CONSTRUCTING ITALIAN ETHNICITY

A comparative study of two Italian language newspapers in Australia and Canada, 1947-1957.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is broadly concerned with how an ethnic group defines itself through the medium of the press. It contends that newspapers do more than simply 'reflect' the experience of ethnic groups, they in fact help to 'construct' ethnic identity.

The specific focus of this study is the Italian language press and its attempts to shape the ideals of *italianità* of Italian migrants in Canada and Australia in the immediate post-war period. This work is based on two newspapers, Montreal's *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma* published in Sydney, New South Wales. All available editions from the decade 1947 to 1957 are examined in order to determine which symbols and causes were used to promote Italian ethnic cohesiveness.

In the course of this thesis, it is argued that *La Fiamma* used religion as the basis of its ideal of *italianità*, while the Italo-Canadian paper *Il Cittadino Canadese* made the issue of Italian political representation in Canadian government structures the basis of its quest to unite Italian migrants into an ethnic 'community'. Some possible reasons for the difference in focus between the two newspapers are presented in the conclusion. Also, suggestions are made for future comparative research between Italian ethnic communities in Canada and Australia which may help to better explain the differences laid bare in this paper.

RÉSUMÉ

Le présent mémoire tente d'analyser la façon dont un groupe ethnique se définit dans la presse écrite. L'étude soutient que le rôle des journaux ne se limite pas à être le miroir de l'experiénce ethnique; en fait, ils contribuent à la définission de l'identité ethnique.

Cette étude cherche à explorer plus précisément l'effort déployé par la presse de langue italienne à façonner les idéaux de *l'italianità* des immigrants italiens au Canada et en Australie durant l'après-guerre. L'analyse est basèe sur le donèes recueillies dans deux journaux: *Il Cittadino Canadese* de Montrèal et *La Fiamma* de Sydney en Australie. Tous les numèros disponnibles de ces deux journaux parus entre 1947 et 1957 ont ètè examinès dans le but d'identifier les symboles et les causes ayant servi à promouvoir la cohèsion de la communautè italienne.

Au cours de ce mèmoire, on soutient que les idèaux de *l'italianità* prèsentès dans *La Fiamma* ètaient fondès sur la religion, alors que le journal italo-canadien *Il Cittadino Canadese* s'est servie de la question de la reprèsentation italienne dans l'appareil gouvernemental canadien pour rassembler les immigrants d'origine italienne en une "communautè" ethnique. La conclusion offre quelques avenues possibiles pour expliquer cette diffèrence. L'auteur propose d'autres voies d'analyse, dans le domaine de la recherche comparative entre les communautès ethniques italiennes du Canada et de l'Australie, qui pourraient mieux expliquer les diffèrences relevèes dans ce mèmoire.

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PREFACE

> "Journalism is an inferno, a bottomless pit of iniquity, falsehood and treachery; one can only pass through it and emerge from it unsullied if one is shielded as Dante was by the divine laurels of Virgil."
>
> Honore de Balzac Lost Illusions [1]

Balzac's denunciation of the fourth estate is just one dramatic and learned variation on a familiar, enduring theme: the press always lies. Journalists typically respond to accusations that they merely fabricate 'truth' in newspapers by promoting the myth of their own impartiality. They claim to report only discernable fact and insist that their subjective input in the process of communicating news is minimal. A newspaper is said to simply 'reflect' the events and ideas of the society or community of which it is a part.

When using the press as a source of historical information, historians should be wary of editors and journalists who maintain that they present 'nothing but the facts'. Like any other written document, a newspaper is the product of a selective and interpretative process in which there can be no pristine objectivity. It embodies the collective views of writers who contribute articles, the editor who selects and re-orders the stories, as well as the owner or proprietors who define the area in which their employees can operate. Because most newspapers are also commercial enterprises, advertisers may also exercise some control over a paper's general perspective.

This cumulative bias is expressed in a variety of explicit and implicit ways. It can be detected in the range and type of issues with which a newspaper deals. Alternatively, a specific opinion can be stated obviously in an editorial column or it may emerge more subtly in the style of language or format used. The point that I want to make here is that a newspaper does more than just mirror what is happening at a local community, national or international level. By interpreting ideas and current events according to particular political, social or religious ideals, a newspaper may influence the thoughts and actions of its audience. To put it in Gramscian terms, the press is a powerful instrument in the establishment of hegemony or 'common sense'. [2]

The concept of the creative function of the press is fundamental to this thesis. My broad aim is to explore how newspapers attempt to define and mould the individual and collective identities of their readers. More specifically I am interested in the relationship between the ethnic press and Italian immigrants in post-war Canada and Australia. The basic problem I want to examine is how newspapers targeted specifically for an Italian speaking 'ethnic' audience in Canada and Australia in the post-war period, tried to shape their readers' sense of what it meant to be Italian. Two newspapers supply the primary information for a comparative investigation of this question; *Il Cittadino Canadese,* published in Montreal, Quebec and *La Fiamma* published in Sydney, New South Wales.

My focus is on the decade from 1947 to 1957. This period was chosen as the temporal bracket for this study because it was one of major influx of Italians to Canada and Australia, and it also roughly coincided with the beginnings and growth of *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma*. The Italo-Canadian paper actually commenced publication in 1941, however I have deliberately concentrated on the decade from 1947 to 1957 in order for the comparison with *La Fiamma* (which came into print in 1947) to be more accurate. 1957 is also a convenient closing bracket from the Canadian perspective for it marks the end of a political era in Canada with the national defeat of St. Laurent and the Liberal Party and the accession to power of Diefenbaker and the Conservatives.

Unfortunately, there are few clear points of reference that I can follow for direction in this comparative study. Disappointingly, very little has been written about the Italian ethnic press in either the Italo-Australian or Italo-American contexts.[3] Many historians of Italian immigration and ethnicity have used the Italian ethnic press to garner information about certain political, social or economic affairs and how they were perceived in their contemporary context. However, there are scarcely any works which treat Italian language newspapers, meaning those papers published in the Italian diaspora, as complex historical phenomena worthy of interest in their own right. The few studies that do exist on the Italian ethnic press in Canada and Australia either simply catalogue past and present publications, or look at Italian language publications in terms of their

assimilative function to a host society ideal, not to an 'ethnic' paradigm. My work addresses this previously neglected area.

In the absence of specific guidelines, I look more to general works on ethnicity and the ethnic press for inspiration.
It is crucial that I include some discussion of 'ethnicity' in this thesis, as the concept itself lies at the very heart of my work. An examination of the literature on the ethnic press is also important, if only to show what has not been addressed and what has been lacking from past studies. These two concerns, ethnicity and the ethnic press, will be considered in the first chapter of this thesis.

Once I have set forward the general historiographical debate surrounding the concepts of ethnicity and the ethnic press, I will then provide some important background information regarding Italian immigration to Canada and Australia in the immediate post-war period. This second chapter will deal with government policies and their effect (or their lack of impact) on the immigration of Italians to both nations and they way in which these host societies received the Italian immigrants. I will also include some basic figures detailing the exact number of arrivals, where they came from and where they settled. An awareness of the contours of Italian immigration and settlement to Canada and Australia is crucial to understanding the remaining chapters which deal specifically with my primary sources, the Italo-Canadian newspaper *Il Cittadino Canadese,* and its Italo-Australian counterpart *La Fiamma.*

Rather than making direct comparisons between the construction of *italianità* in *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma*, I will separate the analysis of the newspapers themselves into two distinct chapters. In this way, a fuller, more rounded discussion of each publication will be possible. *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma* are different enough to warrant individual treatment. In these two chapters which focus specifically on the newspapers, I will show how both attempted to construct an ideal of what it meant to be 'Italian'. It will become clear that although both newspapers were engaged in the process of promoting community cohesion, the ways in which they tried to minimise division amongst their readers were very different. Essentially, *Il Cittadino Canadese* built its ideal around politics, whereas *La Fiamma* used religion as the cornerstone of its concept of what it meant to be Italian. In the conclusion, I will discuss possible reasons for this difference and make suggestions for further research which will help to develop and expand on some of the new ideas presented in this thesis.

[1]Leo Bogart, Press and Public: who reads what, when, where and why in American newspapers (Hillsdale N.J. 1981), 169.

[2]A.Gramsci, *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura* (Torino: Einaudi,1975), p167. The idea of the press as an instrument in the establishment of hegemony was put forward by Gramsci in his discussion of 'giornalismo intergrale' by which he meant, "*Quello che non solo intende soddisfare tutti i bisogni del suo pubblico, ma intende di creare e svilupare questi bisogni e quindi di suscitare in un certo sense, il suo pubblico...*"

[3]These few existing works on the Italian ethnic press will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter One. They include;

M. Gilson andJ. Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1864-1964. (Canberra: Australian National University Press,1967).

Gianni Grohovaz, "Toronto's Italian press after the Second World War", Polyphony, 4, no. 1, spring/summer 1982, pp105-113.

Massimo Ciavolella, "*La Stampa Italiana in Canada*", Il Veltro, May-August 1985, pp.421-430.

Antonino Spada, The Italians in Canada, Canada Ethnica series, VI, (Ottawa/Montreal: Riviera Printers and Publishers Inc.,1969).

Richard Bosworth, "Reading the Italo-Australian Press in the Era of Post-1945 Mass Migration", MS, 1991.

CHAPTER ONE

ETHNICITY AND THE ETHNIC PRESS

Io son venuto dall'Italia mia
In questa vasta terra Canadese
E nel mio cuore ancora la poesia
Mi sta del mio paese...

Restar mi penso, per il mio futuro
Tempo, qui dove il fato m'ha voluto
E il Canada, ne son tutto sicuro
Darammi grande aiuto

Però Italia mia giammai vorrei
Scordare nella mia vita: essa e mia Madre!
Cosi io penso e sento, e i versi miei
Rivolgo alle sue squadre

"Voce del Cuore", Antonio Parri, nuovo arrivato
Il Cittadino Canadese, 8 September 1951.

This simple poem appeared in a 1951 edition of the Italian Canadian newspaper *Il Cittadino Canadese* (The Canadian Citizen). Its author, Antonio Parri was one of the 21 467 Italians who migrated to Canada in 1951. [1] While the artistic merit of "*Voce del Cuore*" is questionable, the sense of yearning and nostalgia for the madrepatria expressed in the poem rings sincere. Antonio Parri's refusal to forget his past stands in contradiction to the assimilationist policy of immigrant settlement adopted by the Canadian government in the immediate post-war era. The United

States and Australia followed the same policy. Immigrants to each of these places were expected to lose their cultural baggage on the journey to the New World and conform to the norms of the host society.

In academia, the assimilationist perspective dominated works on immigration. [2] The landmark book of assimilationist scholarship was historian Oscar Handlin's The Uprooted, published in 1951. The crux of his thesis was that immigrants, "did not bring with them the social patterns of the Old World. These could not be imposed on the activities of the new..."[3] Handlin argued that as Europeans moved from predominantly rural societies to urban, industrial America, the pressures of assimilation brought to bear on these peasant immigrants resulted in the disintergration of their past lifestyles and values. He portrayed immigrants in The Uprooted as passive victims of alienation who were forcibly cut off from their communal village ties because "the act of migration was individual" [4]. Never mind that most newcomers did not immigrate independently as Handlin assumed, but rather through kinship networks and chains. The insistence that immigration was an essentially individual act was just one of the many holes in Handlin's thesis.

Despite some serious shortcomings in Handlin's argument, his image of the 'uprooted' immigrant who was made to sever all links with the past upon arrival in America was not seriously challenged by historians or social scientists for over a decade. It was not until the 1960s that scholars such as Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick

Moynihan produced studies which clearly demonstrated that immigrants maintained physical and mental links with their origins, despite policies of assimilation. In Beyond the Melting Pot, their 1963 study of the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York city, Glazer and Moynihan argued,

> "the notion that the intense and unprecedented mixture of ethnic and religious groups in American life was soon to blend into a homogenous end product has outlived its usefulness, and also its credibility..." [5]

They insisted that the assimilationist framework which had previously dominated studies of immigration and settlement was no longer valid. Instead, Glazer and Moynihan suggested that scholars shift their attention to the concept of ethnicity to better describe the phenomenon that was taking American culture 'beyond the melting pot'.

Since the publication of Beyond the Melting Pot, questions of ethnicity have come to assume increasing importance in political and academic discussions. However, despite the surge in the popularity of ethnic studies, the term has been poorly defined. In Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, the 1975 follow-up study to their earlier groundbreaking work, Glazer and Moynihan described ethnicity very accurately as a "term on the move". [6] It is still the case. Almost twenty years later, defining ethnicity poses just as slippery a challenge. Much has been written by historians and social scientists, but there is no one dominant view on the meaning of ethnicity. A definition of ethnicity is essential to this thesis, yet no satisfactory

explanation of the concept exists. Therefore, in this chapter, my aim is to present a critical review of the existing literature and discuss how it relates to my primary research. My belief is that it is more useful to sketch in the contours of the scholarly debate over the meaning of ethnicity, rather than engaging in a futile quest for an *exact* definition which I can then apply to my own work.

For the sake of clarity in this chapter, I break the debate over ethnicity down into four major areas. Firstly, I examine whether an ethnic group is defined from within by its members, or by the external elements in the host society. Secondly, I ask if ethnicity is primordial. That is, are the reasons for ethnicity 'in the blood' so to speak, or are they circumstantial? In other words, is ethnicity something essential or is it something invented? The third area of investigation is centred around the question whether ethnicity denotes a certain kind of minority status for a group within the larger host society. Is ethnicity a phenomenon intimately linked with powerlessness and the struggle to achieve and maintain power, or the inverse - used as a concept by the dominant group in a host society to legitimise inequality? Can the dominant group itself also be regarded as 'ethnic'? Finally, I examine how culture fits into the equation of ethnicity. Once I have explored these four major points, I will then go into a more specific discussion of the historiography of the ethnic press. Together, the survey of works on ethnicity and the ethnic press serve as a necessary prelude to my primary research on the Italian ethnic press in post-war Canada and Australia which follows later in this thesis.

To begin with, I want to examine the question of who has the power to define ethnicity? Do ethnic groups form their own sense of ethnicity, or is their identity thrust upon them by outside forces? Historian Robert Harney claimed that although both mattered, it was how immigrants defined themselves which was most important. Consequently, the main focus of his work was on the internal mechanisms of ethnic communities. In Harney's numerous articles and editorial prefaces, he argued tirelessly that information regarding the process by which ethnicity was negotiated was locked *inside* ethnic communities. He encouraged other historians to look within groups, to examine what he called "the important islands of acquaintanceship within the community"[7] in order to understand how members of an ethnic group defined themselves.

Harney's student John Zucchi carried on this concern with ethnic self definition. In Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935, Zucchi presented Italian immigrants themselves as active participants in defining their own sense of community. In mapping the boundaries of Toronto's three pre-war Little Italies, Zucchi stressed the idea that the Italian neighbourhoods were constructed in order to meet the needs of the immigrants themselves. Furthermore, in tracing the expanding loyalties of pre-war Italian immigrants in Toronto

from a parochial to a more national form of allegiance, he emphasised that it was primarily internal factors (such as the formation of an intellectual and business elite) which preciptated this shift. What Zucchi overlooked in his study was the influence which Italian-Canadian newspapers may have had in the formation of an ethnic Italian identity among migrants.

This is where my own work comes in. While I deal with a later time period (1947-1957) and different context (Montreal and Sydney), my own thesis is very much in keeping with the work of Robert Harney and John Zucchi in that I am primarily interested in ethnic self-definition. My broad conern is with how self-proclaimed or appointed leaders of an ethnic community try to use newspapers as a tool in the construction of ethnicity. However, although my focus is on internal structures and definitions, I do not argue that ethnicity is *only* defined from within. It is important that I alsc situate my work on *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma* in the larger contextual framework of the social and political climate of 1950s Australia and Canada, or more specifically Quebec and New South Wales.

