanni Guatta, Sam Cabassi, Peter Guatta, Luigi Pianta, Steven Armanasco, Peter de Bondi, Charlie Cha Ling, Lorenzo de Bondi, Antonio [Tony] Guatta, Bortolo [Bob] Ferrari and Domenic Danesi. Most of the men worked as woodcutters, supplying wood for the gold mines in the Walhalla area.

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community life: italian speakers on the walhalla goldfield 1865-1915

by anna davine

Dr. Anna Davine is an honorary research fellow at the School of Historical Studies, University of Melbourne, and a member of the Professional Historians Association. Her main area of interest is Italian migration, particularly that of small groups in rural areas. In 2006, her book 'Vegnimo da Conco ma Simo Veneti': A Study of the Immigration and Settlement of the Veneti in Central and West Gippsland 1925-1970*, was published by the Italian Australian Institute at Latrobe University, Bundoora. The same year, she completed a PhD at the University of Melbourne and a book,* Neither here nor there: Italians and Swiss-Italians on the Walhalla goldfield 1865-1915*, based on her thesis, is due to be published in late 2008 by the IAI (info@iai.com.au). Her book will also contain a detailed names index. Anna has just published a book on the history of the Pastorelle Sisters, an Italian Congregation of Sisters who arrived in Australia after the Second World War. She is married to Derry and they have two children and three grandchildren.*

ABSTRACT*: In the decades following the discovery of gold around Walhalla in 1863, thousands of men and women flocked to the district in the following decades hoping to make their fortune. Among them were hundreds of Italians and Swiss Italians. I argue that it is problematic to maintain that Walhalla's settler society was a case of Anglo-Celtic groups versus the rest. A more likely scenario is that that the Walhalla community was made up of a variety of individuals, ethnic and national groups exchanging and negotiating boundaries in a frontier environment. Italians were on the goldfield from the beginning and helped shape Walhalla's economic and social life.*

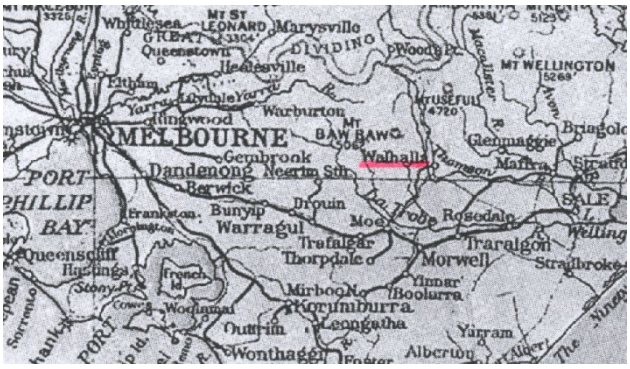

Fig. 1. An old map showing the location of the Walhalla area. Sourced from Internet.

IN EARLY 1863, alluvial gold was discovered at Stringers Creek (later named Walhalla), about 180 kilometres east of Melbourne and quartz reef gold mines quickly sprang up around the district. Then, and in the following decades, thousands of men and women came hoping to strike it rich or, at least, make a decent living. Among them were, at least, four hundred Italians or Italian speaking Swiss nationals, mainly from the Tirano province and the Ticino and southern Grisons cantons of Switzerland (Italians or Italian speakers).[1] Most came to Australia as sojourners intending to stay only a short time before returning home permanently. While many did return, a number remained and settled around the Walhalla goldfield. Some married or brought out wives and families, while others remained single. Italians generally lived in work clusters in the bush outside the township, cutting and transporting timber to the local gold mines. In local folklore, Italians are remembered as woodcutters and timber contractors but records show they really worked in a variety of occupations. Apart from miners, there were wine bar operators, hotel-keepers, boarding house owners, farmers, a boot-maker and a mining manager.

Italian speakers were part of Walhalla's early fabric, having been present since the district's first settlement. It seems unlikely that Walhalla's nineteenth century settler society was just a case of Anglo-Saxon-Celtic groups versus the rest, as typified in conventional colonial historiography, since it seems to me that there was no clear-cut division.[2] A more likely scenario

[1] This figure in itself suggests a still more inaccessible group which remained unrecorded because it escaped official or public attention.
[2] Local histories have often been histories of exclusion dominated by Anglo-centric accounts of progress and pioneer deeds. The term 'settler society' suggested the establishment of family and community, social institutions and some political bureaucracy. It often had rural connotations and followed the white occupation of land. See also

is that the goldfield was made up of a variety of individuals, ethnic and national groups exchanging and negotiating boundaries in a frontier environment. Walhalla's early citizens were mostly preoccupied with making as much money as possible from the gold diggings and related activities, rather than focused on local ethnic or national differences.

In 1948, a local, Henry Buchanan, recalled that Walhalla was 'a community where everyone knew everybody [and] in which there was practically no class distinction and there was a strong spirit of community helpfulness'.[3] While this may have been a nostalgic recollection of a bygone era, his observations do reflect the homogeneous nature of Walhalla's local society.[4] While English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh groups were dominant in numbers, the Italian presence was also significant. A multi-layered exchange took place between Italian and other groups, an interaction that was never static but evolving over the district's fifty years of gold mining activity. Double- sided bonds developed which saw relationships of co-operation, competitiveness and ambivalence both among Italians and between Italians and the wider local society.[5]

From 1865 onwards, most Italians – unlike the generally marginalised local Chinese – co-existed cordially alongside English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh and other groups.[6] This was in contrast to the later shabby treatment of Italians and Southern Europeans in Australia generally who, from the early 1900s, were faced with racial prejudice and injustice.[7] There are, at least, three reasons for a seemingly easy acceptance, both during early and later permanent settlement. Firstly, the time of migration; secondly, Walhalla's early homogeneous settlement; and thirdly, Italian contribution and value to the local economy.

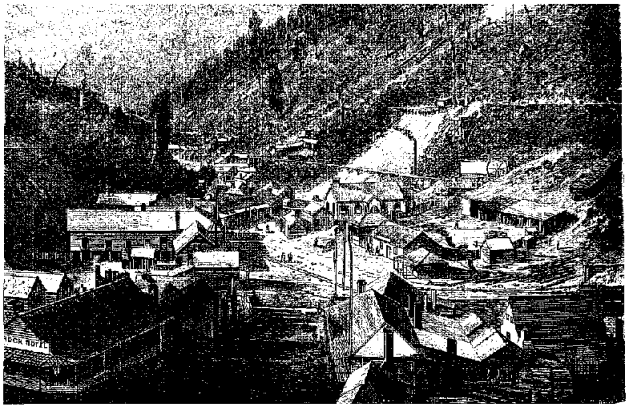

Fig. 2. Walhalla 1871. Source: A. Garran, Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Picturesque Atlas Publishing, Sydney, 1886.*

The time of migration was a significant factor in determining local acceptance of new arrivals, since in the nineteenth century there were few restrictions on European immigrants entering Australia. International politics also played their part. The 1881 Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Italy allowed free movement of their nationals between the two countries and their colonies. It stated in part that Italian and British nationals 'with their families … could enter, travel or reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party'.[8]

Italy's *risorgimento* had been applauded by Britain and the Australian colonies but, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, criticism of the country's political and economic mismanagement was vehement and outspoken in the English speaking press.[9] This state of affairs was also widely conceded and deplored by Italians too. However, antagonism did not filter down and polarize the local community in any way nor did it appear to impact on local Italians. Anti-Italian sentiments featured in the *Walhalla Chronicle* of 9 December 1898, but the newspaper's editorial was not directed

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Griffiths, T et al. (eds) 1997, *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies,* Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 8-10.

[3] Buchanan, H & Heazlewood, GF, 'Early Walhalla Reminiscences', *Victorian Historical Journal*, volume XX11, No. 4, January, 1950, p. 144.

[4] See Davison, G 2003, *The Use and Abuses of Australian History,* Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW, particularly chapter 11, pp. 197-220. Davison has well documented the ways in which Australians use the past, not just in national politics but in local and informal settings as well. Davison (ibid., p. 199.) refers to 'pioneer history' and the way in which an ageing gold rush generation recorded local achievements producing a flood of reminiscences for posterity.

[5] Castles S et al (eds) 1993, *The Age of Migration,* Guildford Press, New York, p. 23.

[6] Interview John Aldersea 19 March 2002. Local Chinese market gardeners were valued but remained marginalized.

[7] Lack J et al (eds) 1988, *Sources of Australian Immigration History* 1901-45, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, pp. 137-160. See also Bertola P, 'Undesirable Persons: Race & Western Australian Mining Legislation', McCalman I et al (eds) 2001, *Gold – Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects in Australia,* Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

[8] National Archives Australia (NAA) series A44/85, 1938/1047, Department of Interior letter to Attorney General's department, 7 September 1938.

[9] See also Bosworth, RJB 1979, *Italy, the Least of the Great Powers: Italian foreign policy before the First World War,* Cambridge University Press, New York.

against the Italian people, nor against local Italians, but against the home government 'where the whole of officialdom appears to be quite rotten and it would be a blessing if the nations and Press of the outer world would take up the case of Italy and keep on crying shame upon that country and its methods until constituted authority has the decency and humanity to redress the public grievances or go and hang themselves'.[10] In its way, negativity towards the Italian Government created sympathy and an empathy towards local Italians and the harsh conditions many of them had left behind.

In the Walhalla context, work clusters of Italian men were put into place as support platforms for economic and social purposes, and not as a response to a threat from outside influences. Clusters were the result of chain migration linking the home community to Walhalla and part of a survival system adapted to an Australian environment, aiming to provide work, sustenance and companionship for family and friends. Both the early and the later, more settled family clusters played a part in sustaining social and cultural practices transported from the home community to an alien and unfamiliar world.

While work clusters were often isolated and isolating, the nature of work obliged most Italians to live outside the Walhalla township, and there is no indication that clusters were the product of a defence mechanism put into place as a reaction to pressures or hostilities from outside forces. Italians were not segregated by their ethnicity. Some chose not to be involved in local affairs because of language difficulties or cultural differences.

Prior to 1890, local newspapers rarely gave any indication of division or antagonism towards non-English speakers, except occasional outbursts against the Chinese. Consistent use of the word 'Italian' in local newspapers discloses a lack of awareness of the fact that the term was used to describe not only Italian, but also Italian speaking Swiss nationals within local society. Occasionally, light humour was expressed over the difficulty with surnames, the lack of English or understanding displayed by various Italian individuals before the Courts, but it was rarely derogatory. For example, in February 1872, it was reported that 'two Italians whose names were so much alike that we could not tell "t'other from which" faced Police Court proceedings for removing timber from Crown Land without a woodcutter's licence'.[11]

The same case reveals official and community tolerance towards Italian woodcutters who broke local laws. The prosecutor, Constable Kelleher, told the Court that it was very difficult to get woodcutters to take out licences – 'in fact they very seldom did so until they were forced to by the commencement of prosecution charges against them'. Although his case was proved, Kelleher asked that the Italians be leniently dealt with as they had subsequently taken out the necessary licences. He suggested that a small fine be imposed as an example to others, 'to show them that getting a licence after they were summoned did not make the offence of cutting wood without that licence any the less an unlawful action'.[12]

Occasionally, local tensions surfaced but their basis was generally economically motivated and consistent with problems found in any gold mining society. Ambivalence surfaced towards Italian woodcutters who, on one hand, were much admired for their work ethic and contribution to the local economy but, on the other, were criticized for demanding better work conditions from their employers. In April 1891, in a knee-jerk reaction, the *Walhalla Chronicle* reported that:

> It is not often we have a strike at Walhalla but this has actually been threatened by Italian woodcutters on more than one occasion and failed through the determined action of the wood carters themselves. On this occasion (which was a very small one) eight men in the employ of Mr. G Nash (an employer here for 26 years standing) have struck work for a higher rate of cutting and have been replaced by Englishmen, who Mr. Nash has obtained from the Mirboo district. We are given to understand some of the strikers have been cutting without a licence and the police have the matter in hand.[13]

The matter was not taken any further as the Walhalla Court of Petty Sessions register shows that, between April 1891 and December 1892, no Italian was charged with cutting timber on Crown Land without a licence.[14]

In the early twentieth century, when worker discrimination against southern Europeans

[10] *Walhalla Chronicle (WC),* 9 December 1898. Editorial was quoting from a magazine article written by 'Ouida' titled 'The impeachment of modern Italy'. It also referred to 'rioting in Italy caused by the want of bread, bad laws and the crushing weight of having to keep up a burdensome military system beyond the ability of the people to sustain'.

[11] *WC* 21 February 1872.
[12] Ibid.
[13] *WC* 24 April 1891.
[14] Public Records Office Victoria (PROV), VPRS 359, units 2 & 3.

surfaced in Western Australia's goldfields and elsewhere, there is no suggestion that local attitudes had deteriorated towards the few Italians still employed locally.[15] For example, the 1904 Western Australia Commission Report into mining and labour practices found that charges for accepting lower wages could not be proved against southern Europeans, nor that they had been imported under agreement to work in the mines.[16] The 1906 Western Australia Mining Act required that mine workers readily and intelligibly speak English. Ostensibly, this guideline was driven by safety concerns, but it was also bound up with Anglo-centrism and issues concerning relations between employer and employees in the workplace.[17] In Walhalla, only a small number of Italians were recorded as deep reef miners and none of the tensions found in other diggings, or any inquiry into the supposed acceptance of lower wages by Italians, emerged locally. It may have been that, by the early 1900s, Walhalla's few remaining mines were struggling and the local Amalgamated Miners' Association was more concerned with the consequences of their closure and the future of its members.[18]

Exclusion of Italians and other non-Anglo peoples from power or authority was not necessarily planned but was an evolving factor of Victorian society. On a local level, prominent English-speaking men were more inclined to fill local government and administrative positions.[19] Carlson, Gervasoni and Reeves have demonstrated the interaction of minority groups with local society in other Victorian goldfields.[20] In Walhalla, I found there were no obvious barriers to personal advancement for ambitious individuals but that few Italians sought public roles. This disinterest or inaction is not surprising as many Italians saw themselves as sojourners who generally did not have a long-term interest in the district.[21] Those who became settlers were too preoccupied with economic and family commitments to seek out public office, a situation which could apply to both Italian and non-Italian alike.

Walhalla's Italian-speakers were bound together and drew their sense of identity from a common language, values, cultural traditions and practices peculiar to their districts of origin. Across time, the salient characteristic of the Italian speaking community was the overwhelming proportion of persons who were either related through kinship, whether by bloodlines or by marriage, or linked by village, district or province of origin. New arrivals re-connected to family and fellow *paesani* already in the district, some of whom were responsible for setting up the well-defined paths linking home to Walhalla. For most, bonds with their home district were ongoing, but fresh bonds developed between new arrivals and other Italians within the migrant settlement, which helped them to cope with change and provided a continuity of their traditional habits and values. It was also inclusive of the few from other Italian areas who were also residing on the goldfield.

I recorded 72 Italian-speaking men living in Walhalla and its surrounding districts between 1865 and 1875. This was out of a total of over 380 found between 1865 and 1915.[22] However, it is impossible to determine how many were living there at any given time. Prior to 1880, it is difficult to document many social activities involving Italians which could be defined as community based. It was only in the last one or two decades of the nineteenth century that Italian organizations were put into place to sustain and affirm the local migrant community's identity. These provided an important public function for Italians and were also instrumental in directly fostering social and cultural links with individuals, groups and organizations within the wider local society.

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[15] Bunbury B, 'Golden Opportunities – Immigration Workers on Western Australia's Eastern Goldfields 1900-1965', I. McCalman, *Forgotten Histories*, p. 142.
[16] *WC* 23 December 1904.
[17] Bertola, 'Undesirable Persons', p. 124.
[18] Fahey C, 'Labour & Trade Unionism in Victorian Goldmining Bendigo' in I. McCalman, *Forgotten Histories,* p. 76. The Amalgamated Miners Association was established in Victoria in the early 1880s and became an integral part of the community in mining towns.
[19] Davison G et al 1987, *Australians 1888*, part of *Australians: An Historical Library Series,* Fairfax, Syme & Weldon, Broadway NSW, p. 350.
[20] Carlson BR, 1997, 'Immigrant Placemaking in Colonial Victoria: The Italian-speaking Settlers of Daylesford', unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University, Melbourne, Gervasoni C 2006, *Bullboar, Macaroni & Mineral Water,* Hepburn Spring Swiss Italian Festa Inc., Hepburn Springs & Reeves KJ 2006, 'A Hidden History: The Chinese on the Mount Alexander Diggings, Central Victoria 1851-1901', unpublished PhD thesis, History Department, University of Melbourne.
[21] Lack J. (ed) 2003, Templeton J, *From the Mountains to the Bush: Italian Immigrants write home from Australia 1860-1962*, University of Western Australia Press, Crawley W.A., p. 48, made the same point in relation to sojourners.
[22] See Appendix 1 in book.

In relation to an Italian community and its functions, the only pre-1875 points of reference are limited to accounts from local newspaper, many issues of which have now been lost.[23] Although there were probably earlier ones, an early meeting place for Italians to socialize was the first registered wine bar in Walhalla, which was operated by Pietro Bertino, born in Rocca di Corio, Bergamo.[24] In 1872, he was granted a colonial wine licence for a house of 'four rooms exclusive of those required for family use', in Callows Lane, Walhalla.[25] Bertino held the licence until 1875.[26]

The first reference found in the *Walhalla Chronicle* of Italians congregating was in June 1875. It followed a work-related accident when Bernardo Bassanelli from Sernio, Tirano, was killed after a log struck him on the head and fractured his skull. A large number of mourners, including fifty Italians, gathered for the burial of Bassanelli, who

> came to an untimely end. [The funeral] left Meikle's Bush Hotel on Monday afternoon. He was carried to the cemetery by his countrymen [,] about fifty of whom followed his remains. The Roman Catholic service for the dead was conducted by Mr. W.J. Kelly, subsequent to making an address to those present, which we have heard severally commented upon by some of his foreign co-religionists.[27]

In July 1891, another chronicled burial was that of Michele Magatelli, who was killed when the branch of a tree struck him on the back of his head while he was cutting wood. On this occasion, the *Walhalla Chronicle* reported that Magatelli, who was born in Tovo, Tirano, was interred in the Walhalla cemetery attended by 'thirty of his countrymen and a number of other townspeople'.[28] This was significant since not only was there a large Italian contingent in attendance, but there were also a lot of local people paying their final respects to the dead man. Their participation reflects an economic and social contact between the parties and demonstrates camaraderie between workers within the district's society.