In a post-script to Italians in Toronto, Zucchi himself encourages such contextualization of ethnic identity. In the article "Cultural Constructs or Organic Evolution: Italian Immigrant Settlements in Ontario", Zucchi re-evaluates his

position on the role that Italian immigrants played in the construction of their ethnicity. He argues,

> "while it is true that Italian immigrants did develop a sense of community in Toronto and a number of neighbourhoods, to a great extent through the actions of their leadership and through the process of chain migration, it is also true that this process took place in a particular environment which favoured certain directions and constrained the process from going in others. A study of Italian settlements in Ontario would therefore have to take into account this context"[8]

Zucchi's change of heart was influenced in part by the work of Australian geographer Kay Anderson. In her book, Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada 1875-1980, Anderson argued that Chinese immigrants in Vancouver were forced into physical and mental ghettoes by hostile forces outside the 'community'. [9] While she did not assign Vancouver's Chinese a completely passive role in the creation of their neighbourhood, the crux of her thesis was that Chinatown belonged as much, if not more, to the society with the power to define and shape it as it did to its residents. Although Anderson's work is about how external factors shape a consciousness of race, her ideas are just as valid when applied to the field of ethnicity.

The differing views held by Zucchi and Anderson over the problem of internal versus external definitions of ethnicity, is illustrative of the fact that discussions of

'ethnicity' and 'race' frequently overlap. It is worth pointing out the ways in which both concepts are similar and are often used in conjunction to one another. This will lead us to the second major area of debate regarding ethnicity, the question of whether it is something primordial as opposed to a social and cultural construct.

Although the term 'ethnicity' is a contemporary post-war invention, the word 'ethnic' was often used in the mid-nineteenth century as a synonym for 'race'.[10] In The Social and Biological Aspects of Ethnicity, Malcolm Chapman points out that the more modern use of the term often maintains racial implications. He argues, "ethnicity, however defined, is closely allied to the concept of race" [11] and that "in many ways, 'ethnicity' is 'race' after an attempt to take the biology out." [12] It is very surprising that such a statement appears in what is an ostensibly credible recent publication by Oxford University Press. While Chapman is not wrong in positing some connection between race and ethnicity, the fact that he cites biology as one of the main determinants of race is open to question.

A biological definition of race is a fallacy because the choice of criteria for physical characteristics such as skin colour, hair texture, lip and eye shape is so arbirtrary. This does not mean that there is no such thing as race, but rather it is socially constructed. One vivid and particularly apt example of race as a social construction which immediately springs to mind is the case of

southern Italians in Australia and Canada in the immediate post-war period. *Meridionali* were treated with such disdain and contempt in the host societies in the 1950s that they were often perceived to be of a different *race* from northern Europeans, or even northern Italians for that matter. Today in Canada and Australia, Italians are not generally seen as being of a different 'race' to other Europeans. The fact that regard for Italians, especially southerners, has changed so drastically so that they are no longer commonly depicted as racially different demonstrates how race itself is a social construct in the mind of the beholder.

Just as biological definitions of race are outdated and inadequate, so too are defintions of ethnicity which argue that it is somehow 'in the blood' so to speak. Most contemporary scholars are extremely sceptical of the essentialist view of ethnicity as a notion of 'natural' affinity or primordial attachment. In their latest publications, sociologists Gill Bottomley and Mary Waters do not dispute the idea that a shared, unique origin in time and place is important in any definition of ethnicity. [13] What these two commentators make very clear is that this affective tie need not be related to any *actual* common, unique origin. It is the *belief* on the part of members of an ethnic group that they are descended from the same ancestors which matters. The emphasis which Bottomley and Waters both place on the perceptual aspects of ethnic identity is typical of the newer studies on ethnicity in the North American and Australia contexts. What this cognitive focus has led to are works

which stress the idea that ethnicity is above all a construction; it gets made as opposed to being fixed or stable.

The best analysis of ethnicity as a construction is to be found in historian Werner Sollors' The Invention of Ethnicity (1989). Sollors begins by critiquing past studies which focused on the preservation and survival of ethnic groups which depicted them as somehow natural, eternal, static units. He complains that such works get bogged down in discussions of 'authenticity' and cultural heritage within the idealized group. According to Sollors, these concerns are largely irrelevent. Instead, he asks

> "is not the ability of ethnicity to present itself as 'natural' and timeless a category the problem to be tackled? Are not ethnic groups part of the historical process, tied to the history of modern nationalism. Though they may pretend to be eternal and essential, are they not of rather recent origin and eminently pliable and unstable...even when they exist over long time spans, don't ethnic groups constantly change and redefine themselves? "[14]

Indeed, ethnicity needs to be seen as a dynamic process which is re-invented and re-interpreted differently by each generation and individual. In order to study this process, it is not enough to simply investigate a 'fixed encyclopaedia of cultural essentials'. If ethnicity is an invention, the obvious question that follows is why is it constructed? Who benefits from the making of ethnicity?

Years before publication of The Invention of Ethnicity, these issues were being examined by American sociolgists Glazer and Moynihan. In Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, Glazer and Moynihan raised the concept of "the strategic efficacy of ethnicity as a basis for asserting claims against the government ."[15] They argued that ethnicity was a mobilizing principle which enabled *minority groups* to gain money and concessions from the modern state. Or, in other words, ethnicity was invented and promoted by the members of ethnic communities in order to get a bigger, better slice of the pie. Central to Glazer and Moynihan's thesis of strategic efficacy was the idea that ethnic groups were socially and politically marginal by definition. This question of whether the term ethnic means disadvantaged 'other' is the third major area for debate amongst scholars in the field of ethnicity, as well as politicians.

Not all commentators share Glazer and Moynihan's opinion that ethnicity denotes a certain kind of minority status. Canadian sociologist Wsevolod Isajiw defines ethnicity as

> " a group or category of persons who have common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of peoplehood and Gemeinschaft type relations, who are of immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a larger society." [16]

Using Isajiw's definition, the term 'ethnic' in a place like Quebec would not simply mean 'other than English or French', but would include the two charter groups in any discussion of ethnicity. The

benefit of a schema in which the discourse of ethnicity is not marginalized is that assumptions about the norms of the dominant or most entrenched group in society being 'natural' are challenged. The dominant group then comes to recognize its own 'ethnicity'.

However, there is a major flaw in the argument that ethnicity need not be related to conditions of powerlessness or marginality. If every group in a given society can be seen as 'ethnic', inequalities in the distribution of power between different groups get swept under the carpet. Australian sociologist Marie de Lepervanche raises this problem in her article "From Race to Ethnicity". She astutely points out that in Australia,

> "the quaint national custom of males dressed in thick woolen kilts dancing about in Sydney's summer heat on New Year's Day is not ethnic. If Greeks, not Scots, behaved like this it would be." [17]

Now at first glance it may appear that de Lepervanche is being sarcastic when she makes the assertion that Scots dancing in kilts on a hot New Years Day in Australia is not 'ethnic'. But her real point is that because Scots are part of the dominant British charter group in Australia, their behaviour is not *regarded* as ethnic, therefore they are not ethnic. As she spells out in her concluding remarks, "there are in fact no ethnics; there are only ways of seeing people as ethnics." [18] De Lepervanche goes on to argue that the key problem in ethnic studies is to 'see people as ethnics' in relation to "patterns of economic, political and cultural dominance". [19]

In looking at the relationship between ethnicity and the dominant forces in society, de Lepervanche posits a striking similarity between the contemporary promotion of ethnicity and the way in which racist behaviour and ideologies were convenient to ruling class interests a century ago in Australia, the United States and Britain. Linking ethnicity and race enables her to argue that both are social constructs used by the dominant forces in society to create and maintain inequalities and legitimize disadvantage.

De Lepervanche's argument is related to the earlier work of Glazer and Moynihan, who also discussed ethnicity in terms of external power relations. As I have already mentioned, Glazer and Moynihan viewed ethnicity as a political construct used by the members of an ethnic group in order to gain more power for themselves. De Lepervanche argues the inverse; ethnicity is a social construct used by the dominant forces in society to discriminate against members of ethnic groups. These two opposing points of view should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. Rather, they are two sides of the same coin. Both arguments are valid and will be taken into account in the evaluation of my primary sources. I will try to investigate whether the concept of Italian ethnicity constructed in both *Ii Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma* was intended to act as a political lever in the mobilization of readers, or whether the invention of *italianità* was more of a reaction to prejudice from the wider Australian or Canadian society.

Before moving on to look more specifically at the ethnic press and the newspapers themselves, one last point needs to be made regarding the concept of ethnicity. This final problem is the issue of culture. De Lepervanche questions the validity of culture in the construction of ethnicity in her article "From Race to Ethnicity". She argues that studies which focus on cultural symbols or the cognitive aspects of ethnicity are irrelevent and misleading, "for once we introduce searches for self and identity, it is open season and ethnicity can be about almost anything you care to name..." [20] In making these assertions, de Lepervanche is far too hasty in her dismissal of the cultural element of ethnicity. She is right to maintain that in order to study the construction of ethnicity, it is *not* enough to simply investigate a series of 'fixed' cultural essentials. The concept of culture should not be the sole focus of any exploration of ethnicity, but nor should it be left out altogether.

Most definitions of ethnicity usually include some reference to culture. However, historians and social scientists usually invoke the term without really attempting to explain it. One sociologist who is more thorough in her treatment of the cultural component of ethnicity is Gillian Bottomley. In From Another Place; Migration and the Politics of Culture (1992) she points out that "since the idea of 'culture' has been so firmly associated with the national or folk identity, state policies such as multi-culturalism define culture in ethnic terms."[21] Bottomley argues that ethnic

dance, music, costumes and food are promoted by governments and put on display at ethnic and multi-cultural festivals because they are regarded as safe and 'pretty' token symbols of ethnic culture.[22] However, she points out that these cultural manifestations may and often do hold a more vital meaning for the participants themselves.

While Bottomley presents a sophisticated analysis of the intersections between class, gender, culture and ethnicity, she fails to provide an adequately precise definition of the concept of culture. At best, she defines culture as a "constitutive social process creating specific ways of life"[23]. For the purposes of my own research, this definition of culture is far too broad. A more useful, specific concept of ethnic culture is provided by sociologist Leo Driedger. Driedger's definition of ethnic culture includes such basic features as language use, religion, endogamy, choice of friends, education and participation in community institutions and organizations. [24] I will explore these areas of culture in the construction of *italianità* in *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

While the cultural element is certainly a part of every ethnic equation, it has to be kept in mind that the cultural 'stuff' within an ethnic group is not the key to understanding that group's identity. As I have already mentioned, a concept so shifting and unstable as 'culture' should not be the sole axis of any definition of ethnicity.

More important than the cultural agenda of an ethnic group, is the cultural boundary between members and outsiders. This is the argument presented by anthropologist Frederik Barth in his seminal work Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. Barth argued that,

> "the nature and continuity of ethnic units is clear, it depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of its members may likewise be transformed, indeed even the organization form of the group may change - yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content..." [25]

Barth's definition was and remains an important one because it anticipates changes in the cultural form and content of ethnicity. His concept of ethnic boundaries has been used time and again by historians and social scientists since the publication of his groundbreaking work. Barth's influence can be detected in a wide range of scholarship on ethnicity, including the work of John Higham. In Ethnic Leadership in America, Higham points out that leaders can help make ethnic boundaries seem less fluid and indeterminate by promoting group cohesion. He argues that "leaders create the substructures of the ethnic community, produce or confirm its symbolic expressions and focus the consciousness of an ethnic group on certain salient features."[26]

What Higham could have added to his study of immigrant leadership was a discussion of the tools which leaders use to construct ethnic boundaries. The ethnic press is one such important instrument in the hands of a business, intellectual or religous elite of an ethnic community in its construction of ethnicity. My own work on the Italian ethnic press in Canada and Australia is based on the idea that the *prominenti* in a community use newspapers to encourage group cohesion. What I will examine later in this thesis are the symbols and issues which *Il Cittadino Canadese* and *La Fiamma* focused on in the decade from 1947 to 1957 in their attempt to construct and promote a unified sense of *italianità* amongst their readers. Before I turn to my primary research, one last background point needs to be covered. I have considered the main areas of debate concerning ethnicity, now I shall briefly examine the historiography of the ethnic press itself.

The historiography can basically be divided into two sections; works on the 'ethnic press', and earlier studies of the 'immigrant' or 'foreign language press' which pre-date the popularity of 'ethnicity' as a widely used concept. There is a continuity of themes and interests in older publications such as sociologist Robert Park's pioneering work The Immigrant Press and its Control (1922), Caroline Ware's article "The Foreign Language Press" (1937) and Australian sociologists Gilson and Zubrzycki's book The Foreign Languge Press in Australia 1848-1964 (1967) which warrants their

collective rather than individual analysis. Despite the lag between publication dates, these authors essentially say the same things.

Firstly, each contends that the immigrant or the foreign language press is aimed at an exclusively immigrant clientele. Caroline Ware makes this point most clearly in her article explaining, "the foreign language press serves communties of immigrants settled permanently in a land where the vernacular is unfamiliar to the bulk of the immigrant group. " [28] Secondly, language is an important part of each social scientist's functional definition of the immigrant or foreign language press. They all specify that these publications convey news to immigrants in their native tongue. Thirdly, in the process of doing so, they are all in basic agreement that the foreign language press "provides a most valuable instrument of cultural, social, political and economic intergration..." [29]

This last point is the most important. The overriding concern in each of these studies is with assimilation. As Park comments, "it seems fairly clear that what the foreign language press actually does... is to facilitate the adjustment of the foreign born to the American environment." [30] This emphasis on the assimilative function of the immigrant press goes hand in hand with their predictions of its inevitable demise. Ware describes this process of suicide or obsolescence as, " the more a foreign language paper seeks, by introducing features characteristic of the local press to hold its readers who are becoming assimilated, the more it hastens its loss of support by furthering the process of assimilation." [31]

However, forecasts of the eventual death of the immigrant press turned out to be wrong just as the expectation that immigrants and their children would become completely assimilated proved false. As the interest in ethnicity grew, it was only a matter of time before specific studies on the ethnic press began to appear. Works such as Wynar and Wynar's Encyclopaedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers (1972), the 1982 spring/summer edition of Polyphony (devoted entirely to the study of the ethnic press in Canada), and Sally Miller's The Ethnic Press in the United States (1987) are quite different to earlier works on the immigrant and foreign language press.

The most obvious contrast between the immigrant or foreign language press and the ethnic press raised by the contemporary scholars is the question of readership, or how they define their audience. In their Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States, sociologists Lubomyr and Anna Wynar explain that ethnic papers, which do not necessarily have their roots in immigrant beginnings, (the Black press is cited to illustrate this point), serve native born ethnic rather than foreign born immigrant needs. [32] Furthermore, rather than emphasising its function as an instrument of assimilation to some ideal outside of the ethnic group, commentators such as Wynar and Wynar stress that "the major function of the ethnic press lies in its role as the principal agent by which the identity, cohesiveness and structure of the ethnic community are preserved and perpetuated."[33]

The most recent, major work on the ethnic press, Sally Miller's The Ethnic Press in the United States (1987) adds nothing new to our understanding of the ethnic press. Miller sticks to a functional definition of the ethnic press which stresses its role both in promoting assimilation to a host society ideal, (or rather socialization to the United States as she calls it) and simultaneously maintaining group cohesion by expressing ethnic values, heritage and a changing sense of identity. What is most disappointing about the book however, is Miller's tendency to overlook the shaping or creative function of the press. She enthuses,

> "No other printed source compares to the press for its ability to provide a multi-dimensional overview. However narrow or inexperienced or undercapitalized the various newspapers may have been, they never the less each offered a reflection of group experience." [35]

Although Miller overlooks any discussion of the creative function of the press in her introduction, the concept of a newspaper as an active negotiator in the formation of ethnic consciousness does surface in the book. Paul Magosci's chapter on the Carpatho-Rusyn press, contains the important observation that, "the press not only became a mirror reflecting the wide diversity in Rusyn-American society; in many ways it actually defined what that society was." [36] It is just a pity that the authors of the other remaining twenty six chapters of the book generally lack Magosci's insight.

Furthermore, in what is purported to be a major study of ethnic publications in the United States, there is no mention made of Italian language newspapers. Miller herself apologises for this omission offering the excuse that no specialist was sufficiently free of constraints to undertake the assignment. To make up for this lack, she recommends that readers consult The Italian American Periodical Press 1836-1980, by Pietro Russo, published by the Centre for Migration Studies in New York. Unfortunately, the book was never released, so there is no detailed study of the Italian ethnic press in the United States available.

The situation in Canada and Australia is not much better. Gianni Grohovaz's article"Toronto's Italian Press after the Second World War" in the 1982 spring/summer edition of Polyphony is only a very minor foray into a vastly unexplored field in this particular aspect of Italian-Canadian history. It is simply an anecdotal account of the author's trials and tribulations as an aspiring journalist for several Italian language publications (*La Verità, Corriere Canadese and Panorama*) in Ontario in the 1950s. More helpful is Massimo Ciavolella's article,"*La Stampa Italiana in Canada*" [37]. But Ciavolella's brief work contains no real analysis of the newspapers it lists. It is really only a catalogue of Italian language publications in Canada from 1895 through to the 1980s.

"The Italian Press in Canada", chapter seven of Antonino Spada's book The Italians in Canada, also provides such a register. Spada also comments on the function of an Italian newspaper which he maintains,

> "is edited to give vent to specific aims, to protest, to render service, to assert...By its mere existence a newspaper builds up the personality of the editor, who becomes a symbol of specific groups in the community. " [38]

It is interesting that Spada points out that newspapers try to exert influence over their readers, not just mirror what is going on in a particular society or community. As the founding editor and publisher of *Il Cittadino Canadese*, Spada used his own paper to 'direct' rather than just 'reflect' the interests of his Italo-Canadian readers. The exact contours of his quest to guide the sensibilites of the Italo-Canadian community in Montreal in the post-war period will be discussed later in this thesis. For now, it suffices to say that not much, in fact nothing of any real worth has been written about *Il Cittadino Canadese*, or any other Italo-Canadian paper for that matter.

The situation is only marginally better from the Italo-Australian perspective. Historian Richard Bosworth's article, "Reading the Italo-Australian Press in the Era of Post-1945 Mass Migration" (1991 Manuscript) is a brief but incisive study based on two publications, the short lived *Il Canguro* (1955-56) and *Corriere D'Australia* (1953-1961). Despite its limited scope, Bosworth does make some important suggestions about how the Italian ethnic press

acts as one of the forces creating hegemony in an Italian community.[39] However, Bosworth does not include *La Fiamma* in his discussion and unfortunately the few works which deal specifically with the Italo-Australian paper I am concerned with in this thesis generally lack his perceptive edge. For example, in the article, "The Italian Press in Australia", historian Robert Pascoe fleetingly mentions *La Fiamma* stating;

> "Immediately after the War, New South Wales was given again the centre of newspaper publishing, with La Fiamma established in April 1947 as an overtly anti-Communist weekly. From August 1951, under the leadership of Evasio Constanzo, La Fiamma recognized that Communism was a dead issue in Australia and became a mildly progressive bi-weekly..." [40]

La Fiamma received more attention in Gilson and Zubrzycki's The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964. It was one of the nine papers chosen for detailed content analysis in the book for the years 1956-1959. However, because the social scientist authors recognized only left wing views as being overtly 'political', the importance of politics in *La Fiamma* was completely downplayed. Gilson and Zubrzycki merely conceded that "in addition to being somewhat nationalistic, editorial comment in *La Fiamma* stemmed also from a Catholic and therefore anti-communist viewpoint." [41]

Perhaps if Gilson and Zubrzycki had chosen to focus on the earlier years of the paper's life, they would not have come to the mistaken conclusion that the paper was somehow 'non-political'. By 1956, the full force of

La Fiamma's anti-communist paranoia had become diluted with other interests and concerns. But even a fleeting glance over early editions is enough to indicate that the paper had more than a 'somewhat anti-communist bias'. From its inception in 1947, *La Fiamma* was engaged in an intense, relentless quest to stamp out communism and establish the dominance of the Catholic Church over Italian immigrants in Australia. The obsession with anti-communism did give way in the 1950s to broader concerns, but *La Fiamma's* political and cultural agenda was always contained within the parameters of Roman Catholicism. To be Italian was to be Roman Catholic; this was the main message conveyed to readers with tireless regularity in the paper.

By contrast, the Italo-Canadian paper *Il Cittadino Canadese* focused on political matters closer to home in its quest to unite and direct the interests of the Italian ethnic 'community' in Montreal. Here, religion was not a major component of the ideal of *italianità* presented. Rather, the push for political representation of Italians at a local, provincial and federal level was the paper's main focus in the immediate post-war decade. In *Il Cittadino Canadese*, to be Italian was to 'vote Italian'. I will explore this point in greater detail in chapter four of this thesis where I deal specifically with primary material from the Italo-Canadian paper. The exact nature of *La Fiamma's* attempt to construct and present an Italian ethnic ideal centred around Roman

Catholicism will be expanded on in chapter three. But before I turn to analysing the newspapers themselves, it is important that I provide more background information to set the context for my primary research. Therefore, in the following chapter, I will sketch in the contours of Italian immigration policy to Australia and Canada in the post-war period.

[1]Claude Painchaud and Richard Poulin, *Les Italiens Au Quebec* (Hull Quebec: Editions Asticou., 1988), Table 5:1 p. 82.

[2]For an classic Australian example of an immigration study written in the assimilationist vein see demographer Wilfred Borrie's Italians and Germans in Australia (Melbourne: F.W. Chesire., 1954)

[3]Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston/Toronto/London: Little Brown & Co., 2nd edition 1973), p.152.

[4]Ibid, p.35.

[5]Nathan Glazer & Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City (Cambridge Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press., 1963), p.5.

[6]Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, (London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press., 1975), p.1.

[7]Robert Harney, ed., Gathering place: peoples and neighbourhoods of Toronto 1834-1945 (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1985), p.11. By 'islands of acquaintanceship' Harney meant mutual aid societies, cultural and religious organizations, family and kinship networks.

[8]John E. Zucchi, "Cultural Constructs or Organic Evolution? Italian Immigrant Settlements in Ontario", in Julius Molinaro/ Maddalena Kuitunen, eds., The Luminous Mosaic; Italian Cultural Organizations in Ontario (Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana., 1991), p.20.

[9]Kay Anderson, Vancouver's Chinatown: racial discourse in Canada 1875-1980 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press., 1991).

[10]Malcolm Chapman, ed. Social and biological aspects of ethnicity (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.,1993), p.15.

[11]Ibid, p.3.

[12]Ibid, p.21.

[13]See Gill Bottomley, From Another Place: migration and the politics of culture (Hong Kong: Cambridge University Press., 1992), p.59.

Also Mary C. Waters, Ethnic Options: choosing identities in America (Berkeley and Los Angeles,California: University of California Press., 1990), p.17.

[14]W.Sollors,ed., The Invention of Ethncity (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press., 1989), p.xiv.

[15]Glazer and Moynihan, Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, p.11.

[16]Wvesvolod Isajiw., " Definitions of Ethnicity", Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada eds. Rita M. Bienvenue & Jay E. Goldstein (Canada: Butterworth & Company., 1985), pp. 5-17.

[17] De Lepervanche,Marie., "From race to ethnicity", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology (16) (1980): p.25.

[18]Ibid, p.35.

[19]Ibid, p.25.

[20]Ibid, p.30.

[21]Bottomley, From Another Place, p.54.

[22]NB: It is the Australian government which Bottomley refers to specifically, although she could also conceivably include the Canadian government in her discussion.

[23]Bottomley, From Another Place, p.10.

[24]See Leo Driedger, ed., The Canadian ethnic mosaic: a quest for identity (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart., 1978), p.15.

[25]Frederik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the social organization of cultural difference (London: George Allen and Unwin., 1969), p.14.

[26]John Higham,ed., Ethnic Leadership in America (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press., 1978), p.8.

[28] Caroline Ware, "The Foreign Language Press", Enclyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol 6, 1937, p.378.

[29] Gilson and Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964, (Canberra: Australian National University., 1967), pp. 160-61.

[30] Robert Park, The Immigrant Press and its Control (New York & London: Harper and Brothers., 1922), p.87.

[31] Ware," The Foreign Language Press", p.378.

[32] Wynar, L and Wynar A, Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States (Littleton Colorado: Libraries Unlimited., 2nd edition., 1976), p.18.

[33] Ibid, p.18.

[35] Sally M. Miller., ed, The Ethnic Press in the United States: A historical analysis and handbook (New York: Greenwood Press., 1987), p.xii.

[36] Paul Magosci, "The Carpatho-Rusyn Press", The Ethnic Press in the United States: A historical analysis and handbook, ed. Sally,M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press., 1987).

[37] Massimo Ciavollella, "La Stampa Italians in Canada", *Il Veltro*, May-August,1985., pp.421-430.

[38] Spada, The Italians in Canada, p.117.

[39] Richard Bosworth, "Reading the Italo-Australian press in the era of post-1945 mass migration", MS., 1991.

[40] Robert Pascoe, "The Italian Press in Australia", The Ethnic Press in Australia, eds., A.W. Ata & C. Ryan (Forrest Hill, Vic: Academia Press and Foreign Print Publications., 1989), p.204.

[41] Gilson and Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964, (Canberra: Australian National University Press., 1967),p.70.

CHAPTER TWO
POST-WAR CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY TOWARDS ITALIANS

A Te ripenso ogn'ora o Patria mia
E miro al tuo passato e al tuo presente
Cosi facendo, io cerco quale via
Il futuro riserbi a la tua gente

Di valor, di saper, di cortesia
Alto faro tu fosti iridiscente
D'ogni tua zolla sempre alto salia
Un alito di vita fioriscente...

Oggi, afflitta tu sembri tutta quanta
Per duro fato, e soffre la tua prole
Quale ridir non san queste mie rime

Eppure, o Italia, il tuo diman s'ammanta
Ecco, gioso del romano sole
E stan le genti tue di gloria opime!

Fede Italica
Liborio Lattoni, *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 14 January 1950.

1945 or '*anno zero*' marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of Italy. The hope of a glorious Italian rebirth expressed in the poem *Fede Italica*, was inspired by the grim social and economic reality of a nation which emerged from the Second World War severely scarred. Italian industrial output in 1945 was less than one third of what it had been in 1938: agricultural production merely 63.3 percent.[1] Inflation in the post-war period spiralled to dizzying heights as cheap state-backed credit and foreign aid flooded the Italian economy to help rebuild the basic infrastructure of transport and industry.[2] Unemployment rates were the worst of any western

European country. Over two million Italians were without work in 1950, a figure which persisted until the late 1950s.[3] The situation was particularly bad in rural areas, especially in the south where 33 percent to 50 percent of Italians were jobless and millions were underemployed. [4] At the root of Italy's socio-economic difficulties was the problem of overpopulation. The post-war Italian state was in no fit condition to support its 47.5 million citizens. [5] Christian Democrat Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi suggested an age old solution to this fundamental dilemma; emigration. He urged Italians to "go out again on the paths of the world and by their own actions force open doors barred against them". [6]

But where could Italians emigrate? Who would receive them? Surplus population could not be absorbed in lands governed by the Italian state, for Italy had lost its colonial empire through the terms of the Peace Treaty eventually signed in February 1947. Italian Foreign Minister Carlo Sforza argued that if Britain and the United States were so adamant that Itaiy be stripped of its colonial possessions, the powers had an obligation to help find other outlets for Italian emigration. To encourage assistance in this matter, Sforza played on western fears that without emigration as a 'safety valve', Italy would become even more fertile ground for Communist recruitment. In a letter to British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in September 1947, Sforza warned,

> "Italy was not capable at that moment of being a great power for good, but if disaster overtook her she could be a great power for evil, and perhaps carry France with her." [7]

However the threat of a communist Italy was not enough to induce Britain or the United States to allow more Italian immigrants into their own countries. The British insisted that they could not permanently absorb large numbers of Italians. The Americans treated the prospect of increased Italian immigration with a similar lack of enthusiasm. They were prepared to offer Italy financial help through the Marshall Aid program and willing to include the Italians in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.[8] However, the U.S. remained committed to its quota entry system which had curtailed Italian immigration since the nineteen twenties. In 1952, Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act which placed even further restrictions on Italian entry to the United States.

South American nations were more prepared to welcome a large Italian influx. Argentina in particular, which had been a major destination for Italian migrants since the previous century, was eager to accept Italians and embarked on a large scale recruitment drive in 1947. Canada and Australia also proved more amenable to the idea of mass Italian migration, although not without some trepidation. Both Commonwealth countries were desperate to expand their populations in the post-war period. In fact they were so desperate that they eventually accepted large numbers of Italians, even though Australian and Canadian officials did not consider them to be 'ideal' migrants. How and why did this happen? What conditions fostered mass Italian immigration to Australia and Canada? How did the respective governmental policies attempt to

direct the flow? These questions will be addressed in the course of this chapter.

To begin with, it is important to examine why a positive, expansionary migration policy was seen as a necessity by Australian and Canadian authorities in the post-war period. Australia was looking to increase its population of 6 835 171 for economic and security purposes. [9] After being vitually abandoned by the British during the Second World War in the face of the Japanese threat, population increase was seen as vital part of a future defense strategy. In 1945, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, announced to the House of Representatives that Australians must either 'populate or perish'. In order to pursue the former more preferable option, Calwell proposed a two percent per annum growth rate. This pace of expansion was to be maintained by admitting roughly 70 000 migrants each year (with a 10:1 British to European ratio) with the expectation of an equal level of natural increase. These original guidelines were soon changed to compensate for the insufficient numbers of Brtish migrants willing to come to Australia and a low birth rate. A target of 100 000 immigrants per annum became the standard formula and it was acceptable for half of these to be non-British Europeans. North western Europeans were next on the racial totem scale of 'ideal' migrants after the British, yet because they showed little interest in Australia, government authorities agreed, although somewhat reluctantly, to allow Italians entry.

At the end of World War Two, no Australian policy makers seriously believed that Italians should be imported to their country. Nevertheless, by 1948, Labour Prime Minister Ben Chifley acknowledged that Italians could be admitted and government officials in Rome and Canberra began planning to channel the flow of people between their two countries. Italians were still not held to be as desirable as northern or central Europeans, yet they were seen as being one step above other potential southern European migrants such as the Greeks, Cypriots and Maltese. Australia needed rapid population expansion, and as there were large numbers of Italians ripe for the picking, the Australian government was prepared to take what it could get.

Furthermore, large scale admission of Italians to Australia was regarded favourably by the United States. In June 1950, U.S. State Department officials advised that Australia might be an appropriate 'guinea-pig' for Italian mass migration. [10] Despite their reluctance to accept Italians within their own borders, U.S. officials encouraged Italian migration elsewhere because it helped relieve Italy of its poor, starving, (potentially Communist) masses. American persuasion should not be seen as the whole reason for the Australian government's about face over the question of Italian admission between 1945 and 1950. However, in the post-war period, Australia was being increasingly drawn into the American sphere of influence and American loans were needed to help fund Australian industrialization. Therefore there is little doubt that the Australian

government would have listened attentively to any American suggestions regarding Italian immigration.

Canadian officials were also aware of the international implications of accepting large numbers of Italian migrants. Proof of this awareness is offered in a dispatch sent from the Canadian embassy in Rome to Ottawa in March 1949 which urged,

> "Any increase in emigration to Canada would be of practical help to Italy in tackling her gravest problem. It would also be a small, but distinctly Canadian contribution to strengthening the present democratic 'Western' government and in making less likely its replacement by Communists..." [11]

In opening itself to the possibility of large scale Italian immigration, Canada was acting out of more than just cold war inspired benevolence. Like Australia, Canada needed to boost its population which in 1947 numbered some 12 000 000. [12] Population increase was the cornerstone of Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King's famous address to the House of Commons on May 1st, 1947. As reported in *Il Cittadino Canadese,* King declared,

> "the government's policy is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration...apart from all else, in a world of shrinking distances and international insecurity, we cannot ignore the danger that lies in a small population attempting to hold so great a heritage as ours. "[13]

King's statement heralded an expansive new era in the history of Canadian immigration. From 1896 to 1914, an estimated three million immigrants had come to settle in Canada. This period of rapid growth was followed by a thirty year migration drought caused by two world wars and a devastating world wide economic depression. However, in the immediate post-war period, (at least until 1957), with rapidly expanding investment and a slow growing domestic labour force, the economic conditions were ripe once again for a large scale influx of immigrants to Canada. Prime Minister Mackenzie King made it perfectly clear in his landmark address that immigration was to be managed in relation to labour market conditions. He stressed that it was "of the utmost importance to relate immigration to absorptive capacity" and that this would "vary from year to year in response to economic conditions..." [14]

Although economic factors were of prime consideration in determining the types and numbers of immigrants who could be admitted, King also made it known that Canada wanted permanent settlers, not sojourners or guest workers who would return home after they had accrued enough wealth. He emphasized that the Canadian government would " seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be absorbed in our national economy." [15]

As this last segment of King's speech makes plain, the Canadian government wanted to be squarely at the centre of the whole immigration process in the post-war period. The mechanism by which decisions were made did in fact grant politicians (and bureaucrats of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration) wide ranging discretionary powers. [16] Unlike the American system whereby changes in the quota system had to be preceded by changes in existing legislation, Cabinet could at any time issue orders in council to regulate the flow of immigrants.