A considerable number of Walhalla's Italian men married non-Italian women. This facilitated social and cultural contact with other groups and made the men more likely to integrate into local society. Italians had strong religious links with the Irish by virtue of Catholicism and marriage to Irish women was common. Carlson, too, noted of the Daylesford Italians that 'if they couldn't marry an Italian girl generally they married Irish'.[29] It generally meant that they were unlikely to ever return home. The Table (see Appendix) is neither conclusive nor complete, and the origin of two thirds of the women charted is unclear.

A Catholic Church was built a few years after the discovery of gold and a strong Italo-Irish bond was also forged through church attendance and religious functions.[30] It is not known how many Italians attended on a regular basis, but Walhalla's baptismal register between 1891 and 1915 includes the names of 36 children from 18 Italian families.[31]

In 1869, a local St. Patrick's Society was formed and, for many years, St. Patrick's Day became one of Walhalla's popular days for public celebration and helped draw together the district's different groups.[32] The extent of Italian involvement is not clear but, in some years, Italian males were among the event's organizers. Luigi Bruni was one who, with his wife Mary, was on the planning committee of the 1885 St. Patrick's Day annual picnic of the Catholic Sunday school.[33] There are no records of Bruni's involvement in previous years but his involvement was likely, since Luigi had been in Walhalla since 1868, if not earlier, and had married Mary Jane Smith, a local girl, in 1873.

Evidence of ethnic and religious tolerance in Walhalla emerges from the following account of St. Patrick's Day in 1885, written by a non-Catholic observer:

> Although this picnic is known as the Catholic school picnic [,] it would be more appropriate were it called by some such name as the Walhalla public picnic [,] for the liberal minded committee sinking all question of creed or religion, have made their annual event so popular that the

[23] *Walhalla Chronicle.*
[24] Victorian Birth, Death & Marriage indices.
[25] *WC* 7 March 1872.
[26] The licence may have been transferred to Pietro Bernaschi.
[27] *WC* 28 June 1875. PROV, VPRS 24/P, Unit 326, file no. 585/1875. File named 'Barsanelli'.
[28] *WC* 17 July 1891.
[29] Carlson B, 'Parallel Lives in Northern Italy and Central Victoria', Pascoe R et al 1998, *The Passeggiata of Exile: The Italian Story in Australia,* Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne, p. 83.
[30] I could not find the date when the church was erected.
[31] Guatta W, 'Walhalla's Italians' in *Italian Historical Society Journal (IHSJ)*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Carlton, 2000, p. 18. By 'Italian' I mean someone with an Italian father.
[32] *Gippsland Times* 15 May 1869.
[33] *WC* 20 March 1885. NAA Series A712/1 1875/H5075, Luigi Bruni was born in Brusio, Switzerland in c1836 and arrived on the *Carntyne* in 1855.

> great majority of the inhabitants of the town and district yearly attend the celebrations [,] and are made welcome and enjoy themselves as fully as those for whose especial benefit the picnic is supposed to be got up. This year was no exception to the rule and Catholic and Episcopalian and Dissenter joined in harmony to spend a pleasant day, and that they fully succeeded was evinced by the satisfied look on every face at the close of day. Inner comforts of the inner man were attentively ministered by the Mesdames Rice, Costello, Bruni, Chalmer, Shallue, Enright. [34]

The following year, St. Patrick's Day was again celebrated in fine fashion. An Italian chorus was part of the day's entertainment and the occasion was enthusiastically reported as follows:

> As usual the attendance was large, all creeds and countries being heartily welcomed and entertained by the management [,] and it was clearly to be seen that the most cordial feeling existed between all denominations – a feeling that is yearly fostered and strengthened on these gatherings, when true Irish hospitality is extended to all comers… During the day the State School flute and drum band, under Mr. Carvosse, played selections of music and the proceedings were further enlivened by Mr. Singleton's concertina playing and the excellent singing by a party of Italians.[35]

By the late 1880s, for reasons unknown, the celebration of St. Patrick's Day ceased to be a significant local occasion. Its decline was commented upon by the local newspaper as previously it had been a 'most successful gathering and liberally contributed to by residents of every nationality'.[36]

Italian men joined Walhalla's Masonic Lodge and several took up office within the association. Between 1879 and 1918, Walhalla Lodge No. 69 had just eight Italian members, but the men on record all had business interests and were involved in the local economy.[37] Those named were Angelo Monigatti, Pietro Monigatti, Pietro Raselli, Domenico Moratti, Luigi Gherardo Borserini, Bartolo Ferrari, John Antonio Merlo and Phillip Charles Fermio.

People cannot live side by side without some sort of interaction taking place and business success generally requires a wide circle of contacts. While many Italians joined local institutions for economic networking, it is likely that there were also broader social and cultural implications as well.[38] Initially, interchange may have been exclusively economic, but many Italians had moved or were moving outside the boundaries of their work clusters, encouraged and warmed by outside friendships and links. Over time, they became distanced from some of their old world ways, broadened their horizons and moved in a wider social circle as they engaged more and more with an Anglo-centric world.

Italians also belonged to local friendly societies. These provided social welfare benefits to paid-up members for accidents, ill health and unemployment.[39] In December 1887, Luigi Bruni was elected an officer of the Walhalla branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters. While there are no known records of his re-election, it was unlikely a one-off situation.[40] Filippo Fermio, another Italian, was also elected at the same time. There are no continuous records of membership remaining but extant sources reveal that, in 1890, Fermio was re-elected as an office bearer.[41] Other members of the society included E. Battaiolli, who was appointed an office bearer in December 1896, and Giovanni Armanasco, who was on the Ball Committee of the Foresters 32nd anniversary ball of 1898.[42]

In the early 1890s, and possibly earlier, an Italian Society was formed. There are no remaining records of its foundation members and composition, but its place within Walhalla's communal life was important as it helped manifest and promote an Italian identity within local society. The Society's members participated in public celebrations and rituals which affirmed Walhalla's identity. For example, in May 1894, the Italian Society was part of a community hospital parade which was conducted to help raise funds for leading Melbourne hospitals. The march featured an open-air service and procession and all Walhalla's friendly societies were represented. Thirty nine people marched behind the Italian

[34] *WC* 20 March 1885. The reference to 'chapel' suggests a Protestant writer.
[35] *WC* 19 March 1886.
[36] *WC* 23 March 1888.
[37] Walhalla Lodge No. 69, an extract from Members of Lodge No. 1700 (EC) – 1876-1950.
[38] Carlson, 'Immigrant Placemaking', pp. 52-55, also found that successful and prominent Italian speakers in Daylesford joined their local Masonic Lodge and friendly societies probably for business reasons.
[39] Renfree N, 'Friendly Societies: An Unexpected Source of History of Italian-Speaking Pioneers' in *IHSJ*, Vol. 9, No. 2, July-December 2001, p. 20.
[40] *WC* 15 December 1887.
[41] *WC* 3 January 1891. Another member was G. Pianta.
[42] *WC* 18 December 1896 & 9 September 1898.

Society's banner.[43] In 1899, in celebration of an anniversary of the Miners and Engine Drivers Union, the Italian Society took part in a procession which included eight local associations marching together in full regalia with their specific banners and flags down Walhalla's main street.[44] Nothing remains of the Society's regalia.

Fig. 3. Walhalla procession 1905, WH Lee, Accession no. H86/98/160, Latrobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

An Italian choir was already operating in Walhalla in the late 1880s but, sometime in the 1890s and very likely under the umbrella of the Italian Society, an Italian Choral Society was officially formed. It became a rich contributor to the community's ethos and identity and provided a popular form of entertainment for the local population. In hindsight, the Italian Choral Society played a vital role in placing Italians and their singing prowess within local folklore and history. On many occasions, the choir was backed by the popular Mountaineers' Brass Band. These musical events were well publicized and popular and 'first class programs' were printed. In October 1898, the *Walhalla Chronicle* reported that the Mountaineers' Brass Band had played several selections in the Rotunda, along Stringers Creek and 'was ably' assisted by the Italian choir'.[45] It was a full program and the Italians gave a stirring performance singing five numbers. In the feature, the *Walhalla Chronicle* also reflected on the dangers local gold miners faced and the fragility of life itself. It gave a moving description of the concerns and uncertainties found within nineteenth century gold mining communities which encompassed all groups. Before the concert commenced:

> A much sadder ceremony had to be concluded before the strains of the band or the lusty voices of the swarthy cheeked sons of Italy could find vent in song. High up on the opposite cliff were gathered together a number of black coated figures, miners and miner's sons awaiting the coffin containing the mortal remains of one of their mates, one who succumbed to the dread skeleton ever stalking on the paths of the hardy sons of toil assisting in raising the yellow metal from the bowels of the earth – miner's complaint.[46]

The Italian Choral Society's involvement and participation in social and cultural events fostered community goodwill. In January 1900, at a benefit concert for bush fire victims, the choir rendered several pieces including *Nel silenzio della notte* and provided the finale for the night.[47] In March, a street procession and an open-air concert were held for the Empire Patriotic Fund and, again, the Italian Choir participated, on this occasion singing *La Violetta.*[48]

Sometime in the early 1890s, Walhalla's Casualty Hospital was opened but, over time, locals referred to it as a 'white elephant' because it was never fully occupied.[49] However, local Italians utilized the hospital's medical services and facilities on a regular basis whenever they were ill or incapacitated. The hospital proved to be important to those who lived alone, or in out-of-the-way places in the bush and who had no wife or family to look after them. It appears that an unofficial or informal mutual aid society for Italians was already in existence at the time. In August 1892, the *Walhalla Chronicle* reported that Antonio Tognella was injured when a log he was splitting fell on him, pinned him and broke his leg.[50] He remained in the Casualty Hospital for six weeks before returning to his hut, having spent several extra weeks of recovery time in the relative comfort of the hospital due to his countrymen contributing toward his accommodation there.[51] In August 1897, the *Walhalla Chronicle* reported that 'no less than five Italian woodcutters, all of them suffering from fractures of a more or less serious nature, sustained whilst at work in the bush, have been treated, inclusive of the two at present occupying the spare ward of the hospital'.[52]

[43] *Walhalla Miner (WM)* 4 May 1898. £26 ($2600) was collected.
[44] *WM* 22 February 1899.
[45] *WC* 21 October 1898.
[46] Ibid.
[47] *WC* 26 January 1900.
[48] *WC* 23 February 1900.
[49] *WC* 5 August 1892.
[50] He left Walhalla in c. 1896.
[51] See *WC* 28 October 1892 for possible reference to a mutual aid society.
[52] *WC* 13 August 1897.

In December 1897, a group of Italians officially formed the Italian Medical Aid Society under the 'moving spirit' of James Renaldi, a local wood contractor and identity, to provide medical attention and nursing services for Italians who met with an accident and needed assistance.[53] In early 1899, the Italian Medical Aid Society held its annual meeting.[54] When the official business was over, the night became a social affair and light entertainment was provided in the form of songs sung by 'N. Ferrari' and the Italian Choral Society.[55] A week later, members of the Italian Medical Aid Society took part in the procession through town that was held as part of the Labour Eight Hour Day celebrations.[56]

By the early 1900s, the Italian Medical Aid Society was struggling with numbers and had not been able to satisfactorily achieve its long term goals of nurturing and supporting sick members. Poor yields from local gold mines led to a declining Italian male population which, together with competition for members from the Amalgamated Miners' Association, led to the Society's inevitable decline.[57] The Italian Society and Italian Choral Society, too, survived only as long as there were enough men remaining and working locally.

The assassination of King Humbert of Italy in 1900 was commemorated at a sacred concert organized by Walhalla's Italian residents and supported by the local officials, council members, ministers of religion and the local Member of Parliament.[58] There were outpourings of sympathy towards Italians for their loss. It was also reported that a portrait of the dead king was to hang in the Mechanics' Hall.[59]

It is largely due to the popularity of the Italian choir if impressions of singing Italians and their musical capabilities have remained in Walhalla's folklore, even though several recollections reveal a stereotyped and romanticized view. It was aided by the popularity of the Italian Choir. Memory is an imprecise tool and is often clouded by later and retrospective perceptions of the actual events. As Phillipe Nora wrote, 'memory should be seen as being in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, […] vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation'.[60]

In her memoir, Isabella Cleugh (who was born in Walhalla in 1866 and left in 1881), recalled that, as an adolescent, she had received some tuition to play the piano and singing lessons. The exotic nature of young Italian male singers clearly impressed the young Cleugh at the time:

> About four on Saturday afternoons they (sic Italians) would trail in and having finished their shopping [and] had a pow-wow with their resident countrymen. They would trek back to their huts about 8 pm. After they left the township they'd start singing. Some of them had splendid voices and when singing quartets it was a great treat to listen to them. I was told some of them were clever musicians, both instrumentalists and vocalists. [61]

Cleugh provided a favorable account of Italian males and an insight into the role of intermediaries who assisted comrades when their English was inadequate to transact the purchase of supplies and other necessities from local shopkeepers. She wrote:

> Once a fortnight on Saturday afternoons, the Italian woodcutters would come into Walhalla for their fortnightly rations. Some could speak very good English, some pidgin, and some none. The ones who could not speak English had a spokesman. I believe it was very funny to be in the shops listening to them, but good humour always prevailed, and according to the shopkeepers, good payers.[62]

It is debatable whether Italians saw the need to challenge the status quo of Walhalla society, since they were, from its infancy, a small but significant element within it. They helped shape the district's economic and social life and were an accepted part of its multi-layered community. If they appeared to be marginalized because they lived in

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[53] *WC* 15 December 1897.
NAA Series A712/1 1897/F7350 Giacomo Rinaldi/Renaldi (later Renaldy) was born in 1851 in Sernio, Tirano.
[54] *WC,* 22 February 1899.
[55] Guatta, *IHSJ*, p. 15, members of Italian Choir, at this time, included F. Bassarollo (E Battajolli), C. Del Frate, G. Giudici, G. Armanasco, G. Pelusi, D. Cabassi, D. Della Torre, P. Fopoli and A. Rossi.
[56] *WC,* 2 March 1900.
[57] Amalgamated Miners' Association was established in 1881; in 1884 it had 140 members, but no names register has been found.
[58] *WC*, 14 September 1900.
[59] *WC,* 26 October 1900.
[60] Nora P, 'Between History and Memory: Les lieux de Memoire' in *Representations* 26, spring 1989, p. 8.
[61] Cleugh IF 1944, *Childhood Reminiscences of Early Walhalla – Walhalla and its inhabitants as I knew them*, reprinted 2003, Paoletti's ('Adventurer') Maps and Videos P/L, Langwarrin p. 49. See also de Prada L 1978, *My Walhalla,* Gippsland Printers, Morwell, for an Italian descendant's memoir.
[62] Cleugh, p. 49.

work/migrant clusters outside Walhalla's perimeters, it must be noted that it was only for economic reasons that they lived in isolated locations on the goldfield where their skills could be best utilized. Language and cultural differences have not been addressed here in great detail, but it is likely that some Italians chose not to integrate, or be involved in the wider society, because they already had kin and *paesani* around them who continued to provide moral and social support.

Economic tensions in other mining centres in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, particularly Western Australia, did not surface locally to any great extent, probably because Walhalla's Italians had been in the district for decades and were already part of the district's make-up. Organizations were set up by Italian leaders to promote and celebrate their social and cultural identity within the wider community. Their participation in communal celebrations contributed to Walhalla's identity and helped cement their place within the district's ethos.

APPENDIX

KNOWN MIXED MARRIAGES OF MALE ITALIAN-SPEAKERS IN WALHALLA – 1865-1915.
Birthplaces, if known, in brackets after the name

MALES	FEMALES
Giuseppe Battanta (Someo, Ticino)	Julia Sullivan (probably Ireland)
Pietro Bertino (Rocca di Corio, Bergamo)	Lydia Mary Sleeman (England)
Pietro Bernasocchi (Carasso, Ticino)	Elizabeth O'Connor (probably Ireland)
Luigi Gherardo Borserini (Stazzona, Tirano)	Jane Anne Ratcliffe
Martino Borserio (Villa di Tirano, Tirano)	Jane ?? (later married Giovanni Pianta)
Giuseppe Antonio Luigi Bruni (Ticino)	Mary Jane Smith
Giovanni Cabassi (Tirano)	Susan Patterson (probably Ireland)
Giuseppe Calanchini (Switzerland)	Alice (Limerick, Ireland)
Vittorio Campagnolo (Bergamo)	Anne Gray (Ireland)
Matteo Canali (Tovo, Tirano)	Mary Tippett (probably Ireland)
Bernardo Contessa (Lombardy)	possibly Mary Ann McKenzie
Antonio Crameri (Poschiavo, Switzerland)	Catherine McDonald
Carlo Della Torre (Tirano)	Rose Oliver
Filippo Fermio (Lovero, Tirano)	Mary ??
Giovanni Godino (Piedmont), later known as James Gordon	Maria Lazel (England)
Enrico Antonio Iseppi (Brusio, Switzerland)	Mary Annie Smith
Pietro Costantino Iseppi (Brusio, Switzerland)	Sarah Ann Watson
Giovanni Tommaso Monigatti (Brusio Switzerland)	Edith Bates (England)
Lucio Monigatti (Brusio, Switzerland)	Margaret Mary Collins (Ireland) (later married Pietro Negri)
Michelangiolo Stub Monteagresti (Livorno)	Alice Maud Callanan (Ireland)
Pietro Negri (Tirano)	Margaret Mary Monigatti (Collins) (Ireland)
Giacomo Gabriele Passini (Switzerland)	Annie Augusta Pinch
Giuseppe Pianta (Madonna di Tirano)	Hannah Fry Fraser
Giovanni Pianta	Jane Borserio
Antonio Giacomo Plozza (Tirano)	First wife: Emilia Badorotto – returned home 'second wife': Ethel May Seear (Walhalla)
Francesco Raffaele (Sicily)	Priscilla Dunsby
Antonio Simonin (Italy)	Mary McDonnell
Giovanni Togni (Italy)	Priscilla ??