The criteria for government control were not just international obligations or economic factors. Immigration management was also to be guided by thinly disguised racial principles. King insisted,

> "Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental human right of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy...the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of the population - something which large scale immigration from the Orient would inevitably mean, with attendent social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations." [17]

This discriminatory policy was by no means unique to Canada. The 'White Australia' policy which held official sway in Australia from 1901 to 1973 was very similar. [18] Like its Canadian counterpart, the Australian policy of discrimination was clearly aimed at Asians who were on the bottom rung of the ladder of preferred immigrants. In the discriminatory hierachy of admission

to Australia, Italians were seen as being more desirable than Asians. However, they were not much more acceptable. Italians, especially southern Italians, were regarded as inferior to the British or Northern Western European 'stock' the Australian government hoped to attract.

In Canada also, the Italians were low down the pecking order of preferred immigrants. Until Italy signed the Peace Treaty in 1947, Italians (as enemy aliens) were even barred from entering Canada unless they managed to convince an immigration officer that they had been opposed to the actions of the Italian government during the War and were a close relative or dependant of a legal resident of Canada. In January 1948, Canada opened an embassy and immigration office in Rome and by the fall Ottawa had set out the categories of kin eligible for sponsorhip to be first and second degree relatives plus more distant kin such as orphaned nephews and the spouses and children of sponsored relatives. [19] Canadian officials were quickly swamped with sponsorship applications and they soon realized that the demand for emigration from Italy was far greater than the numbers Canada was prepared to absorb.

Canada had consented to take in a substantial number of Italians in the immediate post-war period (the informal quota was roughly 25 000 per year) because of its desperate need for unskilled and semi-skilled labour and its international obligation as a NATO member to help in the fight against Communism. However, once they had been allowed entry, Italians were not necessarily welcomed

with open arms into Canadian society. Canada had taken Italians because of need and obligation, not because they were regarded as desirable migrants. A poll carried out by the Canadian institute of Public Opinion on October 30, 1946 showed that 25 percent of Canadians polled would have wished to keep Italians out of Canada.[20] That this poll was not merely a reflection of war time hostility is suggested by the results of a similar poll conducted in February 1955 in which only 4.4 percent of those interviewed welcomed immigration from the Mediterranean area, while 30 percent welcomed north western Europeans. [21]

Hostility towards Italians, or rather 'Italophobia' as it was called by historian Robert Harney,[22] was also reflected in official government policies and attitudes. But how could this be so when the Canadian government had shown its willingness to accept Italian migrants through the expansion of sponsorship categories and immigration services in Italy? This seeming contradiction arose because Canadian officials had different attitudes to what they regarded as two completely different types of Italians; northerners and southerners.

In a dispatch to the Acting Commissioner of Immigration's Overseas Service in October 1949, the Commissioner of Immigration Colonel Laval Fortier argued that, " among the people of northern Italy, one could select a much better type of migrant and migrants who could fit into our way of living, our way of thinking, our way of working."[23] As this quote shows, northerners (*settentrionali)*

from the north eastern provinces (Trentino, Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia) and from the north west (Piemonte, Lombardia or Liguria) were regarded by Canadian officials as 'good', socially and racially acceptable migrants. By contrast, when assessing southern Italians or *meridionali*, Fortier wrote,

> "My tour of Italy confirms a view I have heard expressed in Ottawa when discussing Italian immigration. Generally speaking, the Italian from the South is not the type of migrant we are looking for in Canada. His standard of living, his way of working, even his civilization seems so different that I doubt if Italians from the South could ever become an asset to our country." [24]

Il Cittadino Canadese complained with great bitterness about the contempt shown for southern Italians in Canada. In an article appearing in July of 1954, the leader of the Federal Conservative opposition George Drew was roundly criticised for suggesting in Parliament that immigration preference be given to northern Italian workers and that southerners be excluded altogether. The unidentified author of the article raised the fact that Drew was married to a Florentine woman, and pointed out that Tuscany could hardly be considered Northern Italy. After asking whether Drew would have married the same woman had she been from Reggio Calabria or Palermo, the writer then paused to reflect on the history of anti-*meridionali* sentiment in Canada describing it as,

> "*una 'forma mentis' creata tra le due guerre mondiali che solo gli schiaffi dell'esperienza, della dignità e della desiderabilità e della intergrabilità dei meridionali d'Italia potranno correggere.*" [25]

The obvious disdain for southern Italians at both a popular and official level in Canada was echoed in Australia. At the level of popular culture, the best example of discrimination against *meridionali* can be found in John O'Grady's novel They're a Weird Mob. The book was written by an Irish Australian under the pseudonym of 'Nino Culotta', and was about the misadventures of a fictional northern Italian journalist in his attempts to assimilate to Australian life. Nino/John O'Grady explains at the outset of the book that,

> "There are many kinds of people in the world. But at that time I thought the worst kind were what we called *Meridionali*. These are Italians from the South of Italy. They are small dark people with black hair and what we considered to be bad habits. We are big fair people with blue eyes and good habits. Perhaps it is a matter of opinion, and an Australian would lump us all together and call us 'bloody dagoes', but we didn't like *Meridionali*, and they didn't like us..." [26]

The prejudice evinced in this quote is indicative of the general tone of the entire book. That a blatantly racist comedy became an instant best seller and has been in almost constant reprint since its publication in 1957 says something about popular Australian attitudes towards *meridionali*. Just as it existed in Canada, popular anti-Southern Italian sentiment was also evident in Australia. At a more official level, a very important but subtle manifestation of this disdain against *meridionali* can be identified by looking closely at the bi-lateral agreements signed between Italy and both Canada and Australia.

Ottawa concluded its bi-lateral negotiations with Italy in the Canadian autumn of 1950, several months before Australia and Italy came to an official accord in March 1951. Both agreements aimed to recruit contract labour to meet specific manpower shortages. The Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Security pre-selected candidates from its unemployment registers who were then forwarded to Australian or Canadian officials for screening. By the terms of the Italian/Australian arrangement, Australian officials also paid a proportion of the migrants' passage, took full responsibility for their reception, provisional lodging and welfare and guaranteed them two years work under contract in officially designated industries.

Aside from the goal of matching available numbers in Italy with placement opportunities in Canada or Australia, (at a time when the recruitment of Displaced Persons was drawing to a halt), the scheme was also an attempt by Canadian and Australian officials to gain some qualitative control over Italian migration to their respective countries. Bi-lateral recruitment was meant to help draw a 'better type' of migrant, because the Italian employment registers did not list peasants. Consequently recruits were more inclined to be from urban rather than rural areas. Furthermore, recruits could be easily selected by government officials to come from specific areas in Italy, so northerners could be chosen over southerners. Finally 'undesirable' concentrations of *connazionali* in particular districts or occupational niches could be avoided by selecting recruits from different places in Italy, and assigning them to a wide scatter of locations during their contract period of employment.

In Australia, the first great wave of bi-lateral recruits arrived in 1952 in the middle of an economic depression. Because the whole bi-lateral administrative machinery took such a long time, future conditions of economic downturn could not be foreseen, and by the time the Italians arrived it was too late to reverse the whole process. The male recruits spent a harsh winter in old military camps, without work or their families. Suffering from the poor conditions and upset by the delays in their employment, Bonegilla camp recruits rioted in July 1952 which resulted in the Army being called in and a full scale investigation conducted. [27] Given the unemployment situation, bi-lateral recruitment was suspended until the Australian economy picked up again in 1954.

The point that needs to be made is that the bi-lateral agreement scheme proved to be a cumbersome, inefficient way of recruiting Italians. In the end, the total number of Italians that came to Australia and Canada under the auspices of this program was quite minor relative to the total volume of the Italian influx. In Australia, assisted migration accounted for 25 percent of Italian settlement with the remaining 75 percent arriving through migration chains. [28] In Canada, the ratio of sponsored to recruited migrants tipped even more sharply in favour of sponsorship networks. Historian Frank Sturino argues that 90 percent of the 409 414 Italian immigrants between 1946 and 1967 arrived through chain migration fostered by the sponsorship system. [29]

In the immediate post-war period, the sponsorship system was regarded in a favourable light by Canadian and Australian immigration officials for several reasons. Firstly, it was the easiest way of rapidly increasing the flow of immigrants: it simply involved expanding the range of relatives that could be sponsored. Sponsorship would bring in migrants not substantially different from the existing population, so racial and cultural standards could be maintained. Furthermore, because of the personal contact between residents and their overseas relatives, information about the availability of work could be transmitted very quickly and the system would therefore be sensitive to any sudden economic downturns. Finally, sponsorship would theoretically make immigrants less of a burden on the state by shifting responsibility for the immigrants' welfare to the relatives who sponsored them.

However, despite these benefits, by the mid to late 1950s, the cumulative effect of the chain sponsorship system began to snowball out of bureaucratic control. Officials in both countries expressed their increasing alarm for several reasons. Firstly, the sponsorship system began to attract more criticism for the numbers of underskilled and poorly educated immigrants it brought into Canada. Of all the sponsored immigrant workers, 25.2 percent were totally unskilled compared with 2.2 percent of the unskilled total among selected immigrants. [30] These newcomers were particularly vulnerable to unemployment in a Canadian economy that by the late 1950's was suffering from the highest rate of unemployment

(6 percent) since the beginning of the Second World War. Unemployment and economic slow down were indications that the Canadian economic structure was changing so that it had less need for manual blue collar and semi-skilled workers. Yet it was precisely these types of workers that the sponsorship system recruited.

Furthermore, the unskilled and undereducated migrants that the sponsorship system attracted were overwhelmingly from one national group - Italy. In Canada, it was calculated that one Italian immigrant eventually came to sponsor, on average, forty nine Italian relatives.[31] While this sounds like a rather incredible figure, from 1951-1963 roughly one seventh of all newcomers admitted to Canada were sponsored immigrants from Italy. [32] By 1958, the growing clamour for government action on the sponsorship issue became an uproar when statistics for that year showed that Italian migration had surpassed the British total by two thousand. Although the Italian total of 28 564 was actually lower than the 1957 figure, in the year 1958 there had been a startling drop in British immigration which resulted in it being overtaken for the first time by another immigrant source.[33]

The panic over the growing numbers of Italians in Canada was exacerbated by the fact that the majority of Italians who arrived under the sponsorship system were *meridionali.* Nearly 60 percent of the 250 000 Italian immigrants who settled in Canada between 1946 and 1961 were from the south. [34] Of all the Italian regions, Calabria, alongside Abruzzi-Molise, contributed more immigrants to

Canada than any other, about 20 percent. [35] Montreal itself received a high proportion of Molisani (from around the Campobasso area) in addition to many Italians from Campania, Calabria, Abruzzi and Sicily. [36] Although national Australian statistics on the region of origin for post-war Italian immigrants are not available, by looking at the backgrounds of Italian immigrants from state to state, it can be seen that highly localised chain migration also delivered mainly southerners to Australian shores. For example, in New South Wales, Calabrians make up the largest regional group followed by Sicilians.[37]

It is ironic that despite the policies of both Australian and Canadian governments which aimed to limit the influx of southern Italians, the results proved directly opposite - it was the *meridionali* who came in great numbers. This seeming paradox is best explained by Australian sociologists J.S. and L.S. Macdonald who argue that two key components of the social structure in southern Italy; the tenacity of traditional kin relationships and the practice of patronage, were ideally suited for the process of chain migration.[38] This combination of familism and patronage is described as the 'motor' which drove the chains which took migrants from the Deep South through the administrative maze to Australia. [39]

The Macdonalds' findings are just as relevant when applied to the Canadian context. The 'latent functions of informal networks' among southern Italians also proved to be faster, more resilient and smarter than the 'manifest functions of bureaucracy.' in Canada. Canadian bureaucrats were as ignorant and incapable of dealing with

the southern Italian strategems of familism and patronage as their Australian counterparts. Oddly, the Macdonalds express *surprise* that "poor people from villages on the edge of history can move halfway around the world contrary to the wishes of modern bureaucracies."[40] Why is it remarkable that 'poor people from villages on the edge of history' can be intelligent, resilient and capable of affecting major change in their lives and that modern bureaucracies can be hopelessly inefficient?

As I have explained, in the arduous struggle between the Australian and Canadian authorities and southern Italian immigrants in the post-war period, it was the *meridionali* who emerged as the winners. To be fair, this victory was not simply a result of the incompetence of Australian and Canadian bureaucrats. Italians needed to migrate because of unemployment and overpopulation in their own country. Canada and Australia needed immigrants to boost their populations for reasons of defence and economics. Although Italians were not the preferred choice of either nation, economic necessity and international obligation made them acceptable candidates for immigration. In an effort to control and limit the flow of Italian immigrants to the more desirable northerners, Australian and Canadian authorites entered into bi-lateral agreements with Italy to recruit workers for specific industries and agricultural pursuits. In the end, these government agreements proved ineffective. Large numbers of *meridionali* arrived in Canada and Australia in the post-war period through sponsorship networks, contrary to the wishes of bureaucrats.

In the decade from1947 to 1957, approximately 174 000 Italians arrived in Canada with the average annual number of entrants hovering consistenly around the twenty thousand mark from 1951 onwards. [41] The majority of these immigrants settled in Ontario, with the province of Quebec attracting between twenty and thirty percent of Italian immigrants.[42] In Australia, at least 90 000 Italians emigrated over the same period sending the number of Italian born people in Australia soaring from 33 632 in 1947 to 228 296 by 1961. [43] Most post-war Italian immigrants to Australia settled in the state of Victoria, although New South Wales (particularly Sydney) was the second major Italian destination.

La Fiamma aimed to serve the growing numbers of Italian immigrants in New South Wales, just as *Il Cittadino Canadese* marketed itself to the flourishing Italian population of Quebec whose numbers kept swelling with new arrivals. In the following two chapters, I will examine the ways in which both newspapers tried to present an ideal of what it meant to be Italian to their readers. I shall begin this part of my thesis which relies on primary research by first looking at the Italo-Australian paper *La Fiamma* . In the following chapter I will deal with the Italo-Canadian newspaper *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Once I have discussed each paper's political and cultural agenda for *italianità*, it will become clear that *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese* used very different rallying points in order to achieve a similar goal - the promotion of Italian ethnic cohesion.

[1]Bosworth, Richard, "Official Italy Rediscovers Australia 1945-50". *Affari Sociali Internazionali* 1988 (2), p.45.

[2]The wholesale price index in June 1946 (compared to 1938 standard of 100) was 2, 600. May 1947 - 5,100. September 1947 - 6,200. The unofficial trading lira fell from 346 to the $ in May 1946 to 906 to the $ ub May 1947. From M. Clark, Modern Italy 1871-1982 (London/New York: Longman., 1984), p.348.

[3]Ibid, p.357.

See Also Frank Sturino., "Post-WWII Canadian Immigration Policy Towards Italians, " Polyphony (VII) (2), fall/winter 1985, p.68.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid, NB:17.4 million were southerners.

[6]Bosworth, "Official Italy Rediscovers Australia 1945-50", p.47.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Between 1948 and 1952, the United States pumped $1 500 000 000 worth of aid into Italy. Clark, Modern Italy, p.348.

[9]F.Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared, (Kingston/Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press., 1989), p.265.

[10]Bosworth, Richard., "Conspiracy of the Consuls? Official Italy and the Bonegilla Riot of 1952" Historical Studies, October 1987 (22) (89), p.552.

[11]Sturino, " Post-WWII Canadian Immigration Policy Towards Italians", p.68.