Source: Victorian Birth Death & Marriage indices. The table includes males who were, at some time, in the Walhalla district. Most couples were not married in Walhalla; some couples married prior to arrival in Walhalla and others married after the Italian male's departure from the district.

giuseppe garibaldi
between myth and reality

by gianfranco cresciani

Castellano Memorial Lecture given at the Dante Alighieri Society, Brisbane, 17 August 2007.

Gianfranco Cresciani emigrated from Trieste to Sydney in 1962. He worked for EPT, the Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Ministry for the Arts of the NSW Government on cultural and migration issues. In 1989 and 1994 he was member of the Australian Delegation re-negotiating with the Italian Government the Italo-Australian Cultural Agreement. Master of Arts (First Class Honours) from Sydney University in 1978. Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, from the University of New South Wales in 2005, in recognition of "distinguished eminence in the field of history". In 2004 the Italian Government awarded him the honour of Cavaliere Ufficiale dell'Ordine al Merito for facilitating cultural exchanges between Italy and Australia. He has produced books, articles, exhibitions and radio and television programs in Australia and Italy on the history of Italian migration to Australia.

Fig. 1. Giuseppe Garibaldi. Photo sourced from Internet.

THIS YEAR MARKS the 200th anniversary of the birth of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Born on 4 July 1807 in Nice, a city then under the administration of the Kingdom of Sardinia, throughout his life Garibaldi enjoyed unprecedented popularity in Italy and abroad. In 1864 half a million Londoners lined the streets to cheer Garibaldi when he paid a visit to that city[1] (1) and in Italy his appeal had religious overtones. In many a squalid hovel of peasant Southern Italy, his portrait hung beside that of the Madonna, and to speak ill of him, (*ha parlato male di Garibaldi*), was tantamount to *lèse majesté.* His admirers eulogised him as the "Hero of the Two Worlds", the *invitto Duce* (undefeated leader), the *condottiero* (soldier of fortune), the *apostolo della libertà* (the apostle of freedom), and what in the Twentieth Century would be called a personality cult was built around his figure. Indeed he was, throughout the history of the *Risorgimento* and of Liberal and Fascist Italy, the most popular and revered member of that triad, together with Mazzini and Cavour, that was credited with engineering single-handedly the unification of Italy, under the paternal approval of that picaresque character who was King Victor Emmanuel II, the *re galantuomo*, the gentleman king, better known as the *re galante*, the gallant king – even though the adjective "randy" might be more apt in consideration of his sexual exploits, worthy of a Giacomo Casanova, among the peasant womenfolk of Piedmont. Garibaldi's greatest triumph was the overthrow, in 1860, of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the event which precipitated Italian unification. In May of that year, he landed in Sicily with a volunteer force of 1,070 men, the famous *Mille* (Thousand). Within two weeks this force had taken Palermo, forcing the capitulation of an army of 20,000 regulars. In August, Garibaldi crossed to the Italian mainland, routed the Neapolitan army

[1] Denis Mack Smith, *Italy. A Modern History,* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959, p. 118.

and captured Naples. This feat became one of the great legends of the Nineteenth Century, both because of the skill with which Garibaldi overcame vast military odds and, equally importantly, because of the potent political symbolism of the event in an age in which the process of the nationalisation of the masses had begun, and people increasingly responded to the clarion call of nationalism in a Europe still in the grip of the Holy Alliance.

Garibaldi's fame is also alive and well in contemporary Italy. A survey carried out in July 2007 on a sample of 1002 people by the *Istituto di Studi Giuseppe Garibaldi*, found out that 46.4 per cent Italians still considered Garibaldi by far the most significant national figure, followed by Mussolini (15.5 %) and by Silvio Berlusconi (5.4%). The interviewees admired him for his courage, patriotism, heroism and tenacity, although 41 per cent considered Garibaldi an adventurer and 31 per cent a megalomaniac. His popularity spread across the entire political spectrum; 31 per cent considered him to be a Republican, 21 per cent a Socialist, 11 per cent Communist, 7 per cent Anarchist, 6 per cent a Freemason and one per cent a Fascist.[2]

However, not all contemporary Italians share a positive view of Garibaldi. If in the past he was dubbed "thief on land" and "sea pirate" by clerical diehards, today's fellow-countrymen are even more scathing. On 4 July 2007, during the bicentenary celebrations at the Italian Senate, Roberto Calderoli of the Northern League declared that "we are grieving, because Garibaldi's and the Savoy Monarchy's activities have ruined *Padania* (e.g. Northern Italy) and the South, which previously were very well off as they were" (*stavano benissimo come stavano*). The League's paper, *Padania,* on the same day was venomous in its condemnation of Garibaldi, calling him "a slave-trader, a violent character, a pirate without scruples, a staunch anti-clerical, manoeuvred by the puppeteers of the *Risorgimento's* swindle". Southern parliamentarians levelled similar criticism when they asked the rhetorical question: "Garibaldi a hero? Only a coloniser, a person manoeuvred by the Savoy dynasty, who started the cynical project of plunging the South into poverty. Until unification, in the vaults of the Bank of Sicily and the Bank of Naples there were gold reserves double those in all other Italian states put together. Thereafter, that money was sent North and Southern emigration began".[3] Also in July 2007, the Lombardy Region printed ten thousand copies of a *History of Lombardy* in cartoons, which was distributed to state schools, in which the name of Garibaldi was not even mentioned. Its editor stated that it was better to speak of the Five Days of Milan in 1848, when its inhabitants fought against the Austrian occupiers, than of Garibaldi.[4] Likewise in the South, on 5 July 2007 the mayor of the Sicilian town of Capo d'Orlando changed the name of the street bearing the name of Garibaldi, justifying his action by saying that "it is a fact that Garibaldi bode ill for Sicily by being involved in crime and violence".[5] Even more scurrilous allegations were advanced on an internet site in Salerno, where it was claimed that "Garibaldi was not tall, was plagued by rheumatism, was stooped and two people had to lift him on his horse … people in the South say that he wore his hair long because a girl, whom he was raping, bit off one of his ears. This man was not a hero; today we would call him a criminal, a terrorist, a mercenary".[6]

In fact, since Garibaldi's death, people who, inspired by his deeds, carried out guerrilla activities or conspired against the established political order, lionised him. On the contrary, his detractors continued to defame him and to play down his contribution to the history of Italy. Triestine historian Fabio Cusin, in his *Anti-History of Italy,* reminds us that, "in many parts of Italy Garibaldi will be considered a hero for the very reason that his reactionary detractors tried to soil his name by calling him a brigand".[7] In fact, Southern peasants, oppressed under the Bourbon rule, initially saw in Garibaldi the deliverer of their plight, the champion of their rights, a Nineteenth Century version of an Italian Che Guevara. When their hopes were dashed by Garibaldi, as well as by the new Piedmontese rulers, who ruthlessly declared a state of siege and imposed martial law, they turned to a form of partisan warfare that, between 1860 and 1870, saw half of the Italian Army, some 86 regiments totalling 211.500 Italian soldiers, employed in counter-insurgency operations. Twenty three thousand troops died in combat, while the "brigands", as they were disparagingly called by the Piedmontese, suffered 250,000 killed, executed or imprisoned. Half a million of those who offered resistance were sentenced to jail terms

[2] *Corriere della Sera*, 16 July 2007.
[3] *Corriere della Sera*, 5 July 2007.
[4] *Corriere della Sera*, 6 July 2007.
[5] *La Sicilia,* 5 July 2007.
[6] www.infinito.it/utenti/s/s.martino.sannita/Brigantaggio/Personaggi/Garibaldi01.htm
[7] Fabio Cusin, *Antistoria d'Italia,* Mondadori, Milan 1970, p. 74.

and twelve thousand were deported to the North. However, the "brigands" were not destroyed, they found another form of rebellion: emigration.[8]

During the Twentieth Century, both the Left and the Right of the Italian political spectrum *strumentalizzarono* (to use that ugly and much misused Italian verb), took possession of the myth of Garibaldi for their own ends. He became a man for all seasons. During the Spanish Civil War, the Twelfth International Brigade had a Garibaldi Battalion[9] and on 12 November 1941, a group of Italian political refugees in Mexico City, among whom Francesco Frola, a Socialist from Turin, Mario Montagnana, Communist leader and brother-in-law of Palmiro Togliatti, and Vittorio Vidali, the legendary commander of the Fifth Regiment in the Spanish Civil War, founded the *Alleanza Internazionale Giuseppe Garibaldi*.[10] Branches of the *Alleanza* were established in most South American countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Egypt.[11] In an issue of its bulletin, *Informacion Italiana,* the *Alleanza* stated that June was a *mes sagrado,* a holy month for anti-Fascists, because Garibaldi died on 2 June 1882. He was described as "the hero of Italian *Risorgimento* … a fighter for world freedom … a hero of a thousand battles … not an Italian figure, but a universal one, like Washington, Bolivar, Juárez".[12] In 1954, an anti-Fascist organisation by the name *Azione Garibaldi* (Garibaldi Action) was also active in Buenos Aires.[13] In Australia, the first issue of the anti-Fascist newspaper *Il Risveglio* (The Awakening), published in Sydney in August 1944, displayed on its front page a large portrait of Garibaldi.[14] Also, between 1943 and 1945, all Communist partisan formations fighting the German Army and its Fascist collaborators bore the name of Garibaldi Brigades.

Fig. 2. The Garibaldi myth down under. This photograph, taken in Melbourne c.1938, shows members and sympathisers of the Casa d'Italia club during a May Day rally. The placards on the left, probably painted by Australian artist Noel Counihan, contrast 'Garibaldi's Italy' with 'Mussolini's Italy'. © C. Canteri & Italian Historical Society, CoAsIt.

Fig. 3. A close-up of the placard representing 'Garibaldi's Italy' shown in Fig. 2. © C. Canteri and Italian Historical Society, CoAsIt.

From the Right, the Fascist Regime carried out a similar operation of appropriating the Garibaldi myth. On 4 June 1932, at the inauguration of the monument to Anita Garibaldi in Rome, Mussolini stated that "my Black Shirts … are politically on the same ideal wavelength as the Red Shirts and their *condottiero*".[15] On 16 March 1927, Mussolini received Ezio Garibaldi, son of Ricciotti, leading a group of red shirted *garibaldini*. On that occasion, Garibaldi's nephew, who in 1929 would become a member of the Fascist Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, declared that the Duce was the heir and successor of Garibaldi and indeed, that he was a truer and bigger leader.[16] More importantly, in 1932 the Regime began publishing Garibaldi's complete works. Its editors took pains to emphasise that

[8] http://www.morronedelsannio.com/sud/brigantaggio.htm
[9] Anthony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain,* Phoenix 2006, p. 234.
[10] Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia. 1922-1945,* Australian National University Press, Canberra 1980, p. 199. Also, Federica Bertagna, *La patria di riserva. L'emigrazione fascista in Argentina,* Donzelli, Roma 2006, p. 194.
[11] Cresciani Archive, Leaflet by the *Alleanza Garibaldi,* dated April 1945.
[12] Cresciani Archive, *Informacion Italiana,* un-dated.
[13] Bertagna, op. cit., p. 240.
[14] Cresciani Archive, *Il Risveglio* newspaper, August 1944.
[15] Luigi Salvatorelli and Giovanni Mira, *Storia d'Italia nel periodo fascista,* Einaudi, Turin 1961, p. 500.
[16] Ibid., pp. 386-387.

Garibaldi's ideas acted as forerunners to Mussolini's policy, synthetised in the aphorism *Libro e Moschetto* (Book and Musket).[17]

The representation of Garibaldi, dressed in either nationalist or subversive garb, is reminiscent of an old portrait which has been touched up or even painted over by people who wanted to impose their own interpretative models for their personal or factional interests. In order to restore the work to its original form, the alterations and accretions must by necessity be removed. Likewise, the antiseptic nationalist iconography portraying Garibaldi as a pure, naïve and disinterested hero of Italian unification wilfully ignores the fundamental political and ideological chasm and the ensuing acrimonious relationship that separated him from the two other "apostles", Cavour and Mazzini, and must be rejected. Also discarded must be the extremist image of a Garibaldi criminally committed to subvert the established political and social order. Historical reality is more complex and lies, as often is the case, somewhere in the middle.

Far from being the submissive fellow-traveller of the Savoy dynasty in its ruthless quest to expand its rule to Central and Southern Italy, as the mythology of the *Risorgimento* would lead us to believe, Garibaldi, a staunch Republican, was enough of a realist to see that Piedmont's policy ran counter his plans to establish a Republican dictatorship in the South. The pathetic utterances "*obbedisco*" (I obey) at Aspromonte, and "Sire, I give to you a United Italy" at Teano, put in Garibaldi's mouth by zealous nationalists, were never made. In his *Memorie,* he unambiguously stated that "Cavour's Government cast a net of entrapments, of miserable opposition which beset our expedition to the very end", and further, that "the Savoy monarchy, by nature suspicious, did not act for the common good. Badly advised, it tried to consolidate its hold by trampling on people's rights and causing their misery".[18] In order to explain his apparently contradictory behaviour, he declared in his *Testamento Politico* (Political Will) that, "although Italy has the worst government possible, whenever there is no chance to overthrow it, I believe it is better to abide by Dante's great dictum: Make Italy even with the devil".[19]

Cavour deceived Garibaldi and manipulated him to serve his own interests, a fact that Garibaldi was well aware of. For instance, at the outset of the Expedition of the *Mille*, Cavour was decidedly hostile, and denied access to guns and money that Garibaldi could source in Milan. However, when the Piedmontese statesman realised that the expedition would go ahead irrespectively, he lent his assistance by putting at Garibaldi's heels a watchdog, Giuseppe La Farina, by supplying money, weapons and ammunition, by corrupting Bourbon public officials and by granting safe passage to Sicily to the two vessels carrying the *Mille*, escorted by the Sardinian Navy. Cavour's unscrupulous use of Garibaldi's volunteer army brings to mind other, more recent episodes of the Italian State's covert and questionable operations, like the Gladio stay-behind scheme, the unlawful manipulation of Right-wing extremists by treacherous members of the Italian Secret Service, the *servizi deviati,* or the less known plan by Defence Minister Paolo Emilio Taviani to supply weapons during the Cold War to Triestine Nationalist associations in the eventuality of an invasion of the city by Marshal Tito's Army.[20] However, when Garibaldi's actions ran against the interests of the Kingdom of Piedmont, he was quickly and ruthlessly brought to order, as in October 1860, when he was forced to relinquish control of the Kingdon of the Two Sicilies to the Piedmontese Army. Garibaldi's capitulation ended his revolutionary dictatorship. Similarly, in 1862, Garibaldi's attempt to "liberate" Rome from the Pope, who since 1849 was under the protection of a French garrison, was crushed by the Italian army at Aspromonte, when its troops fired on the *garibaldini,* killing a dozen of them and wounding Garibaldi, and summarily executed those who had deserted the Army to join the *garibaldini.* Garibaldi was taken prisoner and jailed in a fortress at Varignano, near La Spezia. Again in 1867, when the general, in his last attempt to wrestle Rome from the Pope, was defeated at Mentana by a French expeditionary corps, the Italian Government did not afford him any assistance, mindful of not further worsening Italo-French relations. Rather than Garibaldi's deeds, it was the complex diplomatic game played by the Savoy Monarchy and the Great Powers that brought about the unification of Italy. British interests in Naples and in Sicily favoured the Expedition of the Thousand. French interests kept at bay Italy's eagerness to conquer Rome until 20 September 1870, when Italian

[17] Giuseppe Armani's introduction to Garibaldi's *Memorie,* Rizzoli, Milano 1982, p. 18.
[18] Garibaldi, *Memorie,* op. cit., p. 386.
[19] Ibid., pp. 246 and 390.

[20] Silvio Maranzana, *Le armi per Trieste Italiana,* Edizioni Italo Svevo, Trieste 2003, pp. 71-148.

bersaglieri breached Rome's walls at Porta Pia and entered the Eternal City, finally putting to an end the Pope's temporal rule. This not so daring act was made possible only because twenty days earlier, on 1 September 1870, the Prussian Army had defeated the French Army at Sedan. Emperor Napoleon III was made a prisoner, thus precipitating the fall of his Empire and, on 4 September, the proclamation of the Republic in Paris. History would repeat itself seventy years later when, in June 1940, another unprincipled Italian Government would treacherously stab in the back a France prostrated by the German *blitzkrieg,* in order, as Mussolini brutally put it, to throw on the negotiating table the weight of a thousand fallen Italians.

Also Garibaldi's romanticised libertarianism must be reassessed when confronted with his actions during the conquest of Sicily in 1860. Courageous, riding a white horse, brandishing a sword and wearing a red mantle, blond and blue-eyed, eating bread and onions, prone to rhetorical flights, he was the physical antithesis of those sombre, black-clothed, black-bearded, *lupara*-branding (gunshot), silent and sad-looking Sicilians who were asking for the protection of their homes and feuds, and protection from social revolution. The Mafia dominated the Sicilian countryside well before the arrival of the Hero of the Two Worlds. At first, Garibaldi sided with the thousands of peasants who enthusiastically rallied to fight for him with their sickles and farming tools, enticed by his promises of land redistribution and cheaper food; but he soon realised that he could not govern without the support of the landlords and the Mafia. When, in August 1860, the *cafoni* (destitute peasants) in the village of Bronte occupied the lands granted by the Bourbons to Lord Nelson and his British heirs, Garibaldi sent Nino Bixio and a detachment of *garibaldini* to re-establish "public order", as well as to safeguard British interests. Two Royal Navy's vessels berthed in the harbour of Marsala, instructed to facilitate Garibaldi's landing and protect British property, like the Nelson estate and the Ingham family owned Marsala wine bottling plant. Bixio arrested the ringleaders and ordered the summary execution in the village square of five "communists" or "communards" as they were called, because they were upholding the local *comune* (Council's) interests. This was the price the landowners demanded in exchange for backing the nationalist revolution. Following this episode of wanton repression, support for Garibaldi waned among Sicilian peasants. Yet again, the Mafia had flexed its muscles, as it would on 1 May 1947 in a similar instance, when it commissioned the men of another "hero" of Sicilian brigandage, the bandit Salvatore Giuliano, to fire upon "Communist" peasants demonstrating in support of land redistribution at Portella della Ginestra, near Palermo. Nine adults and two children were murdered.