[12]Bothwell,Drummond & English (eds.) Canada since 1945: power, politics and provincialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press.,1989), p.139.

[13]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 10 May 1947.

[14]V.Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates:Canadian immigration and immigration Policy 1540-1990, (Toronto: Dundurn Press., 1992), p.125.

[15]F.Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: public policy and public concern, (Kingston/Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press., 2nd ed. 1988),p.91.

[16] NB: The Department of Citizenship and Immigration was made into a separate ministry in 1950.

[17]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 10 May 1947.

[18]Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration, p.6.

[19]Sturino, Frank, "Post-World War Two Policy towards Italians", p.67.

[20]Robert Harney, "Italophobia: English Speaking Malady?" *Studi Emigrazione*, March 1985 (77), p.9.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid, pp. 6-43.

[23]Ibid, p.27

[24]Ibid, p.25.

[25]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 30 July 1954.

[26]John O'Grady, They're a Weird Mob (Sydney: Ure Smith., 1957), p.10.

[27]For more information about the Bonegilla incident see Richard Bosworth's "Conspiracy of the Consuls".

[28]James Jupp (ed.) The Australian People (Australia: Angus and Robertson., 1988), p.626.

[29]Frank Sturino, "Family and Kin Cohesion among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto", The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America (eds.) Betty Boyd Caroli et al., (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1978), p. 289.

NB: Sturino derives this figure from Freda Hawkins' Canada and Immigration: Public policy and Public Concern, (pp.47-8, 54) and corroborates his findings with those of Jeremy Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society (Ottawa: Queen's Printer., 1970).

[30] Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: public policy and public concern, p.48. NB. Of the totally unskilled workers, 94.2% were souther European, with this percentage broker. down to 43.2% Italian, 22.7% Portugese and 6.6% Greek.

[31] Robert F. Harney,"So Great a Heritage as Ours; Immigration and the Survival of the Canadian Polity" Daedalus 1988 (111:4), p.64.

[32] Ibid.

[33] F.Sturino, "Post World War Two Canadian Immigration Policy towards Italians", p.68.

[34]F.Sturino, "Family and Kin Cohesion among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto", p.289.

[35]Ibid.

[36]For exact regional breakdown percentiles see Claude Painchaud and Richard Poulin,*Les Italiens Au Quebec* (Montreal: Editions Asticou., 1988), Table 5:3, p.86.

[37]James Jupp (ed.) The Australian People, pp. 596-635.

[38]J.S. Macdonald and L.S. Macdonald, "Italian Migration to Australia: Manifest Functions of Bureaucracy Versus Latent Functions of Informal Networks". Journal of Social History 1970 (3).

[39]Ibid., NB: The 'Deep South' is roughly defined as stretching from the eastern provinces of Sicily, through Calabria and Basilicata, up to the hinterlands of Naples, Lazio and Abruzzi/Molise.

[40]Ibid, p.269.

[41]This number was deduced from exact year by year Italian immigration numbers to Canada taken from *Les Italiens Au Quebec*, Table 3:1 page 82. The number of Italian immigrants entering Canada in the period from 1947 to 1957 peaked in 1956, reaching a total of 28 008.

[42]For exact figures and percentages see Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People; Italian Immigrants in Post-War Toronto (Montreal/Kingston: McGill Queens Univesity Press.,1992), p.207.

See also John E. Zucchi, "Cultural Constructs or Organic Evolution? Italian Immigrant Settlements in Ontario", in Julius Molinaro & Maddalena Kuitunen, (eds.), The Luminous Mosaic; Italian Cultural Organizations in Ontario (Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana., 1991), p.30.

[43]As there are no year by year figures for Italian migration to Australia available, the minimum figure of 90 000 Italian arrivals is produced form the simple subtraction of the 1954 Census figure of Italian born population (119 897) from the 1947 total(33 632). However, this does not take into account the three years from 1954 to 1957, so 90 000 is a minimum estimate. All figures taken from Australian Census Statistics: 1947, 1954, 1961.

CHAPTER THREE
LA FIAMMA

La Fiamma (The Flame) was launched in Sydney, 1947. Throughout the first decade of its publication, the paper was engaged in a relentless quest to convince its readers that communism was an unqualified evil. Rabid anti-communist propaganda was especially evident in the earliest editions of *La Fiamma.* As the paper expanded its size and readership during the 1950s, its one-eyed obsession with communism gave way to broader religious concerns. 'Italian' came to mean more than simply 'anti-communist'. While the ideal of *italianità* presented in *La Fiamma* became more complex as the decade progressed, the concept of what it meant to be Italian was always contained within the parameters of Roman Catholicism. Religion was the main unifying principle in the paper's construction of Italian ethnicity. This chapter will document exactly how religion, or more specifically Roman Catholicism, was used as the cornerstone of *La Fiamma's* construction of *italianità.*

Before looking more closely at the way in which religion served as *La Fiamma's* rallying point for Italo-Australian unity, it is first necessary to address a more basic question: who owned and operated the newspaper from 1947-1957? Given the importance of Roman Catholicism in the paper's agenda for community cohesion, it is hardly surprising that *La Fiamma* was founded by a priest, Father Anastasio Paoletti, with the full

support of the Australian Catholic Church. Paoletti was a member of the Capuchins, an Italian order of Franciscan friars who had maintained only a small presence in Australia prior to the Second World War. The Capuchin order became more prominent in size and influence as the number of Italo-Australians grew in the post-war period. Their expansion in Australia was fostered and encouraged by the Australian Catholic hierachy in response to urgings from the Vatican that Italian migrants receive special pastoral care so as not to be 'lost' from the fold. [1]

The Australian Catholic Church hierachy (who were mostly of Irish extraction) appreciated the need for priests who could communicate with Italian migrants in their own language and who understood the distinctive features of religious practice in Italy. However, they were not willing to provide spiritual assistance for Italian migrants in national parishes as Vatican directives suggested. Instead, the Australian Catholic Church looked to Italian missionaries to augment the existing territorial parish system. The first of these Italian Catholic missionary orders encouraged to extend their work in Australia in the post-war period were the Capuchins.

Father Paoletti was one of a group of Italo-American Capuchins who arrived in Australia immediately after World War Two to preach amongst Italian immigrants in Queensland. Paoletti was originally from Philadephia, although as a boy, he re-emigrated to *Ascoli Piceno* in the *Marche* region of Italy with his parents. [2] He returned to America in his twenties to take up

his vocation with the Capuchins, and was sent to Australia in 1945. In 1947 he was transferred from Queensland to New South Wales and was made the pastor at St. Fiacre's parish in Leichhardt, Sydney. It was in Sydney, 1947, that Paoletti launched *La Fiamma*. He did so under the patronage of the Australian Catholic Church, who sponsored the paper in a bid to help allay fears that the Italo-Australian 'community' was being infiltrated by communists. As Archbishop Gilroy of Sydney proclaimed in the second edition of *La Fiamma*,

> *"Da lungo tempo si sentiva ormai un assoluto bisogno di un tale giornale. Gli italiani di questo paese erano stati resi oggetto di particolari premure da parte di alcuni gruppi comunisti, che avevano saturato la loro stampa e le notizie relative all'Italia da un acre spirito anti-cattolico."* [3]

The newspaper referred to by Gilroy which had allegedly been 'preying' on Italian migrants was *Il Risveglio*, the anti-fascist pro-communist journal of left wing Italian 'radicals' in Australia. First printed in1944, *Il Risveglio* was sponsored by the *Italia Libera* movement, a broad alliance of anti-fascists in Australia formed during World War Two and led by the prominent Italo-Australian socialist Omero Schiassi. [4] When the war ended, the *Italia Libera* organization crumbled. However, *Il Risveglio* survived until 1956, much to the displeasure of the Australian Catholic Church and the Apostolic Delegate who regarded the paper as a subversive threat to Italian Catholic migrants in Australia. They sponsored the creation of *La Fiamma* in order to counteract the growing influence of *Il Risveglio*.

La Fiamma began publication in 1947 with the explicit aim to liquidate *Il Risveglio*, referred to by founding editor Father Paoletti as "*l'organo della propaganda anti-religiosa che più oltraggia il sentimento e la fede degli italiani.*"[5] In his inaugural editorial address, Paoletti made a veiled reference to the rival newspaper asserting,

> "*Sono apparsi da qualche tempo in mezzo a noi degli elementi che, coi loro audaci programmi, hanno tentato incrinare e dissolvere la cristiana unità del nostro popolo. Molti hannno irriso i loro sforzi come inutili e vani conati, ma la stampa è un arma potente, ed essi ne fanno grande uso per seminare il male...*""[6]

Il Risveglio was not the only target for Paoletti's anti-communist rhetoric. *La Fiamma* also warned its readers to beware of unions controlled by "*nemici della loro fede religiosa.*"[7] Italian migrant workers were encouraged to participate in union elections, so long as they chose the safe, conservative (ie. anti-communist or anti-socialist) candidates. The same advice on voting was given to migrants around federal and state election times. *La Fiamma* urged readers to vote only for staunchly anti-communist candidates.

In the paper's electoral endorsements, the importance of an anti-communist platform overrode all other voting concerns, including traditional party preferences. For example, in the 1949 federal election, *La Fiamma* had shown more support for the Australian Labor Party (historically associated with Irish Catholics in Australia) than for their main rival the Australian

Liberal Party (who were traditionally linked with British Protestants and Masons). [8] However, in the 1950s, *La Fiamma* became disenchanted with Labor because they were seen as having become tainted 'red' (or at least pink) by communist subversives. The belief that the party was being influenced by communists became even stronger after the Petrov Soviet spy scandal in 1954. The affair caused a subsequent split in the Labor ranks with a right wing faction of conservative Catholics in Victoria breaking away to form the Democratic Labor Party. In the May 1955 Victorian state election which followed the Labor party schism, *La Fiamma* campaigned for the Democratic Labor Party urging Italian migrants to vote for anti-communist candidates. [9] The blatant anti-Labor propaganda evident in the paper on the occasion of the 1955 Victorian state elections showed how anti-communism superceded all other considerations, even traditional allegiances, in the reporting of Australian politics.

La Fiamma's fight against communism was not restricted to Australian shores alone. A far more prominent cause for concern in the paper was the threat of communism in Italy. Father Paoletti's campaign to discredit Italian communists was most zealous in the paper's first year of publication and it reached fever pitch in April 1948, the date of the Italian Republic's first federal election. The two major contenders for power in this election were the Christian Democrats (*Democrazia Cristiana*) and the Italian Communists (*Partito Comunista Italiano*). Both groups had been members of a six-party coalition government in 1945/46. However the PCI and their left-wing cohorts, the Italian

Socialist Party, were thrown out into the political wilderness in May 1947 when Christian Democrat Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi formed a new cabinet which excluded them from power.

The left allegedly retaliated by attempting to destabilise the government before the 1948 election. In a volatile atmosphere of rising unemployment, black market speculation, economic instability and separatist uprisings in the south, the communists offered an increasingly attractive alternative to Italian voters. Fearing the possibility of a communist Italy, the United States tried to encourage Italians to vote DC with promises of further financial assistance under the Marshall Aid scheme. The Vatican also lent its weight to the Christian Democrat cause with Pope Pius XII's threat to excommunicate any catholic who voted for the PCI or PSI (Italian Socialist Party).[10] In characteristically dramatic fashion, Pius XII urged the faithful to prepare themselves for a crusade against communism urging, "*oggi è tempo d'azione, è giorno di battaglia e bisogna combattere.*" [11]

Father Paoletti responded to the Pope's clarion call. He presented the1948 Italian Federal Election in *La Fiamma* as a showdown between the 'good' Christian Democrats and the 'evil' Italian Communists and Socialists. When the DC won an absolute majority (48.5 percent of the votes had given them 305 seats out of a total of 574 in the Chamber of Deputies [12]) Paoletti celebrated the election result in his editorial column writing,

> "*per merito loro l'Italia e Roma hanno ancora levata alta e bella la loro voce in difesa della civiltà europea, in difesa della democrazia e della pace.*"[13]

According to Paoletti, the triumph of the Christian Democrats meant that Italians had not betrayed their 'glorious Christian heritage' and had remained faithful to the Church. However, the fact that the PCI managed to capture 30 percent of the vote provided some cause for alarm. It was a sign that the battle against communism in Italy had not yet ended. While the contest abated somewhat after 1948, *La Fiamma* continued to include articles and cartoons criticising the Italian Communist Party and reminding readers of the fundamental incompatibility of being an Italian Catholic and voting communist.

Did *La Fiamma's* intense anti-communist propaganda strike a chord with Italo-Australian readers? Was Father Paoletti's programme to alert readers to the dangers of communism in Italy and Australia successful? Did the paper manage to convince migrants that their first duty as Italians was to reject communism? It is difficult to answer these questions, but if sales of the paper are any indication, then Italian migrants were not interested in buying a paper saturated with anti-communist rhetoric. While exact circulation figures are unavailable, the thin, static format provides evidence of *La Fiamma's* early, limited appeal. In order to attract a wider audience and be read by more Italian migrants in Australia, the paper had to broaden its focus.

As early as 1949, there was a subtle shift in the paper's orientation, which was engineered in order to improve circulation figures. The change became most evident after Father Anastasio Paoletti relinquished active editorial responsibility in 1951. Paoletti did not abandon the paper completely, he continued to write for *La Fiamma* and act as formal *direttore responsabile* at least until 1956 (when he founded another more strictly religious monthly called *La Croce del Sud*). [21] However, after August 1951, layman Evasio Costanzo was effectively in control of the daily workings of the paper.

Costanzo was a former professional journalist for the Turin newspaper *La Stampa.* [22] When he took over from Paoletti, *La Fiamma* was a small magazine, four to five pages in length, with sales in the vicinity of two thousand copies per week. [23] By 1954-55, this figure had steadily risen to 9 594 soaring even higher to 16 506 copies in 1956-57.[24] Accompanying the paper's growth in circulation were changes in its size and format. In 1951, *La Fiamma* became a broadsheet in much the same style as the larger Italian and European newspapers. Later it was remodelled to a tabloid format made up of between twenty-four and thirty pages. These alterations were partly the cause of, and also a reflection of, the paper's increased popularity.

La Fiamma's rising circulation was also a result of the growth of the Italian population in Australia. Between 1947 and 1954 the number of Italian-born people in Australia increased from 33 632 to 120 000.[25] Making a tentative calculation based

on 1954 figures, roughly 8.3 percent of Italian migrants in Australia, excluding the second generation, would have purchased *La Fiamma* weekly. This is not a huge proportion, but one paper sold may have reached a far wider audience than sales figures alone indicate if that copy was circulated in a public place. It is likely that *La Fiamma* would have been read by more than one person in hostels, boarding houses, bars, restaurants, coffee shops, sporting clubs, regional associations and other places where Italian migrants gathered communally.

While the growth in *La Fiamma's* circulation makes sense in the context of a flourishing Italian population in Australia, it still does not explain why those migrants chose to buy the paper. How and why did *La Fiamma* come to be popular? In an interview printed in The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964, Father Paoletti offered his interpretation for the paper's later appeal. He admitted frankly:

> About two years after we started our newspaper I realized that it was doomed to failure. I discovered that by devoting it entirely to religious affairs we would not attract a wide readership. About that time, I came across an Italian adage, *chi informa-forma*. As soon as I read that quotation I realized I had to have the news in my paper in order to have it read by people who would not otherwise like to read it. From then on it was all plain sailing and when Costanzo took over, he easily implemented the policy of devoting the newspaper to news, but news presented objectively in a true Christian spirit.[26]

The quotation is important because it draws attention to the conscious and deliberate shift in editorial policy beginning in 1949 and culminating in 1951. However, Paoletti's description of the cause and nature of that transformation cannot be taken at face value. After all, how can news be presented 'objectively in a true Christian spirit'? The contradiction inherent in such a statement points to a continuity of religious concerns in the paper. Contrary to Paoletti's bold claim, the anti-communist Catholic perspective which was most evident in *La Fiamma's* early editions did not dramatically disappear when Costanzo took active charge. However, after 1951, there was a change in the way the religious point of view manifested itself in the paper. Costanzo steered *La Fiamma* away from an obsession with communism towards a broader expression of spiritual interests.