A third aspect of Garibaldi's political philosophy must be put in a proper historical perspective, that is, his rabid anti-clericalism, which transcended his political opposition to the Pope as the Head of a State that hindered Italian unification. At the time, opposition at a popular level found its expression in malevolent satire, like Gioacchino Belli's sonnets, which are a testimony to the rampant anti-clericalism being publicly vented even under the Vatican walls. Beside his valiant role in the episode of the Roman Republic in 1849, on three occasions, in 1860, 1862 and 1867, Garibaldi tried to march on Rome to rid the Eternal City of its clerical government. In doing so, he imitated what Italian historian Luciano Canfora in his recent book *La prima marcia su Roma*[21] described as the very first march, carried out by Octavian, Caesar's adoptive son, who in July 43 B.C. was appointed Consul by the Roman Senate after his army threatened to enter Rome. Garibaldi was a precursor of the many marches, studding modern Italian history, which aimed to overthrow the legally established Government. Gabriele D'Annunzio and his *legionari* in September 1919, Mussolini and his *squadristi* in October 1922, Junio Valerio Borghese and his *guardie forestali* (Forestry Guards) in December 1970 all attempted, the first two successfully, to carry out a *coup d'état*. Even today, this tendency to use the threat of violence for political ends is criminally appealing to some Italians. On 15 June 2007, a member of the Executive of the Northern League boasted that ten million people were ready to march on Rome to overthrow the Prodi Government,[22] and in an interview given to Milan's *Corriere della Sera* on 22 July 2007, the leader of Northern League, Umberto Bossi (convicted, like Mussolini in his Socialist days, for defaming the Italian flag) declared that "millions of people are ready to take to the streets" to bring down Prime Minister Prodi.[23]

Garibaldi's anti-clericalism had its foundations in the fact that he was a Freemason. In 1862 he was bestowed with the

[21] Luciano Canfora, *La prima marcia su Roma,* Laterza, Bari 2007.
[22] *La Repubblica,* 17 June 2007.
[23] Corriere della Sera, 23 July 2007.

title of *Primo Massone d'Italia* (First Freemason of Italy) and in May-June 1864 he was elected to the position of Grand Master of the Great Orient of Italy.[24] The fact that most Sicilian politicians of the time were Freemasons, from Crispi to his minder La Farina, even to Don Liborio Romano, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, made Garibaldi's conquest of the South easy by means of corruption and connivance. In his addresses to Freemasons of 18 March and 21 June 1867, he unequivocally spelt out the link between his Masonic credo and his political and military action: "With our example and our unshakeable, constant, heroic practice of the holy principles that Freemasonry put into practice across the centuries, despite barbaric persecutions, we will forge this Italy of ours, with the brotherhood of her peoples, by fastening them in a *fascio* [bundle of rods containing an axe], under the glorious flag of Freemasonry, anticipating political unity. … I believe the Freemasons to be the elect part of the Italian people".[25]

Garibaldi could count on the financial support of the Fremasons of Italy, Great Britain and other countries. La Farina donated eight thousand lire towards the Expedition of the Thousand,[26] while British Freemasons contributed with a considerable amount of Turkish piastres. Most of the 94,000 lire that financed the expedition[27] were Freemasons' money. Other funds came from the requisition of five million ducats from the Bank of Sicily and from ransacking all churches found on the *garibaldini's* way. Even a diehard anticlerical like King Victor Emmanuel complained to Cavour about Garibaldi's cavalier methods of funding his campaign. In his letter, the King claimed that "this man is not so docile and honest as he is portrayed … the immense damage that occurred here, for example the infamous theft of all monies from Treasury, can be wholly ascribed to him. He surrounded himself with scoundrels, followed their bad advice and plunged this unhappy country in a horrible situation".[28]

King Victor Emmanuel's scathing remarks were no doubt dictated by his profound antipathy against the general, although it is true that not all of the *Mille* were irreproachable, blameless characters. Garibaldi himself, with scant regard for the truth, described his followers, in his novel *I Mille,* published in 1874, as "all generally having an awful background, mainly as thieves and, with few exceptions, with the roots of their genealogical tree implanted in the dung heap of violence and murder".[29] Undoubtedly, Garibaldi's outburst was motivated in part by the bitter disillusionment that he felt for the way Piedmont had managed the annexation of the South and by the fact that many of "his" *garibaldini,* despite their past as irregulars, had been forgivingly drafted into the Italian Army. Already after Aspromonte he lambasted Piedmont's policy: "From 1860 to 1863, in less than three years, you have disbanded a national army [that is, his *garibaldini*]. You have caused brigandage to ravage the Southern provinces. You have sold two Italian provinces [that is, his native Nice and Savoy]. You have embezzled some billions in order to carry out these nice schemes. Truly, you really are the incarnation of Italian imbecility".[30]

In spite of his anti-clericalism, republicanism, Freemasonry, internationalism and pacifism, or perhaps because of these beliefs, Garibaldi enjoyed widespread popularity throughout Europe. His fame reached also far-away, colonial Australia. Perhaps the most famous *garibaldino* in Australian eyes was Raffaello Carboni, better known for his earlier role in, and eyewitness account of, the Eureka Stockade revolt in 1854. In 1849, he had taken part in Garibaldi's failed enterprise to oust French troops from Rome. In 1860 Carboni reached Palermo and, allegedly upon recommendation by Garibaldi, was appointed translator in the office of the provisional government's Secretary-General and future Italian Prime Minister, Francesco Crispi. In this capacity, he translated the correspondence between Crispi and British Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell.[31] Another *garibaldino* who landed in Australia was Gian Carlo Asselin, a Neapolitan who had taken part in the liberal uprising of 1848 and in Garibaldi's Roman Republic in 1849, and who would become Italian Vice-Consul in Sydney in 1861.

As in many other countries, also Australia witnessed an inflation of Garibaldi-naming of streets, places and shops, as well as a spate of celebrations honouring the general. In April 1864, Austrian painter Eugen Von Guerard sketched the Garibaldi Claim near Hepburn,

[24] Aldo Alessandro Mola, *Storia della Massoneria italiana dall'Unità alla Repubblica*, Bompiani 1976, pp. 50 and 766.
[25] Ibid., p. 92.
[26] Garibaldi, *Memorie,* op. cit., p. 247.
[27] Giuliano Procacci, *History of the Italian People,* Penguin Books, Ringwood 1968, p. 318.
[28] www.infinito.it/utenti/s/s.martino.sannita/Brigantaggio/Personaggi/Garibaldi01.htm
[29] Aldo Alessandro Mola, op. cit., p. 55.
[30] Ibid., p. 57.
[31] Desmond O'Grady, *Raffaello! Raffaello!,* Hale & Iremonger, Sydney 1985, pp. 52-65 and 226-244.

Victoria, where there also was a Garibaldi settlement, and a gold mine was named after Garibaldi at Solferino and Lionsville near Tabulam, in Northern NSW. Gough Whitlam, in his book *My Italian Notebook,* comments that the use of the name of Garibaldi was widespread in the Victorian goldfields: "In 1860, Garibaldi Gully was opened between Ballarat and Daylesford and the Garibaldi Lead was discovered at Fiery Creek near Beaufort. Buggins Flat near Wedderburn, where gold had been discovered in 1852, was renamed the Garibaldi Goldfield in 1860. In 1862 a new field near Woods Point in Gippsland was named after him and in 1868 a new lead near Beechworth. In Sydney, John Cuneo built the Garibaldi Inn in Hunters Hill".[32] Records show that in the 1890s a Garibaldi Township was settled by Chinese tin miners in North Eastern Tasmania, and was abandoned during the First World War.[33] On the artistic side, in 1859 the Gawler Institute in South Australia offered a prize for the best musical composition for Caroline Carleton's verse *Song of Australia.* Neapolitan migrant and Garibaldi follower Cesare Cutolo submitted a composition bearing the title *Garibaldi,* to which the judges awarded second place.[34]

In May 1861 the – for the time – remarkable sum of 358 pounds was collected among Garibaldi's admirers in Melbourne. A Sword of Honour, purchased with this money and sent to the British Embassy in Turin, was presented to the general in Caprera on 15 August of that year. The accompanying letter rather bombastically stated that "in you, the subscribers of this sword honour qualities which, while they have enabled you to become the saviour of your country, have entitled you to take the rank with Leonidas in valour, and with Washington in virtue". Garibaldi in reply thanked the organising committee for the gift and, in a thinly veiled reference to the Piedmontese government, said that "I am enraged by the delay interposed by inept and cowardly [government officials] between affronted Italy and my duty".[35] At times, the name of Garibaldi was unintentionally implicated in tragic events, as was the case in January 1995, when a food poisoning outbreak that killed one child and made others critically ill was traced back to sausages produced by the Adelaide company Garibaldi Smallgoods Pty Ltd. For weeks, the media spoke *ad nauseam* of "the Garibaldi effect" and of the "Garibaldi affair".[36] In Sydney, one of the landmarks frequented by Italians during the 'Sixties and the 'Seventies was Mario Abbiezzi's *Garibaldi Bar,* with its huge mural portraying the general on his white horse. During the Resistance, Abbiezzi fought with the 52nd Garibaldi Brigade and was credited to be among those who captured Mussolini at Dongo in April 1945.[37]

Fig. 4. The visit of the Duke of Genoa and the captain and officers of the Italian ship Garibaldi to the No. 3 'Band and Albion Consols G. M. Co's' gold mine in Ballarat, 29 April 1873. The Garibaldi was probably the first Italian warship to visit Australia after the Unification of Italy. Image courtesy Ballarat Historical Park Association.

The arrival in 1873 of the Italian frigate *Garibaldi* rekindled Australians' interest in the deeds of the general. This interest was heightened in 1882, at the time of Garibaldi's death. On 17 June 1882, Sicilian Socialist Francesco Sceusa organised a memorial service at the Garden Palace in Sydney, attended by over ten thousand people. A large papier mâché bust of Garibaldi towered in the hall. The newspaper *Illustrated Sydney News* highlighted the event in its first page with an artistic impression of the hall. It also reported that "flags and other appropriate emblems

[32] Edward Gough Whitlam, *My Italian Notebook,* Allen& Unwin, Sydney 2002, p. 22.
[33] http://www.heritageatrisk.org.au/TAS_-_Garibaldi_Township.html
[34] Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to Be Afraid. Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide 1996, pp. 34-35.
[35] Cresciani Archive, *List of Subscribers to the Sword of Honour presented to General Garibaldi by his Admirers in Australia*, Pamphlet printed at the Punch General Printing Office, Melbourne 1861.
[36] http://www.agrifood.info/review/1995/Pointon.html. Also, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/8.30/helthrpt/hstories/hr161002.htm
[37] *La Fiamma* newspaper, 24 March 1986.

were disposed about the building with great effect. In front of the platform there was a colossal bust of Garibaldi, admirably executed by signor Sani in six days, and which occupies a prominent place in our engraving. The whole of the decorations were designed by Signor Francesco Sceusa of the Survey Department and carried out with artistic completeness".[38]

Yet, the most direct connection between Garibaldi and Australia, the fact that the general briefly visited this country, was little known until the late 'Seventies, when the Author mentioned to former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam that Garibaldi, then in command of the vessel *Carmen,* in December 1852 had landed on Three Hummock Island, off the coast of Tasmania. Whitlam was very excited by this piece of information, and wrote an article in *The Sydney Review.* He later reported the story in his book *My Italian Notebook*.[39] In fact, Garibaldi mentioned his brief encounter with Australia in his *Memorie,* waxing lyrical on the idyllic environment found on that lonely island that, as he put it, "deliciously excited my imagination when, sick of the civilised society so well supplied with priests and police agents, I return in thought to that pleasant bay".[40]

A stronger, also hardly known, Australian link with Garibaldi was the presence in Melbourne, from 1875 to 1880, of his son Ricciotti, born to Anita Garibaldi. During the early 1870s he was living with his father in Caprera but, "unable to settle in that chaotic environment, full of lovers, sons, step-children and visitors continuously coming to pay homage to the general",[41] Ricciotti fled to London, where on 2 July 1874 he married Constance Hopcraft, an aristocratic woman, a strong Methodist and a close friend of Florence Nightingale. Seven months later they landed in Melbourne, where they lived for six years in dire poverty. Ricciotti found employment as fishmonger and baker, and worked for the local Council. In Australia, Constance gave birth to five of their thirteen children. Giuseppe, born in 1875, died soon after birth, as did Irene Teresa, while the surviving children, Rosa, Anita Italia and Giuseppe (Peppino) were born in 1876, 1878 and 1879 respectively. In 1880, Ricciotti, Constance and their children returned to Caprera, "because Giuseppe Garibaldi was dying and wanted to see his sons and grandchildren". It was Constance who would record from the voice of a dying Garibaldi his family history.[42]

Garibaldi's death began that long process of evaluation of his political and historical legacy that is continuing today. On the one hand, it was simpler to manufacture the myth of Garibaldi as a hero *par excellence* of Italian unification. Nationalist canonization served the purpose of sweeping under the carpet all Garibaldi's ideas and actions that were incongruent with, or antithetic to the mythology of unification pursued by the Savoyard Establishment. In some way, what Tancredi said in Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's novel *The Leopard,* referring to Sicily's political situation, that "if we want things to remain as they are, everything will have to change",[43] could be extended to the whole process of unification, a unification that was pursued by a small minority. As the Prince of Salina said in *The Leopard*, "in these last six months since your Garibaldi set foot in Marsala, too many things have been started without our being consulted".[44] Garibaldi's radical, revolutionary zeal, his republicanism and internationalism crashed against the immovable force of conservatism, of monarchical and factional interests and of a powerful social and economic structure.

On the other hand, the Left also idealised Garibaldi, without setting in a proper political context his pragmatism, his apparent contradictions, his perceived caving in to the conservative agenda of the Northern bourgeoisie. As Antonio Gramsci shrewdly commented, "the masses remained a passive spectator, cheered Garibaldi, did not understand Cavour, waited for the king to solve the problems besetting them, that is, poverty and economic and feudal oppression".[45] In his letter 'Oppressed and Oppressors', Gramsci again returned on the issue of the masses being a victim of the Garibaldi myth: "We Italians adore Garibaldi; since childhood we were taught to admire him, Carducci enthused us with his Garibaldi legend … everybody cries 'Hail Garibaldi' and nobody 'Hail the King' without being able to put forward a logical explanation … in Italy the

[38] Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates. Italian Life in Australia,* Knockmore Enterprises, Sydney 1988, pp. 26-7.
[39] Edward Gough Whitlam, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
[40] Giuseppe Garibaldi, *Memorie,* op. cit., p. 200.
[41] http://digilander.libero.it/fiammecremisi/carneade/znipoti.htm
[42] Ibid.
[43] Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo,* Feltrinelli, Milan 1962, p. 42.
[44] Ibid., p. 209.
[45] Antonio Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo. 1919-1920,* Einaudi, Turin 1970, p. 329.

Reds, the Greens, the Yellows idolise Garibaldi without truly appreciating his noble ideas".[46]

The fame of Garibaldi, misunderstood hero of Italian unification, a "difficult hero", as Enrico Iachello and Antonio Di Grado qualified him in their lecture at the *Casa d'Italia* in Sydney on 7 July 2007, endures even today. Throughout his life, marked by ambiguities and contradictions, he swam against the current of Great Power politics, well after the revolutionary, the "heroic" era had ended. The period that followed was characterised by a complex and duplicitous process of Savoyard territorial expansion, which took advantage of the opportunities offered by a favourable international situation. In this scenario, Garibaldi was a distraction, an embarrassment, a temporary hindrance to Cavour's scheming, to be *strumentalizzato,* relegated to Caprera or even shot at when his interventionism did not fit the strategic vision of expansionist Piedmont. No doubt, Garibaldi, like George Bush Junior, sincerely believed in the spread of freedom by force of arms, yet his idealism was tempered by the realisation that his almost religious faith in republicanism, internationalism, the abolition of privileges, the disbandment of a permanent army and the elimination of war, ran counter to the *Realpolitik* of the time and all that Cavour, the king and even Mazzini stood for. His understanding of Italian peasantry was utopian and naïve. What the Southern *cafoni* really meant when they were clamouring for liberty was that they wanted bread, land and fewer taxes. In a way, their misconception of what Garibaldi was offering is reminiscent of that manifested by the Russian *kulaks* who, during the December 1825 Decembrist uprising, cried out outside St Petersburg's Winter Palace for the Constitution, believing it was the Tsar's wife. Garibaldi admitted to the devastating consequences of his campaign in the South when in 1868 he wrote to Adelaide Cairoli, that "today I would not take again the road to Southern Italy, fearing of being pelted with stones, as we brought there only misery and stirred up only hatred" (*non rifarei oggi la via dell'Italia meridionale, temendo di essere preso a sassate, essendosi cagionato colà solo squallore e suscitato solo odio*).[47]

The Romantic myth built around Garibaldi is in stark contrast with the prosaic reality of his life and actions. Far from being the faithful husband of Anita, during his life he collected three wives, eight children and dozens of lovers. In 1859, he was involved at the same time in four torrid affairs. The following year, on 24 January, aged 53, he married Giuseppina Raimondi, the eighteen year-old daughter of a *garibaldino* Marquis. The marriage lasted less than day, as Garibaldi came to know after the ceremony that Giuseppina had an affair with the young *garibaldino* Luigi Caroli. In 1864, he began a relationship with a Piedmontese peasant, Francesca Armosino, who gave him three children, Manlio, Clelia and Rosa. His bigamist relationship was legalised in 1879, when his marriage to Giuseppina Raimondi was annulled, and in 1880 Garibaldi was able to marry Francesca.[48]

Despite his proclaimed love for freedom, having conquered the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Garibaldi proclaimed himself a Dictator. It was an interesting revival of this word on European soil, perhaps a transfer from Latin America. Having no patience with the delays of parliamentary democracy, dictatorship was the natural form of government he had chosen for Southern Italy in 1860. At times, even his notorious anti-clericalism gave way to braggadocio. Denis Mack Smith recalls the episode in 1860, when Garibaldi "presided from the royal throne during pontifical high mass in the Cathedral of Palermo, claiming the royal rights of apostolic legateship, clad in red shirt and with sword unsheathed as the Gospel was read".[49]

Controversy, confrontation and conflict accompanied Garibaldi throughout his life. One would either love him dispassionately or nurture a deep, abiding hatred for his person and actions. There was no middle ground, no compromise. Today, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth, a lot of Italians still pass judgement on his legacy. On 10 August 2007, a symbolic trial of Garibaldi was held at San Mauro Pascoli, a small village in Romagna, famous for having posthumously called to the bar Mussolini and Mazzini. The prosecution was represented by historian Angela Pellicciari, author of the book *I panni sporchi dei Mille* (The Thousand's Dirty Linen), published by Liberal Libri, while the defence council was led by London-based historian Lucy Riall, who recently published the volume *Garibaldi. The Invention of a Hero*, edited by Yale University Press. Pellicciari maintained that Garibaldi was a brigand, the leader of a

[46] Antonio Gramsci, *2000 pagine di Gramsci. Lettere edite e inedite. 1912-1937*, Il Saggiatore, Milan 1964, p. 14.