As *La Fiamma* expanded in the 1950s, so too did the ideal of *italianità* presented in the paper. During Father Paoletti's reign as editor, he strove to convince readers that it was their first duty as Italians and Catholics to be staunchly anti-communist. *Religione* and *patria* were formidable allies yoked together to defend migrants from communists. Evasio Costanzo continued to use *La Fiamma* as an instrument of religious propaganda to 'protect the souls' of Italian migrants. However, after 1951 the battle was not longer exclusively against the 'red peril'. Other external threats to the religious practice and ethics of migrants were recognized and attacked in the paper. These enemies included 'hostile' and 'indifferent' Protestants who outnumbered the Catholic minority in Australia during the 1950s. [27] More

dangerous still, were 'malevolent' freemasons who allegedly controlled the Australian press which they used to denigrate Catholic migrants.[28] Jehovah's Witnesses were also regarded as a potential threat to the faith of Italians in Australia. In late 1955, a series of warnings published in the paper denounced the sect and its campaign to recruit new members from amongst Italian migrants.[29]

Masons, Protestants and Jehovah's Witnesses all attracted scathing criticism in *La Fiamma* after 1951. But under the direction of Costanzo, the paper attempted to do more than just defend the faith of Italian migrants from outside dangers. Rather than act as a religious sentinel, *La Fiamma* set about the task of creating ideal Italian Catholics. Previously, Father Paoletti had perceived the paper's mission to be one of re-igniting and upholding Catholicism amongst Italian migrants in Australia. However, during the 1950s, *La Fiamma* embodied a deeper, more critical awareness that *italiano* was not automatically synonymous with *cattolico.*

Anti-clericalism amongst Italian migrants was recognized and seen as a cause for concern in the paper. In Italy, there was a historical tradition of latent antagonism towards the institution of the Catholic Church. Italians peasants were often wary of priests because they were seen as being the historical allies of the *padroni.* When they emigrated, many Italians brought an anti-clerical attitude with them to the New World. *La Fiamma* was anxious to dispel any such fears or mistrust of priests and the

Catholic Church amongst Italian migrants in Australia. Warnings against *mangiapreti* (literally 'priest eaters') were common in the paper, especially in the '*Parla il Cappellano*' column which appeared weekly in *La Fiamma* from 1955. The feature was written by the zealous, moral crusader '*Fra Leone*'. While *Fra Leone's* exact identity remains a mystery, his postal address was that of Father Paoletti's parish, St. Fiacre's. Therefore, in all probability, *Fra Leone* was an alias for Anastasio Paoletti himself.

Fra Leone was at the vanguard of *La Fiamma's* crusade to mould Italians in post-war Australia into model Catholics. He incited migrants to observe their faith, even if they had previously only gone to Church three times a year in Italy; at Christmas, Easter and the feast day of the local patron saint. In the absence of a large network of neighbours and relatives who traditionally policed attendance at Mass in the Italian village, *Fra Leone* served as the 'moral watchdog' urging readers to fulfill their moral obligation as Catholics by going to Church regularly. In his quest to encourage Italian migrants to attent Mass on a weekly basis, *Fra Leone* seized on the issues of materialism and obsession with work and financial advancement. According to *Fra Leone*, Italians were so driven in their quest for economic stability in Australia that they turned away from God and regular Church attendance to worship money. *Fra Leone* warned readers who attached more importance on working rather than going to church,

> "*Lavorando la domenica tu sei ladro e disonesto perchè rubi il giorno del Signore...Putroppo il mondo mette tanta fede nella materia, nel guadagno e nei propri comodi che si dimentica della vita dello spirito.*"[34]

Materialism also allegedly prevented migrants from attending Mass because many migrants were reluctant to surrender their hard earned money to a parish offertory box. Reader T. Quartelli explained to *Fra Leone* that greedy Australian priests were the reason he did not go to Church in Australia. Quartelli complained,

> "*In Italia non ci seccavano tanto in Chiesa per le collette, ma qui non si finisce mai. Confesso che qualche volta non vado anche per questo. Mi secca vedermi il piatto di colletta sotto il naso ogni minuto...*" [35]

In response, *Fra Leone* delivered a stern lecture on the importance of contributing financially to the Church in Australia. He pointed out that the government subsidised the Church in Italy as recompense for taking over Papal territory during the Risorgimento. However, the Australian Catholic Church did not receive a penny from the government, therefore, it was the duty of every Catholic (including the parsimonious Quartelli) to give generously to weekly collections.

Fra Leone was not alone in reminding Italo-Australian migrants that it was part of their obligation as Catholics to contribute money to the church. The Apostolic Delegate in 1956, Romolo Carboni, also emphasised this grave financial responsibility in a comprehensive sermon which *La Fiamma* printed in its entirety. Carboni urged, "*Col vostro contributo materiale e morale, costruite e mantenete le vostre chiese, le vostre scuole cattoliche, i vostri ospedali cattolici, le vostre opere*

ed istituzioni cattoliche..." [36] He also encouraged Italian migrants to live in country areas which were supposedly more 'moral' and 'Catholic' as well as having higher birth rates. *La Fiamma* wholeheartedly supported the push for rural settlement and was a strong advocate of the 'Rural Catholic Movement' which stressed these same principles and encouraged the settlement of Italian migrants in country areas.[37]

One other essential requirement that Carboni stressed in his exhaustive checklist of religious duties for the active Catholic and endorsed by *La Fiamma*, was participation in Church affiliated organizations such as Catholic Action. This association was an Italian lay Catholic body that promoted clerical nationalism, anti-communism, moral conservatism and christian charity. Its first branch in Australia was established by the Capuchins in Melbourne in 1954 and was led by B.A. Santamaria (also head of the Rural Catholic Movement mentioned above). Segregated into male and female divisions, Catholic Action groups conducted weekly bible meetings, held retreats and arranged social outings. Most importantly, they performed charitable works such as visiting sick *connazionali* in hospitals as well as meeting passenger ships and offering assistance to Italian migrants who had just set foot in Australia. Previously, the *Comitato Arcivescovale per l'assistenza agli Italiani* of Melbourne had performed similar functions. However, in the 1950s, the Capuchin's felt that its "paternalistic style no longer suited the more modern mentality of new Italians."[38]

While *La Fiamma* encouraged its readers to join Catholic Action after its establishment in 1954, it also regularly published reports of the fundraising activities of the older Archbishop's Committee of Assistance formed in Melbourne during the internment years of World War Two. This committee also gave financial aid to new arrivals and provided funding for hospitals, schools and other needy welfare groups. It raised money to sustain its charitable works by holding regular Saturday night dances as well as staging an annual '*Ballo delle debuttanti*' in St.Kilda. Photographs and reports of these social occasions saturated *La Fiamma* in the 1950s. The Debutantes' Ball was presented in the paper as *the* most important event on the Italo-Australian social calender. However, the photographs which appeared in *La Fiamma* of clergymen dancing with young debutantes prompted one reader to question, "*perchè qui si balla davanti ai Vescovi, in abito senza maniche e scollacciato mentre in Italia non si poteva neanche camminare con pantoloncini corti ?*"[39] *Fra Leone* dimissed the impertinent question by responding that,

> "*per evitare che vi siano troppi sposalizi tra cattolici e non cattolici, ed anzi, per aumentare i matrimoni tra i cattolici stessi, la Chiesa tollera e forse incoraggia balli che siano decenti e ben sorvegliati anche in ambienti cattolici...*"[40]

As Father Paoletti's reply makes clear, the balls and dances were not held to raise money for charity alone. They were organized by the Italian clergy in Australia to promote inter-marriage within the Italian community. It was repeatedly stressed in *La Fiamma* that Italian Catholic migrants should marry their own kind. Reasons for this emphasis on Italian

marriage partners will be discussed shortly. For now it suffices to say that marriage within the faith to another Italian was presented to the Italo-Australian readers of the paper as a vital obligation. However, there was also recognition in *La Flamma* that a major obstacle stood in the way preventing many single Italian male migrants from fulfilling this duty: the shortage of Italian women in Australia. The lack of Italo-Australian females was reported in the paper as "*il problema più grave che agita la nostra comunità*."[41]

B.A. Santamaria recognized that the gender imbalance amongst Italian migrants was a cause for concern as early as 1939. In his article "The Italian Problem in Australia" he argued, "the absence of his women folk often leads an Italian, who would otherwise be regular in his religious practices, to abandon his faith."[42] Santamaria's sexist language is galling, but appropriate in this instance. In the immediate post-war period, males constituted the majority of the Italian born population in Australia. Although under the auspices of the Assisted Passage Migration Scheme begun in 1951, the government favoured a balanced gender ratio, unassisted migrants were overwhelmingly male. Italian men were usually the first link in the process of chain migration, being followed later by their wives, families or sweethearts. The result was quite a striking discrepancy between the numbers of male and female migrants in Australia, particularly among Italians. In 1947, 22 505 of the 33 632 Italian born people in Australia were male.[43] By 1954, this 2:1 ratio persisted, despite the overall growth of the Italo-Australian

population.[44] *La Fiamma* strove to correct this imbalance as part of its programme to create ideal Italian Catholics in Australia.

Women were regarded as the essential foundations in the construction of a moral, christian Italian 'community'. They could fulfil a crucial role as 'God's police', by helping to prevent young bachelors or stray husbands from gambling and whoring, or at the least making them feel guilty about engaging in such activities.[45] In this way, women could have a more direct influence on the behaviour of Italian male migrants than once a week contact with a priest could ensure. Women were also considered to be the bedrock of the family, which was in turn the basis of a Catholic society. For all these reasons, *La Fiamma* embarked on a campaign to increase the numbers of female Italo-Australian migrants.

To attract more Italian women to Australia and thus further its religious aim, a *'scapoli'* column was launched in the paper in 1952. Acting as marriage broker, Evasio Costanzo placed 'wanted' advertisements in Italian newspapers urging single women to write to lonely Italian males in Australia who were searching for marriage partners. *La Fiamma* would then advertise these prospective wives, publishing their photographs and general backgrounds. The following letter from a *'signorina Piacentina'*, was typical of many others that appeared in the paper...

> *"Sono un Italiana che desidera trasferirsi in Australia...Ho 32 anni, ma ciò non è evidente, sono alta 1'68, abbastanza carina, occhi e cappelli castani e sono anche un ottima cuoca...saprei essere insomma una brava moglie."* [46]

What is immediately striking about letters such as the one above, is the rational manner in which the women described themselves as commodities. The *scapoli* column read like a shopping catalogue for mail order brides who were prepared to auction off their futures to the most suitable bidder. Their average age was twenty eight, and therefore, they would have been regarded in the 1950s as 'old maids' left on the shelf of the Italian marriage market. By writing to *La Fiamma*, these desperate and courageous women hoped to find suitable husbands who would either return to Italy and marry them, or arrange for a wedding by proxy.

The Catholic Church legally sanctioned such unions. Marriage by proxy was theoretically only permissible under canon law when couples who had already established a close bond could not be together for their wedding because of exceptional circumstances. But, as *La Fiamma* often reported, the procedures involved in contracting this type of marriage were not exceedingly stringent. The requirements were; that the bride pass a medical examination in Italy, have her passport approved by the Australian government, and that the marriage be blessed by a Bishop (which could be done through the authority of a local parish priest). As a consequence, marriages between complete or partial strangers on the other side of the world were not uncommon. However, *La Fiamma* also published tragic, tear-jerking, fictional and real life stories of proxy marriages gone awry to discourage such unions. *Fra Leone* frequently warned

migrants of the dangers of marrying a girl known only from a photograph or a few short letters. Instead, he urged bachelors to return to Italy to find their ideal spouse.

Why was there so much emphasis placed on finding Italian wives? What about Australian women? "*Di ragazze australiane ce ne sono*" conceded one reader, Alfredo Strano, the resident 'intellectual' amongst Italians in Perth and the editor of the newspaper *Il Canguro.* He went on to argue, "*Se non ci fosse la lingua, la religione, i costumi ecc.ecc. ci si potrebbe anche intendere, ma...*"[47] While Strano maintained that a different language, religion and customs were the chief reasons for the unsuitability of Australian women as marriage partners for Italian migrants, his vague 'etcetera' is more telling. What he alluded to was probably the issue of sexuality. In his own short lived newspaper, he once made a memorable statement about Australian women being about as valuable as 'used stamps'.[48] Strano considered women in Italy to be more virtuous and chaste, making them the perfect brides for Italian Catholics in Australia.

The insistence that Italians should marry their own kind also dominated the regular women's column '*L'angolo di Gianna*'. This post-1951 feature was one of Evasio Costanzo's innovative additions to *La Fiamma* designed to breathe new life into the paper and give it a wider readership. Every week, Gianna counselled confused and distraught readers and discussed problems associated with migration such as housing, language and employment. While her column was not devoted entirely to

'women's issues', topics considered relevent to Italian women in Australia did figure prominently. On the subject of marriage, she repeatedly counselled female Italian migrants,

> "*Non montatevi la testa perchè siete in numero inferiore agli uomini, ricordate che il matrimonio ideale per voi è con un italiano, l'uomo che avendo la vostra stessa educazione ed i vostri sentimenti può farvi felice e può contribuire, più di ogni altro, a creare una famiglia armoniosa e serena...*" [49]

Gianna's exact identity is hazy, but her firm views regarding the ideal roles and behaviour of Italian women in Australia were certainly not ambiguous. The image of the model Italian woman as a '*sposa e madre esemplare*' ran like a leitmotif through her column. She discouraged inter-cultural marriages on the grounds that the Australian woman allegedly did not place the same value as the Italian woman did on being a wife and mother first and foremost. In an article titled "*La donna e la fabbrica*", Gianna recognized that economic necessity forced many Italian women in Australia to augment their traditional roles with work outside the home. But she made a careful distinction between Italian and Australian female workers, emphasising that,

> "*Il lavoro, che dà in genere l'indipendenza alla donna, non fa perdere all' italiana il suo tono di femminilità. Essa, prima che operaia, si sente figlia, sposa o madre e non dimentica mai di essere l'elemento base della famiglia.*" [50]

Gianna counselled Italian men to choose Italian brides because Italian women supposedly sacrificed their own independence for the greater good of the family, in contrast to Australian women who were presented as being self-centred.

Another facet of her argument for the suitability of Italian women as wives for Italian migrants was the issue of sexual propriety. Gianna encouraged Italian women to cultivate the virtue of modesty by reminding them that, *"la donna perderà valore ed interesse per l'uomo quando egli viene a sapere di passate avventure di lei."* [51] The theme of virginity was not restricted to *"L'angolo di Gianna"*, it surfaced repeatedly throughout the whole paper. Maria Goretti, one of the major female figures exalted in *La Fiamma* , embodied the ideal of chastity so important in the paper's conception of the archetypal Italian woman. Maria Goretti was an eleven year old Roman girl who died after being raped in 1902. Before her death, she forgave her attacker who consequently found God, reformed and was given refuge by the Capuchins. In 1947, Maria Goretti was beatified, and later became famous as 'the little saint'.

While stories of her short life appeared frequently in *La Fiamma*, Maria Goretti's mother, a peasant women who was forced to support seven children alone after the death of her husband, was also held up as a model for Italian women. Father Paoletti extolled her virtues asserting that , "Mrs Goretti, the poor Italian peasant, physically worn with hardships, gnarled and wrinkled by the Pontine winds and her incredible labours, is a supreme ideal of Christian womanhood."[52] While her daughter was praised for her virginity, Mrs Goretti was lauded as a symbol of motherhood and defended from the alleged taunts of 'social reformers, eugenicists, birth controllers, abortionists and assorted

feminists'. Together, Maria Goretti and her mother personified the paradoxical denial of female sexual identity and the celebration of motherhood. The single supreme epitome of this dichotomy is the Virgin Mary, another figure continuously glorified in *La Fiamma*. While sex and maternity are two sides of the same coin, only the maternal role was praised in the paper.

Motherhood was presented as the most important function for a woman; a role which *La Fiamma* glorified and protected. *Fra Leone*, the ever vigilant champion of Catholic morality, defended maternity in characteristically dramatic fashion warning that, "*La donna moderna rifiuta la maternità ed è questo il sintomo piú grave e doloroso della crisi morale del nostro tempo.*"[53] In the 'populate or perish' mentality dominant in Australia during the 1950s, women were encouraged and rewarded for having children. Mothers even received cash incentives for their labours; fifteen pounds for the first child and increasingly more for every one thereafter.[54] Migrant women who gave birth on board ship were also eligible for these maternity benefits. The Australian government promoted the function of women as mothers in a push to increase the population to safeguard against the 'yellow peril' north of Australia.

Children were also of prime importance for the Catholic Church in Australia. If the first generation of Italian migrants were 'lost' for the Church, they could at least attempt to reclaim their offspring and mould the second generation into ideal practicing Catholics. In order to do so, it was vital that the

children of Italian migrants be made to attend a Catholic school. This was presented as important a duty as regular church-going and was therefore a grave responsibility for the active Catholic. Father Paoletti stressed that Italian migrants were obliged, under the weight of mortal sin, to have their children educated in Catholic schools. He argued that only in such a Christian environment could children learn to love, respect and 'obey God and their fathers'. Paoletti solemnly urged,

> "*è necessario che tu mandi i tuoi figli alla scuola cattolica. In fondo, solo qui può l'italiano trovare comprensione e simpatia: si trova completamente in clima cattolico, romano e quindi...italiano.*"[55]

The association between *religione* and *patria* evident in Father Paoletti's statement is a common one to be found in every edition of the paper. Readers were reminded with tireless regularity that "*La Fiamma è il giornale degli Italiani in Australia perchè è italiano e cattolico..*"[56] Loyalty to the Catholic Church was fused together in union with allegiance to the *madrepatria.* But, contrary to the rhetoric, Catholicism and nationalism were not traditional partners in Italy. Whereas the expression of Polish or Irish national identity was bound to the practice of Catholicism, this was not the case in Italy. Historically, the Catholic Church in Italy had an icy relationship with the nation state. The Risorgimento took place against the wishes of the Vatican which lost power and property in the unification of Italy under the Savoy monarchy. The schism between Church and State was formally healed in 1929 with the ratification of the Lateran Pacts between Pius XI and Mussolini's fascist regime. These accords

were incorporated in the constitution of the Italian Republic after World War Two. *La Fiamma* presented their relatively smooth acceptance as a sign that the Catholic Church and the Italian nation were firm allies in the new Republic.

But while the paper trumpeted the rhetoric of Church and State unity, it simultaneously celebrated another more parochial expression of religion; the *festa.* These rituals which were held to venerate the patron saint or Madonna of a *paese* were imbued with the spirit of *campanilismo.* As a raucous, ostentatious display of spirituality, the Australian Catholic Church frowned on the saints and fireworks variety of religious practice. However, the Capuchins encouraged Italian migrants to re-create the experience of their home town *festa* in Australia. No edition of *La Fiamma* in the 1950s was complete without at least one story of a local feast day. *Fra Leone* was an enthusiastic supporter of the *festa,* about which he wrote,

> "*Processioni, fuochi d'artificio e balli coroneranno le celebrazioni...L'italiano in genere paziente e tenace sul lavoro, tranquillo nel santuario della famiglia, si riempie d'ardore quando si accinge a celebrare la Festa del suo Santo Padrone.*" [57]

The number and variety of the reports about *feste* increased in *La Fiamma* over the first decade, parallel to the growth of the ritual itself in post-war Australia. The commemorative name days of 'national' saints such as San Francesco (the Capuchin's own patron) and Sant' Antonio were celebrated in the paper. However, *La Fiamma* simultaneously

embraced the inumerable 'little' saints such as *San Eustachio* the patron of *Tocca Cosauria*, an obscure hamlet in the Abruzzi which nevertheless attracted one thousand devoted followers to its annual celebration in Melbourne. [58] *La Fiamma* also published the names of donors who contributed to collections that were sent back to Italy to finance the *festa* of their local saint. One such collection was for the *Madonna delle Grazie*, the patron of *San Giovanni di Gerace*, a small town in *Reggio Calabria*. Despite its size, the *paese* was important enough in the minds of its emigrants living in Melbourne to warrant an annual collection for the town's feast day held on the third Sunday of September. [59]

Despite the attention lavished in the paper on little known saints and obscure manifestations of the Madonna, there was an attempt made to 'nationalise' the celebration of their *feste* in Australia. Rather than being specifically and exclusively for the *paesani* of a tiny village in the *Abruzzi* or *Sicilia*, saints and Madonna's such as *San Eustachio* or the *Madonna dei Martitri* were held up as icons for all Italians in Australia to venerate. Reporting on the *festa* of the *Madonna del Terzito*, the patron of Eolian islanders, held in Gladesville Sydney, the paper enthused,

> *"e sarebbe pur bello che tanti altri connazionali, non Eoliani, mettessero da parte l'idea che in quel giorno si venera la "Madonna degli Isolani", pensassero invece che si venera la Madonna che sul calvario ha accettato di diventare la madre di noi tutti."* [60]

The exhortation for Italo-Australians to put aside regional differences and come together to celebrate the various *feste* appeared frequently in *La Fiamma*. *Fra Leone* urged his readers,"*Italiani, siete tutti invitati a queste feste, che sono le vostre feste. Non venite meno alla Fede dei vostri Avi gloriosi e della vostra vecchia, grande Italia!* "[61]. As well as being a religious expression of *campanilismo*, the veneration of saints and Madonnas was presented in *La Fiamma* as a ritual connected to pride in the Italian nation. The attempt to use the *festa* to inspire Italian national identity, was part of a broader cultural programme to infuse readers with a sense of *italianità*.

Catholicism was the most important component of *La Fiamma*'s vision of the ideal Italo-Australian community. To be Italian was to be Catholic; the two were synonymous in the eyes of both Father Paoletti and his successor Evasio Costanzo. From 1947 to 1957, both editors were engaged in a mission to rekindle faith in both the Church and *patria* . But the concept of *fede* presented in *La Fiamma* involved one other element; pride in the cultural glory of the Italian nation. I have discussed *La Fiamma's* attempts to unite Italian migrants under the banners of Catholicism and anti-communism. Now I turn to the third part of the equation, the use of 'Culture' to inspire a sense of unity amongst Italian migrants in Australia.

As I have stated, while religion was the most vital component of *La Fiamma's* vision of *italianità*, it was not the only part of its ethnic agenda. The meaning of being Italian in *La Fiamma* was also invested with a deeper cultural and social significance. This broader cultural definition of *italianità* was evident in the paper from its inception. In his inaugural address, Father Paoletti urged, "*Vogliamo riaccendere nel vostro cuore una fede che è scritta e scolpita nei nostri sommi capolavori del pensiero e dell'arte, una fede che ha dato la civiltà all'Europa e al mondo.*" [62]

The depiction of Italians as the heirs of a great spiritual and artistic heritage became even bolder during the 1950s. Editor Evasio Costanzo blended Catholicism, nationalism and Italian cultural grandeur, in a heady cocktail intended to intoxicate even the most humble reader with patriotic ardour. Costanzo was a skilled manipulator of the idea of 'culture' for the purpose of inspiring Italian national pride, as was his predecessor Father Anastasio Paoletti. During Father Paoletti's time as active editor in charge of *La Fiamma,* articles concerning Italian culture were overshadowed by anti-communist propaganda. However, later in the *Parla il Cappellano* column he frequently employed the rhetoric of Italy's magnificent cultural legacy. As *Fra Leone,* he proclaimed;

> "*In Italia, il piú povero contadino è ricco di una gloriosa tradizione e storia: è ricco di chiese, artiste, opere d'arte, di uomini straordinari. In quale altro paese si trovano genii come Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Dante Alighieri e i pittori e scultori d'Italia* ?"[64]

Most editions of *La Fiamma*, particularly after 1951, are peppered with references to the 'three crowns' of Italian culture as mentioned above by *Fra Leone*. Of the three, Dante was the perennial favourite artist-hero in the paper. He was seen as a towering literary giant who cast an imposing shadow over all contemporary poets and writers. Nothing could compare to Dante's greatness; he was the supreme incarnation of Italian artistic brilliance and superiority. In an article published in 1952, Dante was heralded as *"il più grande genio che la natura abbia creato"*.[65] It was alleged that the mere sound of his name was enought to rouse the heart of any Italian, causing it to suddenly 'throb with love'.

Another major idol of Italian culture eulogized in *La Fiamma* was the composer Giuseppe Verdi. His operas were lauded as pure expressions of the exuberant Italian 'soul'. On the fiftieth anniversary of his death in 1952, the paper reported of a commemorative performance of *Nabucco* to an emotional audience in Trieste.[66] The plight of the slaves in the opera was seen by the *Triestini* as a parallel of their own bondage to Yugloslavia, whose territorial claims after the Second World War had split the area surrounding the city in two. For the *Triestini* who yearned for a return to what they considered to be their true patria, Italy, Verdi and his music were the most poetic, stirring expression of their *italianità*. The composer was used in the same way by *La Fiamma* as a potent symbol of Italian national identity.

Verdi and Dante exemplified *La Fiamma's* ideal of 'culture' as the highbrow, noble utterances of long dead writers, musicians or artists. Antiquated, officially recognized art, was easily utilised to evoke national pride. Even readers who had never heard one of Verdi's arias or read a single word of Dante could share in Italy's splendid artistic heritage. The ideals of high Italian 'culture' eulogized in *La Fiamma* were also upheld by the *Società Dante Alighieri*. Discussion of the activities of the Sydney branch of this cultural organization took pride of place in the ever expanding social pages of *La Fiamma*. The paper supplied readers with information about the Italian language classes provided by the society and advertised the group's cultural evenings held on the first Monday of every month at the University of Sydney.

Given the location of the meetings, and the name of the organization itself, it is not too difficult to guess the tone and content of the monthly Dante encounters. On one typical reunion in 1956, the evening's program began with three short travelogue type films on the beauties of Italy. The movies were the appetisers for the main presentation, a paper on Stendhal. The French writer and politician was of particular interest to the Dante society because he was driven by his love for Italy to renounce his own French citizenship and live in voluntary exile in Milan. What better symbol of the superiority of Italy could there be than a Frenchman rejecting his own *patria* to become an Italian? After the enthralling discussion, tea and biscuits were served to conclude the evening's proceedings.[67]

Who went to Dante society meetings like the one described above? The usual assembly included Italian consular officials, businessmen and other official or self proclaimed leaders of the 'Italian community' in Melbourne or Sydney. The Dante evenings were also attended by many Australian academics and society women who were enamoured with a romantic, post-card image of Italy. These starry-eyed Australians often outnumbered the Italians present at the meetings, much to the dismay of the Melbourne President of the Dante Association, Dr.Santoro. He complained in *La Fiamma,* "*il programma culturale è preparato per gli italiani residenti a Melbourne. Ma gli Italiani che intervengono a queste manifestazioni per quanto sollecitati non si possano dire numerosi.*"[68]

Why were Italian migrants so reluctant to attend the Dante society meetings ? Obviously, the poor turn out as reported in *La Fiamma* showed that the majority of migrants were not interested in high Italian or European culture. How could migrants, many with only a rudimentary education (or some with no schooling at all), be expected to feel a great affinity with the representatives of high culture eulogized by the Dante society? In the early 1950s in Italy, less than twenty five percent of eleven to thirteen year olds continued schooling past the *scuola elementare* to secondary level. [69] Furthermore, 12.9 percent of Italians were classified as illiterate in 1951.[70] Many more Italians not included in these figures would have been only functionally literate; able to read and write but with great difficulty. It is reasonable to expect

that the same proportion of illiteracy or functional literacy would have existed amongst Italian migrants in Australia.

However, educational differences amongst Italo-Australian migrants were papered over in *La Fiamma*. Readers were encouraged to attend Dante society meetings, whether or not they knew who Stendhal was. Italy's glorious artistic heritage was used in the paper as a unifying force to bind all Italians in Australia together, regardless of their educational or cultural background. But as the reports published in the social pages of *La Fiamma* describing the activities of the Sydney Dante association showed, the majority of migrants were not prepared to unite under the banner of Italian cultural grandeur.

Aside from art, music and literature, *La Fiamma* provided its readers with other illustrations of Italian 'brilliance'. The scientific achievements of Guglielmo Marconi, Enrico Fermi and even of Luigi Negrelli were presented as further proof of the 'genius' of Italians. This last figure was the alleged mastermind behind the construction of the Suez Canal whose ideas and glory were appropriated by the crafty Frenchman, De Lesseps. The cause of Luigi Negrelli's stolen fame was championed by regular columnist Franco Battistessa, who protested that the Suez Canal was, "*gloria italiana usurpata dalla Francia.*" [71]

Battistessa was the true master of vivid, fervently nationalistic rhetoric in *La Fiamma*. It is likely that he picked up his flair for using such jingoistic propaganda from his fascist days

in Italy. In 1928, he migrated to Australia and became a prominent dissident fascist associated with the newspaper Italo-Australian. [72] His regular association with *La Fiamma* began in 1956 when he took over the discussion column '*La Bocca del Leone*' in which he urged migrants and the press to recognize and praise the outstanding contributions made by Italians in the fields of art, literature, religion and of course, science. Battistessa was also quick to defend Italian migrants from accusations of criminal activities hurled by Australian journalists (or 'irresponsible, alien hating scribblers' as he liked to call them.) An article which appeared in the Sydney Sun in 1955 entitled "Italians are Dirty", provoked this particulary striking and distinctive use of the concept of 'culture' by Battistessa to protect the Italian name:

> "No ancient race such as the Italian which can boast of a two thousand years old high and refined civilisation, reared in the luxury of creative intellect and art, can be inherently...dirty. Without being supercilious, we can smile, both contemptuous and amused when thus calumnated, because we recall that our Roman forefathers, who had luxurious baths in their white marble palaces, with hot and cold running water and wore purple embossed in silver and gold, when they landed in ancient Britain, found their detractors of today were such woolly, woad-painted,semi-naked barbarians of such savage and fearsome appearance.[73] "

Aspersions cast on the reputation of Italian migrants in Australia did not always come from 'mid-Victorian, shibboleth, italophobe mud-slingers' (another one of Battistessa's descriptions of the Australian press.) *La Fiamma* also defended the good name of Italians from 'slanderous' neo-realist films. Using non-

professional actors, filming in the ravaged streets and countryside, neo-realist cinema aimed to show the reality of destruction caused by war in Italy. Released in Australia years after their original Italian screenings, films such as *Sciuscià*, *Roma; città aperta* and *Riso amaro* were criticised in the paper for allegedly presenting an overly pessimistic, negative view of the new Italian Republic.

Riso amaro, directed by Giuseppe de Sanctis attracted particularly bitter condemnation when it was screened in Australia in 1952. The movie was a rather romanticised portrayal of the misery of rice workers in the *Vercelli* province of *Piemonte*. Evasio Costanzo (*Piemontese* himself) attacked the film on the grounds that it denigrated the image of Italians and was therefore completely unsuitable for release outside of Italy. He maintained that it was the duty of every Italian film maker, artist, musician, writer or migrant to overcome the stereotype of Italians as 'losers' and prove to the war victors that Italians were indeed industrious and intelligent. *Riso amaro* did the complete opposite and was pronounced "*brutta propaganda per l'italiano in Australia.*" [74]

The debate concerning *Riso amaro* demonstrated that there was a more problematic relationship between popular culture and Italian nationalism in *La Fiamma*. This did not mean that expressions of popular culture like the cinema were completely ignored in the paper. For example, the "*Polvere di stelle*" movie news column, which first appeared in 1949, contained: advertisements and reviews for the latest Italian and American

movies, pictures of actresses such as Gina Lollobrigida, Sophia Loren and Alida Valli and also gossip such as the notorious affair between Ingrid Bergman and Roberto Rossellini, (which was reported disapprovingly). The success of Italian stars in America and the booming Italian film industry with its crown jewel '*Cinecittà*' were causes for national pride. However, Italian cinema (particularly the neo-realist variety), could not be venerated and eulogized like a Verdi opera or a Da Vinci masterpiece.

Another form of popular culture, sport, proved equally difficult for the paper to harness and use for the purpose of inspiring Italian nationalism. Under the direction of Evasio Costanzo, *La Fiamma*'s reporting of sports events expanded dramatically in the 1950s. Cycling, athletics and boxing all received substantial attention in the paper. Italian victories in the international sporting arena were also duly applauded. However, the main thrust of *La Fiamma's* sporting coverage was predictably enough, soccer news. While clashes between national teams in Europe sparked the usual rash of jingoistic fervour, Italian soccer (divisions A and B), was connected to pride in the city or region a team represented rather than national glory.