[47] http://www.andriaroberto.com/garibaldi_il_processo.htm

[48] http://www.italia.it/wps/portal/en_channels?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/Tourism+Portal/EN+Speciali/EN+Speciali+2LV/Love+and+War

[49] Denis Mack Smith, op. cit., p. 16.

troublesome minority of so-called "patriots", dictatorial, wilfully excluding from power the peasant and Catholic masses, occupying, rather than liberating the South by proxy for Freemasonry's and British interests, a divisive and disruptive national force because of his anti-clericalism.

Lucy Riall, on the other hand, compared Garibaldi to Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, the Roman who was made twice dictator in the fifth Century B.C. and on each occasion resigned his dictatorship to return to his farm. Garibaldi, Riall pointed out, was an extraordinary man of action, a generous and legendary hero. He also withdrew to Caprera after his military exploits. He was politically "ductile", working with the Monarchy in spite of his republicanism, and therefore not so "ingenuous" as the historiography of the Left would want us to believe. He was a courageous leader, a brilliant military strategist, disinterested, incorruptible, a true hero.[50]

The Jury, formed by regional journalists, on the same evening issued its verdict: not guilty. The motivation read as follows: "Although recognising the excesses committed during the *garibaldini* campaigns, the jury decided not to issue a guilty verdict for lack of evidence. Therefore Garibaldi is a hero".[51] A similar verdict was reached on 13 April 2002 by the Jury of another symbolic trial held in Naples at the *Liceo* Garibaldi, where Garibaldi was declared not guilty, in the absence of creditable proof, of having caused "considerable moral, civic and economic damage to the people of the South", but was declared guilty of having invaded a legitimate kingdom without a proper declaration of war.[52]

These verdicts are hotly contested by those Italians who still believe that Garibaldi's deeds, after one hundred and fifty years, continue to have a negative impact on their lives, that the unresolved national problems and the social, economic and developmental disparity between North and South were caused by his pivotal role in precipitating Italy's unification. Another reason why the figure of Garibaldi looms large over contemporary Italian politics is that Italians have never metabolised Fascism's legacy or the tragic events of the civil war that raged in the country between 1943 and 1945. The fact that the Left held a hegemony over the myth of Garibaldi and mythologised the role of Communist *garibaldini* formations in the Resistance, in order to gain political and moral legitimacy in their quest to radically change Italian society, contributed to the creation of an unrelenting rift between the warring parties. On the other hand, Italian conservative, clerical and capitalist interests indefatigably opposed the Left's political agenda and, as at the time of the Prince of Salina, also in Republican Italy everything changed to remain the same as before. The Right did not and, to date, as amply demonstrated by the Berlusconi government, does not want to subscribe to a shared vision of past Italian political events and is not in the slightest interested in healing the wounds inflicted to a fractured society by opposite ideologies.

In the final analysis, Garibaldi continues to be worshipped as a super hero, as a demiurge of the *Risorgimento* and, conversely, to be demonised and made responsible for the *questione meridionale,* for the problem of the South, that successive Italian governments have been historically unable or unwilling to tackle and resolve. To this effect, Giuseppe Garibaldi was and remains a complex, charismatic, contradictory, controversial and bewildering personality in contemporary Italian history.

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[50] *Corriere della Sera,* 25 July 2007. Also, http://www.romagnaoggi.it/showarticle.php?articleID=236492&section=news/Cesena

[51] http://www.romagnaoggi.it/showarticle.php?articleID=238695&storico=giorno&section=news/Cesena

[52] http://www.andriaroberto.com/garibaldi_il_processo.htm

family, friendship and a magic carpet: the music of franco cambareri

by john whiteoak

Dr. John Whiteoak is an honorary research fellow in the School of Music, Monash University. He has authored a monograph on the history of improvised music in 19th and 20th century Australia (Currency Press 1999) and was co-editor for the Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia *(2003). He writes on a wide range of music and dance topics and his current book project,* The Tango Touch*, among other things, documents the role of Italian-Australians in popular music. This article, the second in a series on Italian Australian musicians for this journal, (See December 2007 issue), concerns the musical career of Franco Cambareri who migrated to Melbourne after WW2 at fifteen years of age with almost no musical background. Through sheer self-determination and the support of his migrant family, he became a leading combo musician and arranger within and well beyond the Melbourne Italian community and, in creative collaboration with his wife Lucy (Lucia), today produces CDs of fascinating original dance music compositions that are, at the one time, Italian-Australian and International music.*

WHEN CALABRIAN-BORN accordionist and composer Franco Cambareri looks back on his nearly seven decades of life from the surrounds of his superbly appointed northern suburbs Melbourne home, the flood of memories and feeling he experiences must seem like a magic carpet ride: a varied and colorful journey – albeit with ups, downs, discomforts and exertions – shared for over four decades by his attractive and sharp-witted Puglia-born wife Lucy (Lucia). His own musical story, like that of many other notable Italian-Australian musicians, began "when he first heard the magic sound of the piano accordion, an instrument he promptly fell in love with and dreamed of one day possessing". [1] It continues in a present-day collaborative project with Lucy, resulting in the release of ten CDs of his instrumental compositions since 1992, including one that reached the top ten instrumental compositions category of the 2007 Australian Songwriters Association contest.

Franco's first musical love, the mellow and expressive accordion is, especially in the hands of a European master of styles, uniquely capable of carrying listeners to exotic or culturally distinctive lands or places. Therefore, as might be expected, the fascinating alchemy of styles, colors, textures and rhythms heard in Franco's compositions embody a magic carpet-like power as evocative sound-tracks for imaginary journeys. In fact, each composition is dedicated to a family member or treasured friend "in a musical style according to their country of origin".[2]

A REDISCOVERED FRIENDSHIP

Over the course of a lifetime it is not uncommon to meet with someone interesting that you take an immediate liking to and later regret that you were unable to get to know better. This was the case with Franco, whom I first met in 1963. I was twenty-one and not long returned to Melbourne after five years in the British merchant navy. Over this time, I had also studied at the British College of Accordionists in London and developed a passion for the Hispanic and Continental European repertoire which the accordion is so well suited to. Italy was where I first became captivated by what Franco calls the 'magic sound' of the accordion and, therefore, back in Melbourne, I was naturally drawn to the company of Italian-Australian accordionists and the venues where they played.

One lively meeting place for accordionists was the music school and shop adjacent to the

[1] See Franco Cambareri Profile at www.groovymusic.com.au/profiles

[2] Cover notes to his 2002 CD *A Sentimental Touch* (Colossus Records).

old Channel 7 Studios in Johnson St, Fitzroy, run by a young, but already very experienced accordionist and teacher, Lou Chiodo. It was here that I met Franco as a softly-spoken and good natured twenty-five year old. Despite his already considerable musical accomplishments, he was genuinely interested in my less promising musical outlook (I had studied the obscure European five-row button accordion instead of piano accordion), and generously offered what advice he could at the time. Most people change over time, but Franco remains the unpretentious and good natured enthusiast I met all those years ago. I am very glad to have finally reconnected with him to tell the story of his musical career and of how it segued into his ongoing composing and CD production project with Lucy. This article is drawn from recorded interviews, discussions and email communications with Franco and Lucy, combined with broader research into the Melbourne-Italian music and entertainment scene for other writing projects.[3]

UNLIKELY BEGINNINGS

The circumstances that brought Franco to Melbourne aboard the steamship Neptunia in 1953 were similar to those experienced by many of the young men who joined the 'Great Wave' of post-WW2 Italian migration. Two years earlier, Franco's father, Carmelo Cambareri, had apprehensively left his wife Elisabetta, his sons Franco and Filippo and his daughters Filomena and Grazia at their small historic *comune*, Calabaria, to come to Melbourne as a fare-paying migrant. His dream, as for most married men who emigrated alone, was to make a more promising future for his family than seemed possible in post-war Italy. As the eldest son, it fell to Franco to join his father as soon as practical to help prepare the way for the rest of the family, which was happily reunited in Melbourne during 1954.

When Franco descended the gang-plank at Port Melbourne alone as a fifteen-year old, he could not possibly have imagined what the future held for him and, especially, that a successful music career lay ahead of him. He had no family or educational background in music to speak of, and his immediate imperative was to accept whatever work was available to assist the immigration and establishment of the rest of the family. This work turned out to be unskilled factory work and car-washing. However, what he did have was a strong desire to play the piano-accordion and a family who would strongly support this enterprise.

A MUSIC EDUCATION

Despite coming to Australia without a formal musical background, Franco was to gain a very Italian-influenced musical education which added to his youthful recollections of the traditional and more modern popular music he had heard live or from Italian radio or recordings in Gerocarne. By 1955, enough family money could be spared to purchase a second-hand 120 bass Scandelli accordion. At seventeen – quite a late age for a beginner – Franco began weekly lessons with a Sicilian accordion player who lived next door to the Cambareris in Richardson Street, Brunswick. He also learned music reading and theory through the Italian music teaching method known as *solfeggio* from Alfredo Messina in Brunswick. The entwined learning of rhythm and pitch that is central to this method – as opposed to how these are taught in Australian musical education – arguably makes *solfeggio*-trained musicians more fluent as score readers and provides them with a stronger or more natural sense of pitch and rhythm. Franco says that *solfeggio* enabled him to read a score as naturally as reading the newspaper.

Despite learning rapidly, he eventually felt that he had to return to Italy to gain a much broader musical education and also find an accordion teacher who could bring his talent out to the fullest. In 1960, with the blessing of his family, he travelled to Rome and took up studies at the famous accordion academy Accademia Lanaro, where he learned every aspect of musicianship needed to become a professional musician, including composing and arranging. Accademia Lanaro was his defining musical learning experience. After only one year, however, he had to leave Italy to avoid becoming ensnared in the compulsory military service system and also because his mother Elisabetta very much wanted him back.

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

Back in Melbourne and now equipped with considerable musical knowledge and skill, Franco set his mind to becoming established in the local professional music scene. But there were many obstacles to overcome. The outlook for professional musicians became very bleak in Australia during the 1950s with the decline of the post-war jazz concert era, the collapse of the ballroom dancing scene and radio studio music, the impact of television upon live entertainment and the onset of the rock and pop era, among other factors. The situation

[3] See www.ausmdr.com

was worse by the early 1960s and some leading Anglo-Australian jazz musicians even joined popular Italian-led bands such as Mokambo Orchestra or Sergio's Four. On top of all this, the accordion, while remaining very popular with Italian-Australians and European-style venue proprietors, had almost no role in contemporary Australian rock, pop, jazz, country, cabaret or classical music. The 'world music' scene, which has widely re-popularised the accordion, was still 20 years into the future.

Franco's best chance of establishing himself, therefore, lay in combo work for the rapidly growing Melbourne Italian community. This mostly involved playing at *balli Italiani* (balls and cabaret balls), wedding receptions, *spettacoli* (variety shows), sporting or regional club and civic or church organized functions such as Italian National Day or Saints' *feste* (festival) functions. Commercial venues employing Italian bands were still very few in number and the lavish Italian clubs of today were yet to be built.

Italian bands such as Estrellita, Mokambo, Cumbachero or Mirabella were already well established in Melbourne by the late 1950s, and by 1964 there were numerous additional Italian bands servicing community events or, in some cases, running their own regular *balli Italiani*. Among these were Calypso, Sparti, Conchiglia D'Oro, Diavolo Rosso, Duo Moreno Quartet, Orchestra (Egidio) Bortoli, Orchestra (Lou) Toppano, Roma, Sombrero, Happy Boys, Orchestra Fochi, Jamaican Seven, El Bajon, El Melons, Mambo, Cabana, Capri, Los Costenos, Titanus, Florentine, Napoletana, Valencia and Los Muchachos.

For historical and other reasons, Italians have a special affinity with Hispanic musics. Franco himself points to the mass migration of Italians to Latin America and the ability of Italians to understand and sing lyrics in Spanish. Latin American dance music was very popular with Italian-Australians, and many bands adopted Latino names and promoted themselves as *orchestra Sud-Americana* or *orchestra Latina*. Some band leaders, such as Egido Bortoli, Ugo Ceresoli and television personality Lou Toppano, were long established accordionists of repute in this field, with public profiles extending well beyond the Italian community. Also at the forefront of the scene and leading their own combos were versatile professional entertainers and recording artists, such as the Latin music specialists Duo Moreno (Scartozzi brothers) and Sergio Fochi, who also promoted his band as a leading *orchestra Sud-Americana*.[4]

The older established Italian bands generally did not differ greatly in appearance from conventional Anglo-Australian ballroom dance bands, except for the almost essential inclusion of a piano accordion and Latin-American percussion instruments for use in the Latin numbers. However, the influence of pop began to change the nature of the scene and its music in the early 1960s. These changes were a direct reflection of the influence of British and American pop on Italian pop, which absorbed and fused them with modern (post-1958) Italian popular song style into what has come to be known as 'Italian Beat' music.[5] The turning point in Melbourne began around 1964 with, for example, the sensational success of the Beatles' 1964 Australian tour and a very successful tour by Peppino di Capri and his Rockers with Mina the same year. The shift included an emphasis on smaller rock band-like combos with electric guitars and, increasingly, electronic accordions or organs. It also enabled younger players – often without formal musical training or reading skills – to form combos and compete for Italian community work.

Franco, being young and progressive, wanted to engage with these trends, but his relentless music studies since the mid-1950s had prepared him for an all-around professional musical career in which, for example, excellent sight reading skills were essential. He did many auditions with newly formed bands, but his skills always turned out to be mismatched with those of the other players. In the meantime, he began teaching accordion for Lamberti's music store and music school in North Melbourne and for Lou Chiodo, and composed and self-published two Hispanic influenced accordion works, *Los Cubanos Samba* and the paso doble *Fiesta a Siviglia* (Fig. 1). He also appeared from time to time as a variety show artist and, with Lou Chiodo and a gifted young Thai accordionist, Damrong Chattalada, established an accordion quintet that recorded programs for ABC overseas broadcasts.

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[4]For more on this topic, see John Whiteoak, 'Italo-Hispanic Music in Melbourne before Multiculturalism' in *Victorian Historical Journal* 78(2) 2007, pp. 228-250 and John Whiteoak, 'Mambo Italiano: Ugo Ceresoli and His Orchestra Mokambo' in *Italian Historical Society Journal* 15 2007, pp. 58-72

[5] See, for example, Robert Agostini 'The Italian *Canzone* and the Sanremo Festival: Change and Continuity in Italian Mainstream Pop of the 1960s' in *Popular Music* 26(3) 2007, pp. 389-408.

Fig. 1 – Cover of Fiesta a Siviglia *(1964). Courtesy Franco and Lucy Cambareri.*

QUINTETTO JOLLY

During 1964, Franco finally encountered some young musicians with professional aspirations and skills similar to his own, and with the desire to come together as a first class music-reading combo that could offer a very modern repertoire plus all the more traditional ballroom and cabaret music required for Italian community functions. He first met guitarist Franco Zaffino who introduced him to the drummer Tony Midolo, and together they located a promising and good-looking young *cantante*, Sergio Giovannini, who later also played bass. Saxophone and clarinet player Luciano Mangarelli then joined to make up the fifth member of what became *Quintetto Jolly* or *Complesso Jolly*, simply because they had so much fun playing and being together. *Jolly*, which could present the lastest in pop and rock but also back a floor show from sight-read arrangements, provided Franco with an excellent opportunity to begin developing his skills as a modern arranger.

By the end of 1964, Jolly already had a profile in Italian community entertainment. They had been chosen to appear as a support act for Peppino di Capri at his triumphant Festival Hall appearances and are pictured in *Il Globo* of December 12 performing for the Miss Italian (Miss Jolly) Community Ball at San Remo Hall in North Melbourne. A few weeks later they were prominently advertised as 'il famoso Complesso Jolly' offering a typical Italian atmosphere at a New Year's Eve ball. Of greater importance for the future than community work, however, was their success in gaining a regular several nights a week 'Supper Club' job at the Casbah Room of the prestigious Mario's Hotel in Exhibition St, Melbourne. Mario's was a popular Italian-Australian venue, but the Supper Club also attracted patrons from beyond the community, who expected a more international repertoire. 1965 was a busy and successful year for Jolly with major community balls, such as the Miss Italian Community ball at the Royale Ballroom in June, and numerous other social, sporting club and function venue engagements (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 - Quintetto Jolly. Left to right: Franco Cambareri, Franco Zaffino, Luciano Mangarelli, Tony Midolo and Sergio Giovannini.

In addition to appearing with the Peppino di Capri tour troupe and also the visiting *cantanti* Nico Fidenco, Arturo Testa and Isabella Iannetti,[6] Jolly cut a microgroove recording for the Spotlight label in 1965 called *Cabaret Italiano*. This featured their versions of the Joe Senteri ballad hit *Uno dei tanti* (One of Many), Mina's twist hit, *Tintarella di luna* (Moon Tan), Tito Puente's Latin hit *Esperanza* (Hope) and the Peppino Gagliardi ballad hit *T'amo e t'amerò* (I Love You and Will Love You). Five other tracks were never released by Spotlight, but all nine tracks demonstate why the band achieved such rapid popularity. [7] The sound is that of a polished cabaret act drawing upon contemporary Italian rock and pop for its colours, rhythms and overall textures, including compelling *bel canto*-style solos set against cleverly sparse and rhythmic backing harmonies. By this time Franco had purchased a combination acoustic/transistor accordion (a

[6] Phonovox Super Festival of Italian Song, Palais Theatre, St Kilda, 20/10/1964 *Il Globo* 10 October 1964, p. 15.

[7] The five tracks not released were: *The Wedding Song*, *Perché* (Why), *Ti giuro* (I Swear), *Va bene così* (It's OK That Way), *La amo più della mia vita* (I love Her More Than My Own Life).

Cordovox) with which he expertly filled out and tinted the web of backing sound with modern effects.

TRIO FRANCO

Despite Jolly's rapid achievements, continuing popularity, and the fun, fellowship and musical experience the members had derived from working and developing together as a *complesso*, some disharmony was brewing by mid-1966 and *Quintetto Jolly* came to an end. Sergio Giovannini, who was by now a seasoned performer, set about forming his own pop and rock band, Sergio G and the Flippers, which remained popular on the Italian community scene for several decades. The demise of the quintet enabled Franco, Franco Zaffino and Tony Midolo to continue together as a small but dynamic show band, Trio Franco, with even more emphasis on professionalism, versatility and modernistic sounds and rhythms (Fig 3). Working as a trio also had obvious financial advantages. Franco was the tunesmith and arranger and contributed to backing vocals but never aspired to being a *cantante*. Franco Zaffino became the lead singer and main songwriter, but Tony Midolo was always solidly behind him as support vocalist and a strong encourager of his songwriting. The trio's regular job at the Copper Grill room of the prestigious Park Royal Motel in Parkville made them less reliant on Italian community patronage and able to develop a much more international repertoire. The Park Royal, being close to the City, attracted many international tourists and it became a Trio Franco convention to ask patrons where they came from and then play something associated with their homeland, region or city. In this modest sense, the trio's music provided a magic carpet for nostalgic travellers.

Fig. 3 - Trio Franco. Left to right: Franco Cambareri, Franco Zaffino and Tony Midolo. Courtesy Franco and Lucy Cambareri.

Il Globo of March 21 1967 published an evocative photograph of the trio posing with glamorous swimsuit-clad contestants for the Miss South Pacific quest (a feature of Melbourne's annual Moomba Festival). The caption explained that the trio was formerly known as Jolly. On June 5 they came to the attention of numerous Melbournians through their appearance on GTV-9's iconic *In Melbourne Tonight* show, and another captioned photograph in *Il Globo* of June 15 announced that their *elettrizzante* (electrifying) modern rhythmic repertoire would be a feature of a major event for the Italian community: a cabaret ball for the official opening of the huge and magnificently appointed San Remo Ballroom in North Carlton, combined with the conclusion of the Miss San Remo quest. While more and more of the trio's work came from beyond the community – the Jewish community in particular for weddings, *Bar Mitzvah* and *Bat Mitzvah* (coming of age parties) – their popularity and status within the Italian community continued to grow. In July 1967 their LP, *Living It Up at the Copper Grill*, was released on the W&G label.

The twelve tracks on the album, plus six others not released by W&G, evoke the repertoire presented at an evening at the Copper Grill beginning with atmospheric dinner music and building up to a full-on party atmosphere. Some songs are sung in English and several have a smooth Latin feel. The tracks, in particular, show the cleverness of the arranging which enables the trio to produce the dynamic cross-rhythms, colours and textures of a larger instrumental/vocal combo. This ability is seen, for example, in their version of Little Tony's modernistic 1967 Italian Beat hit *Cuore matto* (Crazy Heart) which had been presented by him at the 17th San Remo Festival in January of that year.[8] Instead of individual displays of solo virtuosity, the trio sound is extremely tight and integrated, combining polished vocal and instrumental musicianship with youthful vitality and full utilisation of the new Italian Beat-style guitar and electronic keyboard sounds.[9]

During most of September and October 1967, Trio Franco was engaged with a concert tour of the Fiji Islands (Fig 4). They also won second prize in the first international Festival of Italian Song held in Melbourne with their *Come mai* interpreted by *cantante* Jo Muhrer. Then, what must have seemed like the opportunity of

[8] Music by Totò Savio, lyrics by Armando Ambrosino, 1966; single released January 1967.
[9] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bjrOdUZkNq4

a lifetime was held out to them: a job as producers, actors and stage band for Melbourne's first televised weekly 'Italian-style' music variety show, Carosello Italiano (later just Carosello).

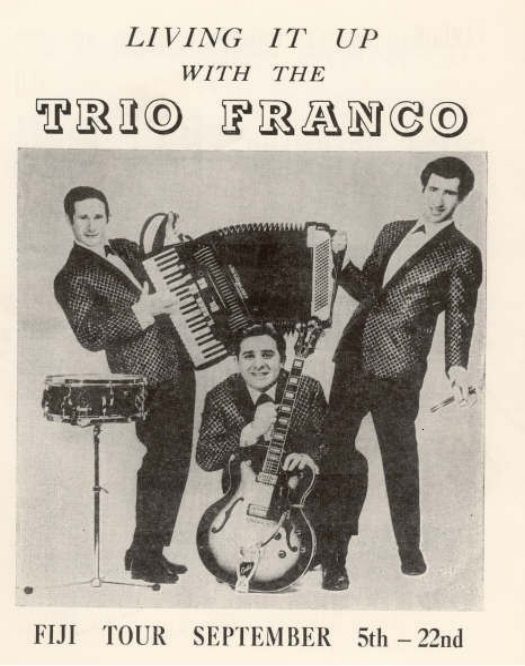


Fig. 4 - Trio Franco Fiji Tour promotion. Left to right: Franco Cambareri, Franco Zaffino and Tony Midolo. Courtesy Franco and Lucy Cambareri.

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

However, before this, something of far more lasting significance took place for Franco. On November 11 1967 at St Anthony's Chapel in Hawthorn he and Lucy were married. The service was followed by a reception at the San Remo Ballroom in North Carlton. This was the first wedding reception ever held at this venue, which quickly became central to the Melbourne-Italian private and public function, social dancing and cabaret scene.

Lucy's father, Michele Del Mastro, had arrived in Melbourne from San Nicandro in the province of Foggia in the Puglia region of southeast Italy, in 1951, the same year that Franco's father arrived. Lucy came with her mother, Incoronata, her sister Maria and her brother Matteo in 1953, the same year as Franco. Being only six years of age on her arrival and very bright, Lucy rapidly mastered 'Australian-English' and later gained a solid secondary education at Fitzroy Girls Secondary School. By 1962 she was employed as a secretary for the Transport Regulation Board and eventually became Manager of the VicRoads Registration and Licensing Office in Sunshine. Her initial attraction to Franco was not as a fan of his music, since their first meeting was at a shop owned by the Zaffino family in Miller Street, Fitzroy. The attraction must have been mutual and strong, however, since they were engaged and married within nine months of their meeting. Marriage brought an entirely new dimension to Franco's life, including the suddenly increased importance of financial security.

CAROSELLO

The Age TV and Radio Guide of January 18 1968 carries a photo of Trio Franco posing with Carosello cast members for an outdoor sequence of the show to be broadcast on ATV-O at 5.30 on the following Sunday. Carosello, which commenced on December 19 1967, was sponsored by the furniture store chain mogul Franco Cozzo, whose inimitable promotion of his wares in English, Italian and Greek (spoken to the accompaniment of a catchy, up-beat pop tune composed and played by the trio) made him a Melbourne cultural icon that endures to the present day. Carosello was a social and cultural milestone for the Italian-Australian community, and connected its youth both visually and aurally to Italian musical modernity. For numerous Anglo-Australians, it was a glimpse – though an often unappreciated one – into an unfamiliar musical world: Italian-style pop and rock. The popular compere, Colin McEwen, was the anchor for the show, but Franco Cozzo left it to the trio to produce the show, create and act in the humorous sketches that broke up the musical content, audition *cantanti*, rehearse their acts for coming shows and provide accompaniment during the taping of shows, which were entirely based on local talent. Exciting as this opportunity must have seemed initially, the pressure on the trio was immense and the remuneration inadequate. Within seven months, the trio decided it was time to leave Franco Cozzo and concentrate on better paid work while their profile was at a peak.

In addition to the Copper Grill Room, Trio Franco continued to appear at Italian cabaret-ball venues such as the San Remo Ballroom, Copacabana Hall in Brunswick and Riviera Hall in West Melbourne, sometimes teaming up with an impressive African-American conga player, Antonio Rodriguez. Some highlights of 1968 were the July release of *Più buio della notte*, sung by Franco Zaffino and written by the two Francos, as a Phonovox single, and a November 3 appearance as a feature act for the Second Festival of Italian Song at Festival Hall. A large illustrated advertisment in *Il Globo* of January 14 1969 shows they were due to appear at a *Grande Spettacolo Di Varietà* (grand variety show) at Sydney Stadium as the

group that "makes beat-lovers delirious" along with Duo Moreno, Nino Palermo, the young accordion duet 'Aurora and Robertino', Anna Maria Manna and Vittorio Sacca. For whatever reason, they never appeared. The following month they appeared at the first *Concorso Nazionale Voci Nuove* (National New Voice Contest) where they introduced a new social dance, the *Ciuff Ciuff*, demonstrated by the stage dancers, *Lucciolette* (Little Fireflies).

AT THE CROSSROADS

The *ballo Italiano* scene was, however, now truly awash with new and older bands competing for work and Trio Franco was getting more appreciation of its progressive 'modern rhythmic' style from beyond the Italian-Australian community. Lucy recalls that older community patrons only wanted to hear music that was familiar to them. From this point on, the name Trio Franco appeared less and less in the entertainment pages of *Il Globo*. In June 1970, they opened at Mario's Brighton Beach Hotel where their modern approach and versatility was particularly appreciated by a mostly youthful patronage. This regular three times a week engagement, plus regular work at the Zebra Motor Inn in Parkville, gave the trio a secure basic income around which they could organise other lucrative engagements. These – such as the endless rounds of *Bar Mitzvah* and *Bat Mitzvah* parties – continued to roll in, sometimes amounting to several separate engagements in a day. For Franco, however, the musical and financial success of Trio Franco was increasingly outweighed by the detrimental effect that his professional overcommitment was having on his family, which by 1969 included Lucy and Franco's first child, Carmine. Their second son, Lino, was born in 1974. By 1973 some social tensions were also building within the trio as the almost inevitable outcome of such a long-term creative collaboration, and Franco made the heart-wrenching decision to totally abandon his musical career and take up a new phase of life with Lucy in running a driving school with the very down-to-earth name of Keon Park Driving School. The trio continued to appear at Mario's one night a week until early 1975 and occasionally accept other engagements, but Franco's heart was elsewhere.

REDISCOVERING THE MAGIC: THE CD PROJECT

The Keon Park Driving School was financially successful, but the demands of the school soon found Franco working just as hard and for even more hours than he had in music. The eventual solution was to join Australia Post as a State Driver Training Instructor/Tester. He formally retired from Australia Post at the end of 2000 and Lucy followed him into retirement four years later. By 2000, two and a half decades had passed since Franco had abandoned his musical career. His two children were adults and successfully making their own way in life, and the most obvious sequel to a shared life of family responsibility and demanding work was for Franco and Lucy to just 'hang out' and enjoy their growing family, friends, their beautiful home and other fruits of their former sacrifices and efforts, such as their romantic 1981 and 2005 holidays in Italy (Fig 5). But music had been reworking its spell over Franco since the mid-1990s, and Lucy was willingly drawn into his happy rediscovery of the muse.

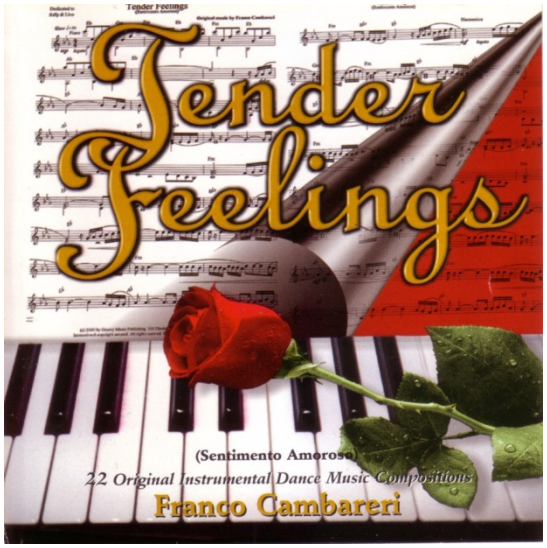


Fig. 5 - Cover of the 2001 CD Tender Feelings *with cover design by Lucy Cambareri. Courtesy Franco and Lucy Cambareri.*

This rediscovery began around 1996, when Franco purchased a small Yamaha electronic keyboard and began to practise diligently. Not only did his old technique quickly return, but he also found he could compose effortlessly at the keyboard, as if the musical influences he had absorbed over a lifetime were now at his fingertips. Reconnection with the piano accordion, his first musical love, was central to this musical renewal, and the internet eventually enabled him to connect into a vibrant world-wide network of performers, arrangers, composers, historians, collectors and other appreciators of the accordion, as well as to accordion organisations such as the Frosini Society. He also became a prolific composer of music for the accordion.

A shoulder problem had, however, become an impediment to playing the accordion and,

moreover, the music that was flowing into Franco's mind by the late 1990s featured all the colours, rhythms, textures and effects available to any modern ensemble. He had rapidly mastered the electronic sounds of his transistorized Cordovox with Quintetto Jolly and Trio Franco, and the digital sound technology that was available by the 1990s held out a solution to both problems. He – with the technical assistance of Lucy, who had used various forms of digital hardware and software in her job at VicRoads – could bring to life every aspect of the music that was going though his head. It could be done in their family home and entirely independently.

SENTIMENTO AMOROSO

By 2001 Franco had assembled twenty-two 'original instrumental dance compositions' for the production of the first Cambareri CD entitled *Tender Feelings* (*Sentimento Amoroso*). This CD was mastered by Dex Audio and released under the Colossus Records of Australia label with a cover design by Lucy. Having the mastering done (i.e. creating the final fully edited 'master' of the album for mass reproduction purposes) in a commercial studio, however, turned out to be a very costly process. Franco and Lucy decided that, in future, they would produce, master and release all future CDs themselves under the name Franco Cambareri. Copyright was assigned or partly assigned to the Melbourne music publisher and distributor Groovy Music, which also promotes and markets the compositions, arrangements and CDs of various leading Italian-Australian professional musicians, many of whom were bandleaders and/or accordionists on the Melbourne or interstate Italian-Australian entertainment scene before Franco left it in 1975.[10]

THE COLLABORATION

Franco and Lucy's collaboration in producing the albums first requires Franco's composing and arranging of a sufficient number of pieces for a new album. At the digital keyboard he then separately records the rhythm, melody and harmony tracks and, finally, adds expression to the melody track almost as if it were a singing voice. Whatever instrumental countermelodies or other tracks are required to complete the arrangement are then recorded and the whole process is repeated for each of the remaining pieces in the compilation.

Lucy's role is to transfer the tracks of each composition from the digital keyboard to the music program on her computer and balance these to get an overall sound they are happy with before 'bouncing' (mixing) them into a single music 'wave' ready for burning onto the master CD. The process is repeated for all the pieces in the CD compilation and the complete master is then burnt and named. Simple as it may sound, these are extremely exacting and time consuming processes, and the one circumstance in which Lucy becomes disenchanted with the project is when Franco comes up with a new idea after the piece has been mixed and wants to make changes. The other part of her creative input is designing the CD front and back covers and CD label. There is a new idea behind every cover image and the images are often personalised, such as the rose from their own garden for *Tender Feelings* or the abstract image of their young grandson, Adam, playing accordion for the 2005 CD, *Mystique* (Fig.6). Lucy produces printed covers and labels that are not only visually compelling but look as if they have been printed professionally.

Fig. 6 Franco and Lucy Cambareri on holidays in Venice. Courtesy Franco and Lucy Cambareri.

THE MUSIC

The ten CDs produced to date are *Tender Feelings* (2001), *Music A La Carte* and *Musical Carnival* (2002), *A Sentimental Touch* (2003), *Accordion Magic* (2004), *Cafe Arabesque*, *Guitar Romantica*, *Mystique* and *A La Francois* (2005) and *Cafe Lamour* (2007). About 150 of the pieces have also been published in sheet music form by Groovy Music in Melbourne and by the Frosini Society overseas and they are marketed world-wide through the Frosini Society and the MusicForAccordion.com websites.

[10] See http://www.groovymusic.com.au/profiles.htm

Franco's renewed love of the piano accordion is apparent in many of the composition titles which suggest dance music repertoire still beloved by accordionists, such as polkas, tangos, sambas, rumbas, boleros, bossa novas, French musettes, paso-dobles, tarantellas, swing and so forth. The titles also evoke other exciting Latin, Continental or Mediterranean styles that might be encountered at an exotic European cabaret or cabaret-ball, including mambos, merengues, cha-cha-chas, 'Gypsy', Greek and even Arabic music. These are all styles that Franco engaged with as a combo accordionist in ballroom, cabaret-restaurant, dance-party and exotic floor-show backing work. A few examples are *Cafe Arabesque*, *Mexican Carnival*, *Flamenco-Cha-Cha*, *Vive El Torero*, *Grecian Holiday*, *Gypsy Fiesta*, *Rio By Night*, *Mambo Vibes* or *Souvenir De Paris*. Franco's minimalist but mesmerising *La Araña Negra*, from the CD *Mystique*, carries you on a carpet of sinuous melody and dark and mysterious rhythm to a 'somewhere' in an Africa of Franco's imagination: the Casbah perhaps?

The music on the CDs is therefore partly a reflection or imaginative reinterpretation of the type of repertoire Franco played as an accordionist or arranged for the modern rhythmic style of Quintetto Jolly and Trio Franco. On the CD *Accordion Magic* especially, you can hear Franco's mastery of the traditional accordion as the 30 compositions pass through a wide range of exciting, evocative, atmospheric or sensuous works, like *Fiesta A Seviglia*, *Accordion Tango*, *Carmelina* (mussette) or *Midnight Blues*, and also playful and nimble pieces like *Ciccio's Tarantella*, *Busy Typist* and *Euro Polka*.

It is difficult to characterise Franco's music because it varies so much in style, form and detail. It is almost all popular dance music-like in character, with a strong, distinct basic beat (despite sometimes minimalist and other times very dense and complex rhythmic textures) and a catchy main melody or melodic idea in the foreground. But this description fails to do justice to the cleverness, playfulness and variety in the overall detail of the compositions. Franco demonstrates stylistic mastery and imagination in his employment of Latin rhythms (e.g. *Sonia's Mambo* on the *Tender Feelings CD*) and, while many of the pieces on the CDs are traditional in form, harmony and melodic shaping, they are often set in sparkling imaginative arrangements that make them sound like modern European film sound track music – which undoubtedly they could be used for. It is international music, including jazz, but it is also music with a distinct Italian touch, which becomes apparent in Franco's style of playing, in musical gestures toward the Italian Beat music of his Trio Franco days, in traditional Italian ballroom styles like the waltz, polka and mazurka, in the affinity shown towards Hispanic styles, and in titles like *Calabrian Serenata*, *Venetian Sky*, *Italian Romance* or *Capricciosa*, which was recently performed by flautist Sally Walker and guitarist Giuseppe Zangari and broadcast nationally from Newcastle Conservatorium as part of the ABC's "Sunday Live" concert series.

COMPOSING THE MUSIC

Franco is a very sentimental man and the music he lovingly creates and dedicates to his family and friends is, in his own words, "straight from the heart". Yet it is also directly from his imagination. The art of composing is commonly thought of as filling out the detail of a pre-conceived musical plan or sketch. Hence the centuries old stereotype of the tormented master composer burning the midnight oil with quill or pen in hand. But, contemporary composers of electronic dance music sometimes work the opposite way: by trying out things as they go along – using what works and discarding what does not. As a one-time scholar of improvisation, I immediately recognized something in the freshness, design and detail of Franco's music that reminded me of what was once known as 'fantasy playing' (improvising as if in a dream or trance). This is discussed, for example, in Carl Czerny's 1836 study, *Fantasy Playing.*[11] True fantasy playing only becomes possible after a gifted musician has deeply learned and absorbed many musical styles, harmonic pathways, rhythms and so forth. It is, literally, instant composing.

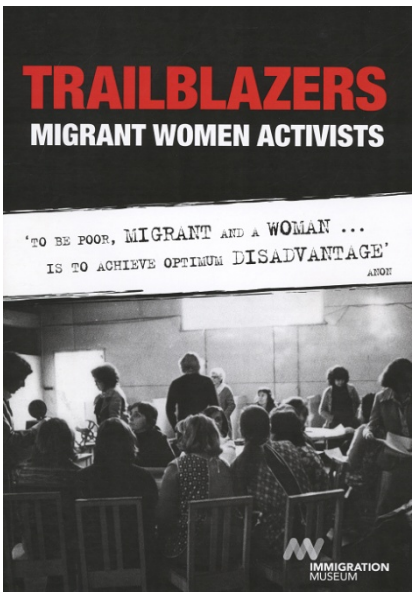
When I suggested this resemblance, Franco enthusiastically gave the example of composing his award winning composition, *Pour Aline*. He had a dream in which his combo was playing at a cabaret-restaurant but, no matter what they played, two good friends (one of them was Aline) who had come to hear the band would not get up and dance. Finally, in exasperation, Franco said to the others: "try this piece". He began to play – the others joined in – and suddenly the couple got up

[11] *Systematische Anleitung Zum Fantasieren Auf Dem Pianoforte* (1836). Translated and edited version by Alice Mitchell, New York, Longman, 1983. It is generally referred to by music scholars as *Fantasy Playing* (Opus 200). See also John Whiteoak, *Playing Ad Lib: Improvisatory Music in Australia, 1836-1970*, Sydney, Currency Press, 1999.

from their table and began to dance. Franco awoke happy with the music still playing though his mind, and his entry for the 2007 Australian Songwriters Association contest was in the bag.

CODA

Franco's story is one of outstanding achievement in professional musicianship and entertainment, despite many difficulties faced as a young post-war migrant. It suggests the dilemma encountered by many talented migrant musicians of eventually having to reconcile a passion for music and a hard-won musical career with a love of family life and the growing responsibilities, pressures and deeply satisfying rewards that come with the latter. The happy ending is that, together with Lucy, he sought and found a deeply personal and satisfying way of expressing family love, friendship and musical creativity – one that, fortunately, allows all of us to experience a ride upon the magic carpet of his musical imagination.



the struggles of migrant women activists. an exhibition at the immigration museum

THE exhibition *Trailblazers: Migrant Women Activists* – developed by the Immigration Museum and the School of Historical Studies at the University of Melbourne, together with the Multicultural Centre for Women's Health and the Immigrant Women Domestic Violence Service – was held in the Immigration Museum in Melbourne between 8 March and 27 July this year. The Museum, steeped in Victoria's multicultural history, which was shaped by the many and diverse experience of immigration from the 1800s to the present day, pays a timely tribute to the efforts spent over the past thirty years by women migrants in their struggle to attain progress in women's health issues, family planning, child care, and protection against domestic violence.

Swept up in the aggressive and progressive women's movement with the 1975 Australia-wide celebration of International Women's Day, these problems were perceived as being a part of the greater feminist push within the political and industrial arenas. However, migrant women's services did not receive attention until the landmark findings of the 1978 Galbally Report which marked the beginning of the government's acknowledgement of the specific problems faced by migrant women.

The exhibition's text panels illustrated the context of migrant women's achievements over three decades through the often stark poignancy of newspaper articles, photographs, documents, leaflets and an abridged ABC Four Corners documentary of 1976 on the plight of migrant women in Melbourne's factories that was made in response to the report "But I wouldn't want my wife to work here…".

Italian migrant women's groups and activists figured extensively throughout the exhibition, alongside other migrant women's rights activists from many other nationalities. The exhibition recorded the work of the first community organisations to provide welfare services specifically targeted at migrant women, such as Co.As.It., which has been catering for the welfare needs of Italian migrants since 1967. Co.As.It. was not only the first 'ethnic' service to establish a women's refuge for migrant women escaping domestic violence but it was amongst the first community based organizations to provide child

care for working migrant families. The FILEF Women's Group, an activist group based in Melbourne, and the Working Women's Centre also played an important role in lobbying government and unions for improvement in services to migrant women.

The exhibition showcased the 1976 multilingual Working Women's Charter, which recognized migrant women's needs in the workplace and insisted on equal rights and equal participation at work, in unions and in society at large. The WICH initiative, launched in 1977, was the first to provide education programs on women's health and contraception through factory visits. The Anne Sgro Children's Centre, founded in 1984, was the first child care centre to be jointly established by government, industry, community and union support.

Even though today there are strict workplace health and safety regulations, the issue of exploitation of newly arrived migrants, especially women, continues as it did thirty years ago. Thirty years ago the plight of migrant women was compounded by communication and cultural issues, such as the language barrier and the women's own reluctance to talk about their problems, especially those that are from more conservative cultures and backgrounds.

It is important that we are aware of the historical genesis of the present, both so as not to take for granted the progress made, but also to be conscious of the recurrence of old problems in new forms and changed circumstances. *Trailblazers* fostered just this awareness, while also alerting us to the challenges faced by migrant women in a future likely to be characterised by an increasingly conservative atmosphere.

One of the principal objectives of this exhibition was a reminder to remain vigilant to forms of discrimination, racism and disrespect, especially in periods characterised by regressive social and economic trends.

Valeria Bianchin

enemy aliens

If you are a woman living in Australia of either German, Italian or Japanese descent, or an Australian woman married to an 'enemy alien' during the Second World War (1939-1945), and are interested in participating in research to share your wartime experience, please contact Maria Glaros (PhD candidate, University of Western Sydney) by phone: 0423844690 or email:

m.glaros@uws.edu.auu

Barbarina Elisabetta Rubbo née Pozza, arrived in Australia per MS Remo c. 1940. Source: National Archives of Australia (NAA), Sydney.

THE PROJECT

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, the National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations were introduced as a means to control these aliens, and all non-British peoples residing in Australia. Nationals from Germany were immediately classified as enemy aliens. After the entry of Italy and Japan into the war, in 1940 and 1941, Italians and Japanese living in Australia were re-classified as enemy aliens and were then investigated under these Regulations. Whilst there has been considerable research undertaken on wartime internment of enemy aliens in Australia, there has been little focus on the thousands of enemy aliens who were *not* interned during the Second World War, especially women. War hysteria, discrimination, isolation, racism and victimisation were all part of the wartime experience for German, Italian and Japanese women caught up in the net of the Aliens Control Regulations.

This study aims to provide an analysis on how the National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations affected the lives of German, Italian and Japanese women living in Australia during the Second World War.

immigration bridge australia

Immigration Bridge Australia is an incorporated not-for-profit organisation created to build Immigration Bridge as a gift to the nation. For more information, visit www.immigrationbridge.com.au or call 1300 300 046.

THE BRIDGE

In 2001 a steering committee was formed with the objective of building a monument to honour the contributions migrants have made to Australia, and the opportunities this land has given them. After discussions with the National Capital Authority (NCA), they decided the monument should take the form of a spectacular pedestrian bridge spanning Lake Burley Griffin in Canberra, linking the National Museum of Australia with the Parliamentary Triangle.

THE GRIFFIN LEGACY

This new pedestrian bridge fulfils a key design element of Walter Burley Griffin's original plan for Canberra, as described in the NCA publication *The Griffin Legacy*.

THE DESIGN

Immigration Bridge Australia will be a spectacular, dramatic, swooping, beautiful bridge, reminiscent of the great, wide spaces of this land.

The design is a unique collaboration between architect Bligh Voller Nield, engineer Arup Australia, composer Ross Edwards, poet Peter Skrzynecki, Campaign Director Andrew Baulch and the Board. The team is working closely together to ensure the bridge is a national monument and an international icon.

THE HISTORY HANDRAIL

The bridge will stretch for 400m some 12m above the surface of Lake Burley Griffin. The sculpted stainless steel handrail will allow 200,000 names to be engraved permanently – the names of people that have settled in Australia since 1788.

Every Australian family is invited to contribute their name to the bridge – to be immortalised on the handrail in perpetuity. The names will be recorded together with the country of origin and year of arrival.

The cost of each name is $110 (inc GST). Money raised from this program will go towards the construction of the bridge – giving all who contribute a permanent physical memorial.

WRITE YOUR STORY

You can register your stories or those of your ancestors on the Immigration Bridge web page, where they will be recorded and then published in the "Migration Book". Many of these stories of migration will also feature on the surfaces of the Bridge itself. We hope that the building of the Immigration Bridge will be the catalyst for an unprecedented rise in interest in the history of Australian families.

The "Migration Book" will be a collection of all the stories that we can gather. It will be a huge book, magnificently bound and displayed under glass on the bridge – a page will turn each day of the year and we will notify families whose stories feature in advance to encourage family reunions on the Bridge.

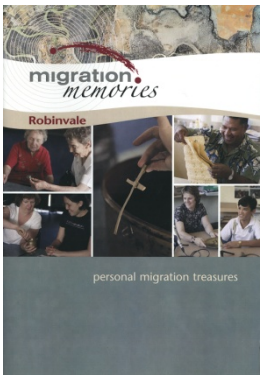
To reserve a name on the History Handrail or to register your story, visit www.immigrationbridge.com.au

donations received

The Italian Historical Society wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to those members of the community who have donated or otherwise made available materials to enrich the collections of the society. These materials can be consulted at the Italian Historical Society.

THE PETER AND JOSIE MANIERO COLLECTION

The story of the lives of Peter and Josie Maniero told through a rich collection of realia, photographs, books and documents. The collection, which is accompanied by a short biography, takes us on a moving, visually beautiful journey from Istria, Trieste and Ljubljana and from Mestrino (Padova) to Brunswick (Melbourne), South Australia, Mildura and Ballarat, Sydney, Ingham and Biloela (Queensland), Tumut (Snowy Mountains) and Tasmania. The image shows some of the athletics medals won by Josie Vertovec between 1946 and 1954.



MIGRATION MEMORIES

The catalogue and DVDs containing the panels and audio of the exhibition. The exhibition, curated by Dr Mary Hutchison, is shown at Robinvale and other localities in 2007 and 2008. A striking collection of personal treasures for migrants from different backgrounds, presented together with their stories.

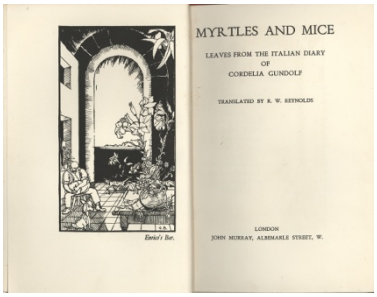
FILES FROM THE CASELLARIO POLITICO CENTRALE

Copies of over 150 original documents from the Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza dating from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. These documents – which constitute a valuable addition to the Italian Historical Society's Diplomatic Archives – are first-hand resources for the study of the political activities of Italian migrants in Australia in the period between the two wars. The recent acquisition contains correspondence and documents that trace the Italian authorities' monitoring of the Australian and international activities of Ernesto Baratto, Francesco Giovanni Fantin and Gaetano Panizzon.

A COLLECTION OF OPERA MAGAZINES

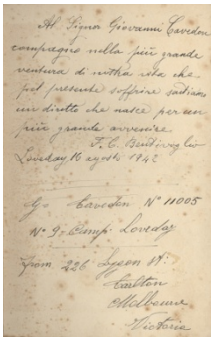
Williamson-Melba Grand Opera Season (1928); J.C. Williamson Ltd Magazine (1932); Grand Opera Season Programme (1948, 1949 and 1955).

A set of 12 beautiful publications, documenting salient events in the history of opera in Australia, along with the significant Italian presence in that history.



AN EARLY WORK BY CORDELIA GUNDOLF

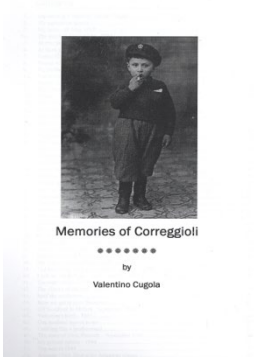
Cordelia Gundolf, *Mirtles and Mice. Leaves from the Italian Diary of C.G.* Translated by R.W. Reynolds. London, John Murray, 1935. With illustrations by Geoffrey Burnand and Luigi Bruzio. Notes taken by Cordelia Gundolf as a child, during a long visit to Italy with her mother. Dr Gundolf (1917-2008) – who was the daughter of the famous literary scholar Friedrich Gundolf – went on to make a very significant contribution to the cultural life of Melbourne University, where she taught Italian between 1960 and 1986.



AN AUTOGRAPHED BOOK BY F. BENTIVOGLIO – LOVEDAY CAMP, 1942

***Italian Grammar and Vocabulary [Grammatica della lingua parlata]*, by F[ernando]**

C. Bentivoglio, Lecturer in Italian at State Conservatorium of Music, Sydney. Australia, Angus & Robertson, 1937.
This copy was donated by the author to Giovanni Cavedon while both men were interned in Camp Loveday. The inscription reads in part: *Al Signor Giovanni Cavedon compagno nella più grande ventura di nostra vita che pel presente soffrire sentiamo un diritto che nasce per un più grande avvenire.*



MEMORIES OF CORREGGIOLI

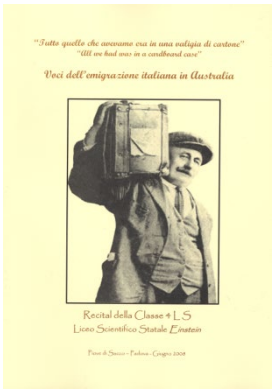
Valentino Cugola, *Memories of Correggioli*.
An engaging, well-written and carefully structured autobiography, illustrated with black and white photographs, Cugola's 100-page book covers the period from his birth in Correggioli (Lombardy) 1933, through the turbulent years of Fascism, the war and its aftermath, to his arrival in Australia in 1952.

THE SANTAMARIA FAMILY BOOK

This lovingly produced book – illustrated with photographs, documents and family trees – was produced in 2006 to celebrate the centenary of permanent settlement in Australia by the family of Joseph and Maria Terzita Santamaria. A rich resource, which includes memoirs, extracts, poems and outlines the history of a remarkable Italian Australian family.

SOCIETÀ ISOLE EOLIE

Copies of three commemorative publications (1975, 1985, 1995) by the the Società Isole Eolie, founded in 1925. Three milestones in the history of a significant community, with a wealth of contributions of community and historical interest.



VOCI DELL'EMIGRAZIONE ITALIANA IN AUSTRALIA

"Tutto quello che avevamo era in una valigia di cartone" "All we had was in a cardboard case" Voci dell'emigrazione italiana in Australia. Recital della Classe 4 LS, Liceo Scientifico Statale *Einstein*. Piove di Sacco – Padova – Giugno 2008
A sensitive script (illustrated with black and white photographs), together with a DVD of the recital, created and performed by a group of students from a highschool in Piove di Sacco (Padua) and their dedicated teacher, Prof. Vertes. The recital was sustained by research, which the students carried out drawing in part on information supplied by the Italian Historical Society. This material was donated by the students and Prof. Vertes on the occasion of a visit to Australia while on exchange.

publications received

The following publications have been recently purchased by, or donated to the Italian Historical Society. The Society makes every attempt to acquire all current publications in the field of Italian-Australian history. These publications are available for consultation at the library of the Italian Historical Society.

MIGRATION STUDIES

Norberto Lombardi and Lorenzo Prencipe (eds), *Museo nazionale delle migrazioni. L'Italia nel Mondo. Il Mondo in Italia*. Rome, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 2008.

This book marks the long overdue foundation of an Italian national museum of migration. The museum will bear witness to the 150-year old history of Italian migration; it will provide an ideal point of reference for many Italian communities and their museums and cultural institutions worldwide. In Italy it is hoped that the new national migration museum will help bridge the gap in public perception between the not too distant memory of the Italian migratory experience and the more recent responsibilities towards those who are arriving as migrants from other countries. It is anticipated that the national museum of migration in Rome will lead to significant opportunities of collaboration between communities and institutions across continents. These collaborations will be enhanced by the use of modern technology in the fields of collection management, research and communications.

Contents: Sen. F. Danieli, Prefazione; Amb. A. Benedetti, 'Patrimonio storico dell'emigrazione e politiche migratorie'; L. Prencipe, 'I musei delle migrazioni nel mondo'; E. Franzina; 'Le mostre sull'emigrazione in Italia'; N. Lombardi, 'Linee progettuali del Museo nazionale';
Musei all'estero: A. M. Da Costa Leitão Vieira, 'Memorial do Imigrante (São Paulo); J.V. Scelsa, 'L'Italian American Museum (new York)'; G. Pagone, 'L'Italian Historical Society – CoAsIt (Melbourne)'; N. Ugolini, 'Museo dell'Emigrante (Repubblica di San Marino)';
Musei in Italia: P.L. Biagioni, 'La Fondazione "Paolo Cresci" per la storia dell'emigrazione italiana (Lucca); C. Monacelli, 'Il Museo Regionale dell'Emigrazione "Pietro Conti" (Gualdo Tadino)'; F. Capocaccia, 'Il CISEI e il Museo di Genova'; F. Durante, 'La Fondazione Museo dell'Emigrazione di Napoli'; P. Clemente, 'I musei demo-etno-antropologici italiani;
Profili di un Museo dell'Emigrazione: M. Sanfilippo, 'Elementi caratteristici di un museo d'emigrazione'; M. R. Ostuni, 'Gli archivi e I musei'; P. Corti, 'Le fotografie nei musei'; M. Tirabassi, 'Musei reali e virtuali'; S. Tucci, 'Appunti per un museo virtuale dell'emigrazione'; E. Todisco, 'Spazi e architettura del museo'; F. Cristaldi, 'La geografia per il Museo delle Migrazioni';
Emigrazione/Immigrazione: A. Gnisci, 'Verso il Museo italiano delle Migrazioni'; E. Pugliese, 'Conoscere l'emigrazione per comprendere l'immigrazione'; M.I. Macioti, 'Immigrati e integrazione in Italia';
Esperienze e proposte: S. Santagati, 'La Casa degli Italiani (Barcellona)'; P.A. Bianco, 'Il Museo Regionale Sardo dell'Emigrazione (Asuni); E. Benatti, 'Il Museo dell'Emigrato (Magnacavallo)'; L. Marcolongo, 'Il Museo dell'emigrazione veneta (San Giorgio in Bosco)'; M. Mussi, 'Le molte migrazioni italiane'; M.L. Gentileschi, 'I percorsi terrioriali'; G. Battistella, 'Un cantiere aperto'.

International Journal of Migration Studies. Studi emigrazione. Rivista trimestrale del Centro Studi Emigrazione, Roma.
N. 164 (December 2006) – I campi per stranieri in Italia, issue edited by Matteo Sanfilippo. Includes 'I campi di concentramento per civili in Italia durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale' by Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, 'L'Alto Adige come regione di transito dei rifugiati (1945-1950)' di Gerald Steinacher, 'Per una storia dei profughi stranieri e dei campi di accoglienza e di reclusione nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra', by Matteo Sanfilippo.

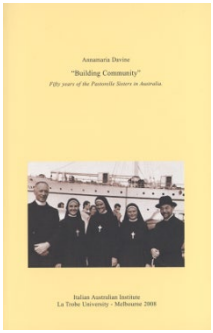
N. 167 (July-September 2007) – I musei delle migrazioni, issue edited by Lorenzo Prencipe. Articles on migration museums in the world, in Europe, and in Italy. The migration museums in Italy presented in this issue of *Studi emigrazione* are: Salina (Messina – **Sicily**), Camigliatello Silano (Cosenza – **Calabria**), Francavilla

Angitola (Vibo Valentia – **Calabria**), San Marco in Lamis (Foggia – **Apulia**), Campobasso (**Molise**), Cansano (L'Aquila – **Abruzzo**), Gualdo Tadino (Perugia – **Umbria**), Napoli (**Campania**), Lucca (**Tuscany**), Mulazzo di Lunigiana (Lucca – **Tuscany**), Coreglia Antelminelli (Lucca – **Tuscany**), Bedonia (Parma – **Emilia-Romagna**), Genova (**Liguria**), Frossasco (Torino – **Piedmont**), Torino (**Piedmont**).

N. 168 (October-December 2007) – Calabria e Sicilia. Sguardi italoaustraliani, issue edited by Gaetano Rando and Gerry Turcotte. Includes contributions by Gaetano Rando, Gerry Turcotte, Venero Armanno, Antonio Casella, Gerardo Papalia, Joseph Pugliese, and John Gatt-Rutter's review of Piero Genovesi, *Sebastiano Pitruzzello: l'uomo – la famiglia – l'industria*.

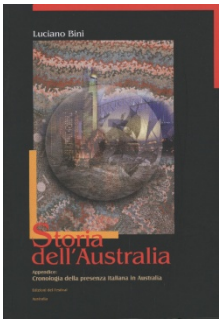
N. 170 (April-June 2008) – America latina: emigranti, nazioni, identità, issue edited by Eugenia Scarzanella.

HISTORY, CURRENT AFFAIRS



Annamaria Davine, *"Building Community". Fifty years of the Pastorelle Sisters in Australia*. Melbourne (Australia), Italian Australian Institute La Trobe University, 2008
A compellingly written, richly illustrated history of the presence of the Pastorelle sisters in Australia, this book is based mainly on a series of recorded interviews conducted by the Author and by Dr Piero Genovesi both in Australia and in Italy. The book highlights the sisters' pastoral mission in Australia, and in particular their care of Italian migrants, over a period of very intense social and cultural change.

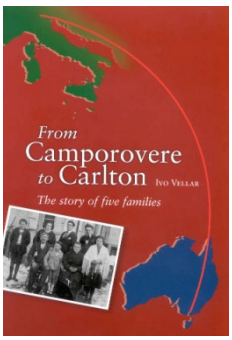
***Journey. Italian Migration in NSW*. Sydney (Australia), CoAsIt, 2008.**
The book – which uses photographs displayed in the exhibition "Journey to a New Life: Italian migration in NSW", curated by Linda Nellor, and is researched and written by Francesca Musicò Rullo, with a foreword by Gianfranco Cresciani – is an elegantly presented collection of black and white photographs, organised in thematic sections (Journey, Family, Church, Work, Wars etc.) with brief introductions in Italian and English. The images are eloquent witnesses to the struggles, values and history of the Italian community in New South Wales. However, their human interest and often striking visual beauty make this a book that will appeal to a very wide audience indeed.



Luciano Bini, *Storia dell'Australia*. Australia, Edizioni del Festival, 2007
The first history of Australia to be written in Italian, this richly illustrated work covers a period of over 40,000 years, taking us to the end of 2006. It comprises a chronology and bibliography of the Italian presence in Australia. Bini's *Storia dell'Australia* is a timely initiative that will appeal to the Italian-speaking public, contributing towards making Australia both less mysterious and more interesting.

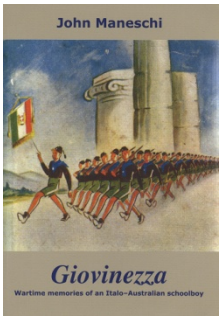
Bruno Mascitelli and Simone Battiston (eds), *The Italian expatriate vote in Australia: democratic right, democratic wrong or political opportunism?* Dallan (Australia), Connor Court, 2008
In the 2006 elections, the Italian expatriate vote helped provide the centre-left coalition led by Romano Prodi a slender but winning majority. Italian expatriates in Australia voted by post and for the first time elected their two representatives in the Italian Parliament. This book explores and analyses the divergent views of the Italian expatriate vote, which for some is a 'democratic right', for others a 'democratic wrong', and others again 'political opportunism'. This study is based on fresh data and literature, opinions and comments gathered from eligible voters as well as players and practitioners in the field of migrant politics.

BIOGRAPHY, FAMILY HISTORY

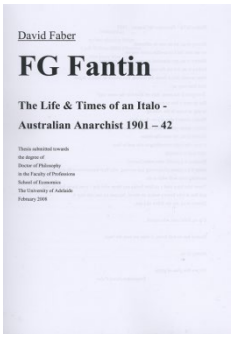


Ivo Vellar, *From Camporovere to Carlton. The story of five families.* Published by the Author, 2008
The lovingly written and painstakingly researched story of five families over five generations. Almost 200 photographs illustrate this engaging work in which Professor Vellar tells the history of the

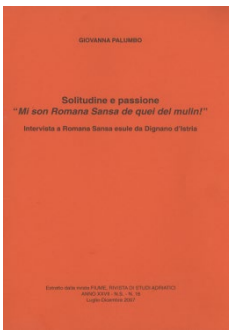
Vellar, Cera, Zotti, Pangrazio and Bonato families.



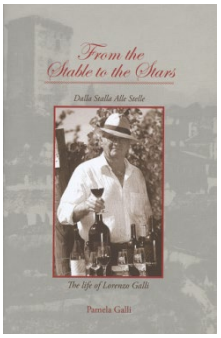
John Maneschi, *Giovinezza. Wartime memories of an Italo-Australian schoolboy,* Ginninderra Press, 2007.
"An outstanding quality of John Maneschi's memoir is the subtle balance between time levels and between adult and childish points of view. The child's perspective constantly lightens the tone, finding enjoyment and fun in events which are acutely troubling to the adults. Written with verve, sensitivity and humour, *Giovinezza* will delight its readers." – Joy Hooton



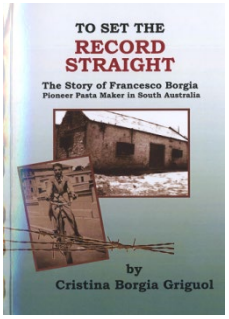
David Faber, *F G Fantin. The Life and Times of an Italo-Australian Anarchist*. PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2008.
The thesis follows Francesco Giovanni Fantin from his birth in San Vito di Leguzzano (Vicenza, Italy) in 1901 to his untimely death in Loveday Internment Camp (South Australia) in 1942. Fantin's formative experiences are situated in the context of the economic and political upheavals in Italy in the period between the Great War and the rise of Fascism. His antifascist activism in Australia is documented, leading up to his assassination by fascist conspirators. The aftermath of his death and its political implications are also discussed.



Giovanna Palumbo, 'Solitudine e passione – *"Mi son Romana Sansa de quei del mulin!"*'. Intervista a Romana Sansa esule da Dignano d'Istria', *Fiume, Rivista di studi adriatici*, XXVII, n.s., n. 16 (July-December 2007)
A touching interview with Romana Sansa, who was forced to leave Istria as a child and went on to become a left-wing politician in Italy. The importance of memory is emphasised, against differently motivated temptations to forget.

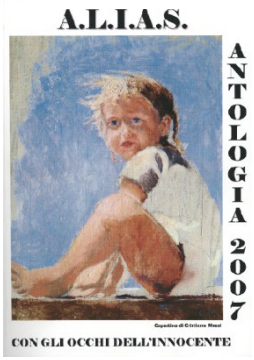


Pamela Galli, *From the Stable to the Stars. Dalla Stalla alle Stelle. The life of Lorenzo Galli*. Published by the Author, 2008.
Lorenzo was a man with a great passion for life, enormous energy, deep compassion, a wild sense of fun, and deep love for his family. This book, written by Lorenzo's loving wife, and illustrated with black and white photographs, tells the story of Lorenzo Galli from his humble beginnings in Motta (province of Massa-Carrara) to his success in Australia where he founded the Galli Estate Winery.

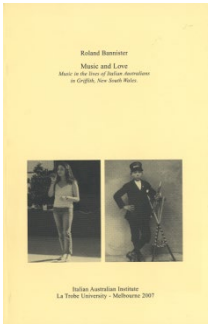


Cristina Borgia Griguol, *To Set the Record Straight. The Story of Francesco Borgia, Pioneer Pasta Maker in South Australia*. Published by the Author, 2008.
Francesco Borgia migrated to Australia in 1925, at the age of eighteen, from San Procopio in the province of Reggio Calabria. Upon his release after three and a half years spent in internment camps during WW2, Francesco picked up the threads of his life and restarted his business, demonstrating an extraordinary tenacity and perseverance

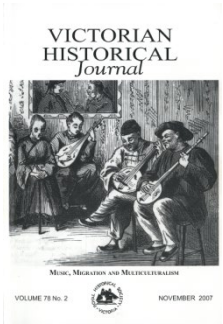
LITERATURE, MUSIC, THE ARTS



A.L.I.A.S. (Accademia Letteraria Italo-Australiana Scrittori), *Antologia del quindicesimo premio internazionale poesia – narrativa – pittura 'Con gli occhi dell'innocente'.* Melbourne, A.L.I.A.S. Editrice, 2007.
A 300-page volume illustrated with black and white and colour photographs, features contributions by hundreds of writers and artists from Australia, from Italy and from all over the world. An impressive collection of short stories, poems, paintings and more, in Italian, in Italian dialects and in English.

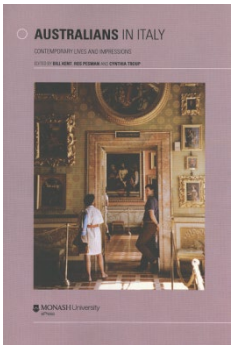


Roland Bannister, *Music and Love. Music in the lives of Italian Australians in Griffith, New South Wales*. Melbourne, Italian Australian Institute – La Trobe University, 2007.
A detailed, carefully researched study, based on over 75 oral interviews. This book is both the story of a community largely told by the community itself, and a professional musicological and sociological study.

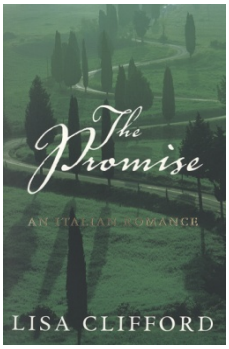


Victorian Historical Journal, Vol. 78, N. 2 – November 2007. Special Issue: Music, Migration and Multiculturalism. Guest Editors: Kay Dreyfus and Joel Crotty
This issue includes two articles of specific Italian Australian interest: John Whiteoak, 'Italo-Hispanic Popular Music in Melbourne before Multiculturalism' and Aline Scott-Maxwell, 'Melbourne's Banda Bellini: Localisation of a Transplanted Italian Tradition'

AUSTRALIANS IN ITALY



Bill Kent, Ros Pesman and Cynthia Troup (eds), *Australians in Italy. Contemporary Lives and Impressions*. Monash University Press, 2008.
Preface by Amanda Vanstone; Presentazione by Stefano Starace Janfolla; contributions by Bill Kent, Ros Pesman, Cynthia Troupe, Rory Steele, Cathy Crupi, J.R. Green, Bruce Bennett, Peter Porter, Lisa Clifford, Desmond O'Grady, Judith Blackall, Ian Britain, Euan Heng, Jo-Anne Duggan, Peter Howard, Mark Coleridge, Antonio Pagliaro, Jane Drakard, Chris Wood, Alison Leitch, Camilla Russell, Lorenzo Perrona, Silvana Tuccio, Brian Matthews, Loretta Baldassar, Luisa Panichi, Aldo Lorigiola.



Lisa Clifford, *The Promise: An Italian Romance*. Australia, Macmillan 2004.
This novel tells 'the story of Lisa's long love affair with Paolo, and of her love for Florence and the Tuscan mountains. But it is also the story of conflicting passions and cultural differences. Lisa's need for independence and equality made it difficult for her to fit in with the age-old tradition of an Italian family. She was torn between her desire to stay with Paolo, and wanting to return home to Australia…'

acknowledgements

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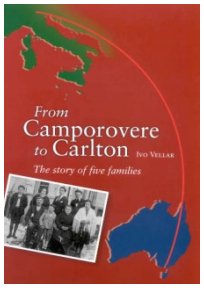

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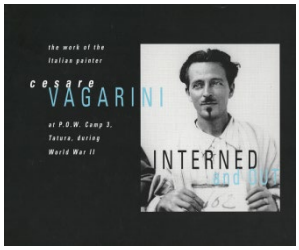

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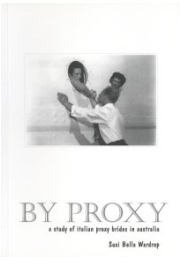

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