Soccer in Australia also occasionally reflected *campanilismo.* In its worst form, it degenerated into violent scuffles on the playing field. One example of such a tussle fuelled by parochial rivalries was the 1956 *Coppa Italia* fiasco in Perth. In a quarter final match between two Western Australian 'Italian' teams, *Tricolore* and *Vastese,* a brawl erupted amongst the players and

spectators, leading to the suspension of the game and tournament. *La Fiamma* reported the incident in disgust...

> *"L'entusiasmo sportivo che ha dato vita al sorgere di ben sette formazioni di calcio fra Perth e Fremantle, ha degenerato nel peggiore dei modi, scavalcando cavalleria, rispetto, buonafede sportiva, dividendo la comunità in sezioni regionali col piú acceso campanilismo."* [75]

Such rabid displays of regional antagonism on the soccer field betrayed the ideal of Italian national unity that was so preciously upheld in *La Fiamma*. Both Anastasio Paoletti and Evasio Costanzo frequently warned against the dangers of *campanilismo*, on and off the sporting field. To encourage Italian migrants in Australia to set aside regional differences, the newspaper presented the idea that staunch local loyalties were a thing of the past in the new Republic. Italian correspondent, 'Italo Terra' (more than likely a pseudonymn for Costanzo), reported in the weekly "*Lettera dall'Italia*" that internal migration was breaking down the barriers between '*terroni*' (southerners) and '*polentoni*' (northerners) in Italy. Soccer matches, he complained, remained one of the last vestiges of parochial rivalry. [76]

Another feature employed to show a unified picture of Italy devoid of regional conflicts, was the "*Itinerari Italiani*" travelogue. Photographs and accompanying articles in the column paid homage to the beauties of Palermo 'tourist heaven', Capri, the Dolomites, Florence, Naples; the list of famous landmarks, cities and regions lauded was endless. *Itinerari Italiani* presented a 'post-card' view of Italy as an attractive tourist destination of rare

splendour, a country which Italian migrants were fortunate to call 'home' (even if they had never ventured outside their own *paese* before). No particular preference was displayed for northern or southern Italian locales. However, special attention was devoted to proving that the *mezzogiorno* was not a barren, malarial wasteland. For example, an article on Calabria which aimed to dispel any negative images of the region began with the striking declaration,"*Non è vero che la Calabria sarà da meno dalle altre regioni italiane.*"[77]

Evasio Costanzo presented all Italian cities and regions as equally magnificent. He did so to encourage migrants to bury parochial rivalries, in favour of Italian community solidarity in Australia. Costanzo urged Italian migrants to band together and, "*rendersi conto che viviamo in Australia, non asfissiarsi in un campanilismo fuori moda...*"[78] Emphasis on consensus was a crucial factor in *La Fiamma*'s program to help construct the ideal Catholic Italo-Australian community. Evasio Costanzo and Father Paoletti both exhorted Italo-Australian migrants to put aside generational differences, just as they were urged to ignore regional differences. Drawing on his knowledge and experience of North and South American migrant communities, Paoletti wrote,

> "*In queste comunità, gli italiani hanno avuto le porte aperte a tutti i successi perchè han saputo essere uniti e forti, perchè i vecchi han dato la saggezza e i giovani il coraggio, perche concordi nel bene e nel male (anche in questo tavolta) solidali nella sventura e animati dal piú forte dei sentimenti: l'amor di Patria.*"[79]

However, despite pleas for new arrivals and old pioneers to come together and assist each other, a picture of hostility between the two groups of Italian migrants emerged in the pages of *La Fiamma*. Antagonism between the pre-war migrants and recent arrivals flared, especially during the economic recession and consequent unemployment crisis of 1952-53. In this period, *La Fiamma* was inundated with letters from post-war migrants accusing the well established Italo-Australians of being "*avvoltoi umani*" ('human vultures') [80] exploiting their labour and charging them ridiculous rent for tiny one room hovels. The new arrivals who had experienced changes in Italy caused by fascism, the War, internal migration and increasing industrialisation, regarded the old pioneers as fossilised Italians. Giovanni Lago from Sydney, echoed the sentiments of many other post-war Italian migrants in his letter to Evasio Costanzo which attacked the older generation of Italian migrants. Lago complained,

> *è da due anni che sono in Australia e per un anno e mezzo lavorai per questi vecchi 'pionieri'. Ebbene fui sfruttato, sfruttato fino all'estremo delle mie forze, peggio d'uno schiavo, peggio d'una bestia da soma. Essi hanno molto interesse ad avere la nostra mano d'opera, perchè speculano sulla nostra ignoranza della lingua e dell'ambiente, speculano sul nostro lavoro mai rispettando le otto ore giornaliere.... Voi volete unire tutti gli italiani in una unica grande famiglia perchè possiamo avere peso e considerazione presso questo grande Paese che ci ospita, ma io vi dico: Questi "vecchi" che quando parlano dell'Italia non fanno altro che vomitare ingiurie, che buttano fango e veleno su tutte le nostre istituzioni civili, militari, religiose, che da 20 o 30 anni hanno dimenticato anche il nome della loro città natale, lasciando in vigliacco abbandono mogli, figli, genitori...hanno diritto questi "vecchi" di chiamarsi ancora italiani ? É con questi 'italiani' che noi dovremmo unirci?* [81]

Giovanni Lago's criticism of the older generation of Italian migrants challenges the notion of a unified Italo-Australian 'community' that *La Fiamma* tried to construct. His letter serves to illustrate the discrepancy between the rhetoric of solidarity trumpeted by Father Paoletti and Costanzo and the reality of complexity, conflict and discord amongst Italian migrants in Australia. The difference between old and new arrivals was just one of the many schisms that *La Fiamma* attempted to remedy. Regional, class and gender divisions were also subsumed under the myth of Italy's glorious cultural heritage. Culture was one of the most important ways in which *La Fiamma* strove to recast the identities of migrants from the many Italies into one, homogenous ideal of *italianità*. However, when *La Fiamma* began publication in 1947, culture was scarcely used to construct the meaning of being Italian. Communism was the initial overriding concern. Readers were constantly reminded by Father Paoletti, that it was their first duty as Italians and Catholics to be uncompromisingly anti-communist. The paper was created with the expressly political purpose of preventing Italian migrants from being lured away from Church by the 'red menace'.

When Evasio Costanzo took active charge of *La Fiamma* in 1951, the paper emerged from under the cloud of communism and expanded its focus. Religion continued to be the dominant factor influencing the paper's editorial direction. Even under Costanzo's control, *La Fiamma* was still primarily the Capuchins' weapon of religious propaganda in their battle to save the souls of Italian migrants in Australia. But after 1951, the assumption that

Italian migrants were automatically devout, active Catholics was overturned. A new realization emerged in the paper that migrants needed to be made into practicing Catholics in Australia, not just defended from external threats. It was recognized that many Italo-Australians themselves harboured feelings of latent antagonism towards priests and the institution they represented. The act of migration only aggravated anti-clericalist tendencies and exacerbated the problem of lax catholicism amongst migrants. Therefore, *La Fiamma* tried to present the Catholic Church in a positive light. It also attempted to incite migrants to fulfill several very specific religious obligations. These included: regular attendance at Mass, active participation in church affiliated organizations such as Catholic Action, contributing generously to the Church coffers, marrying within the faith and educating children at a Catholic school. Women were a vital part of the programme to shape migrants into active Catholics. As 'God's police', women were thought to be better suited than priests were in the role of moral guardians for the overwhelming majority of single Italo-Australian male migrants. Through features such as the *scapoli* column, *La Fiamma* encouraged the migration of Italian women to Australia in order to help construct a moral, Christian Italo-Australian 'community'.

In the process of creating ideal Italian Catholic migrants, *La Fiamma* employed the rhetoric of Italy's grand spiritual and cultural heritage. The expanding sports and cinema pages showed that the paper did not ignore another version of 'popular' culture more attuned to the tastes of readers. However it was

high 'Culture' that was eulogized in *La Fiamma*: Dante, Verdi and Michelangelo were lauded and venerated alongside God, the Virgin Mary and a cast of inumerable patron saints. The paper turned to the glories of Italian high culture to infuse readers with a sense of pride in the Italian nation and a concomitant love for the Catholic Church. Under the twin banners of *religione* and *patria* Italian migrants could stand together, united against masons, communists, protestants or xenophobic Australians.

But while insisting on the indivisible bond between faith in the Church and allegiance to Italy, in practice, *La Fiamma* allowed and catered to diversity amongst its readers. For example, despite the constant assertion that *italiano* was synonymous with *Cattolico*, the paper also embraced the saints and fireworks version of religious practice associated with *campanilismo*. No edition of *La Fiamma* in the 1950s was complete without the story of at least one *festa*. or of the activities of the regional organizations which staged the annual celebrations. The Capuchins, and by extension*La Fiamma* itself, did more than tolerate the parochial and pagan expression of religion embodied in the ritual of the *festa*. Migrants were encouraged to re-create the celebration of their local patron saint in Australia.

Another illustration of the compromise between *La Fiamma*'s ideals and their realization in practice is evident in advertising. Earlier, *Fra Leone* had denounced materialism as the greatest evil along with communism to afflict Christian civilisation in the twentieth century. But as the 1950s drew to a close,

advertisements for luxurious material goods came to occupy increasingly more space in the paper. So too did publicity for specialty services such as travel agents, banking, real estate and insurance consultants. (These different occupations were often performed by the one agent or company that promoted itself as an all round immigration service). A thorough discussion of advertising in *La Fiamma* has not been attempted in this paper. However it is an important area of research which demands further attention from a historian of Italo-Australia.

These are only some of the contradictions evident in *La Fiamma* in its first decade of publication. Such inconsistencies indicate that the makers of the paper were well aware of the considerable differences amongst their readers. Nevertheless, *La Fiamma* strove to construct a concept of *italianità* that papered over diversity and that emphasised a common spiritual and cultural heritage shared by all Italians. The Italian Canadian newspaper *Il Cittadino Canadese* also struggled to minimise difference and promote a sense of community solidarity amongst its Italian migrant readership in the post-war decade. However, it employed very different unifying symbols and principles. In the following chapter I will discuss the unique contours of *Il Cittadino Canadese's* quest to construct a cohesive ideal of Italian ethnicity. Once I have thoroughly explored the political and cultural agenda for *italianità* presented in the Italian Canadian paper, I will compare it to *La Fiamma* and suggest reasons for the differences and similarities in the ways the Italian ideal was constructed in both newspapers.

[1]In the documents *Exsul Familia* (Pius XII 1952) and later *Pastoralis Migratorum* (Paul VI 1969), the Vatican officially declared its advocacy for the creation of national parishes which would recognize and cater for the particular concerns of Catholic migrants. But as Frank Lewins showed in The Myth of the Universal Church, (Canberra:Australian National University Press.,1978), the Vatican's policy was more a suggestion than a compelling directive. In Australia, the Catholic Church Hierachy did not set up national parishes specifically for migrants, as they did not want to disrupt the existing territorial parish system.

[2]NB: Not a great deal is known about Father Paoletti's background. However, it is interesting to note that he returned to North America at some stage during the 1960's and briefly published a catholic weekly in Montreal called *Domani* from 1966-1967. See Antonino Spada, The Italians in Canada (Ottawa/Montreal: Canada Ethnica VI, Riviera Printers and Publishers., 1969), p.117.

[3]*La Fiamma*, 15 May 1947, see also *La Fiamma*, 15 September 1948.

[4]For his background, see G. Cresciani, Fascism, Anti-fascism and Italians in Australia, (Canberra: Australian National University Press.,1980).

[5]*La Fiamma*, 15 October 1947.

[6]*La Fiamma*, 15 April 1947.

[7]*La Fiamma*, 4 May 1956.

[8]*La Fiamma*, 25 november 1949.

[9]*La Fiamma*, 25 May 1955.

[10]See *La Fiamma*, 1 August 1948. Pius XII warned that God could see into the ballot box, therefore all Italians who chose left wing candidates would effectively vote themselves 'straight into hell'.

[11]*La Fiamma*, 15 September 1947.

[12]P. Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy: society and politics 1943-1988, (London:Penguin.,1990), p.141.

[13]*La Fiamma*, 1 May 1948.

[21] P.Bosi, On God's Command: Italian Missionaries in Australia (North Fitzroy, Victoria: C.I.R.C., 1989), p.123.

[22] NB: Costanzo's background is curiously similar to another Piemontese journalist, Nino Culotta, the fictional hero of John O'Grady's They're a Weird Mob(Sydney: Ure &Smith., 1957). However, Costanzo did not appear to share Culotta's loathing of *meridionali*.

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[23] Gilson & Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964 (Canberra: Australian National University Press., 1967), p.143. According to Gilson and Zubrzycki, *La Fiamma* had the largest audited circulation of any ethnic newspaper in Australia from 1954-1964.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Australian Census Statistics, 1947, 1954.

[26] Gilson & Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia, p.35.

[27] *La Fiamma*, 27 April, 1951.

[28] *La Fiamma*, 18 July 1952.

[29] Although unsigned, the articles were almost certainly the work of Anastasio Paoletti since he was later to write a book entitled, *I Testimoni di Geova:una falsa testimonianza*, Sydney, 1960.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *La Fiamma*. 24 June 1955.

[36] *La Fiamma*, 22 June 1956.

[37] *La Fiamma*, 8 June 1956.

[38] P.Bosi, *Mandati da Dio*, p.137.

[39] *La Fiamma* , 19 August, 1955.

[40] Ibid.

[41] *La Fiamma*, 1 January 1952.

[42] B.A.Santamria,"The Italian Problem in Australia". The Australasian Catholic Record, 1939(XVI), p.294.

[43] Australian Census Statistics, 1947.

[44] Australian Census Statistics, 1954. Exact figures were 80 277 males: 39 616 females.

[45] The term 'God's Police' is borrowed from A.Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonisation of Women in Australia (Ringwood Victoria: Penguin., 1975)

[46] *La Fiamma*, 11 January 1952.

[47] *La Fiamma*, 25 January, 1952.

[48] *Il Canguro*, 13 October, 1955.

[49] *La Fiamma*, 24 May, 1956.

[50] *La Fiamma*, 17 June 1955.

[51] *La Fiamma*, 26 June 1956.

[52] *La Fiamma*, 15 January 1948.

[53] *La Fiamma*, 11 February 1955.

[54] *La Fiamma*, 1 August, 1952.

[55] *La Fiamma*, 7 November 1952.

[56] *La Fiamma*, 22 November 1956.

[57] *La Fiamma*, 31 August 1956.

[58] *La Fiamma*, 14 September 1956.

[59] NB: The public display of the donors list in La Fiamma could be seen as equivalent to the practice of pinning money or gold on the statue of the Madonna or Saint. Both acts were public exhibitions of benevolence, wealth and status.

[60] *La Fiamma*, 13 July 1956.

[61] *La Fiamma*, 28 November 1956.

[62] *La Fiamma*, 15 April 1947.

[64] *La Fiamma*, 15 July 1955.

[65] *La Fiamma*, 26 September 1952.

[66] *La Fiamma*, 12 September 1952.

[67] *La Fiamma*, 17 August 1956.

[68] Ibid.

[69] M., Clark, Modern Italy 1871-1982, (London/New York: Longman., 1984), p.365.

[70] G. Einaudi, ed., *Storia d'Italia*, (Turin: Einaudi.,1976), vol6, p.770.

[71] *La Fiamma*, 18 May 1956.

[72] For his background, see G.Cresciani, Fascism, Anti-fascism and Italians in Australia., chapter 3.

[73] *La Fiamma*, 22 April 1955.

[74] *La Fiamma*, 22 February 1952.

[75] *La Fiamma*, 16 November 1956.

[76] *La Fiamma*, 25 March 1955.

[77] *La Fiamma*, 23 March 1951.

[78] *La Fiamma*, 16 May 1952.

[79] *La Fiamma*, 8 August 1952.

[80] *La Fiamma*, 4 February 1955.

[81] *La Fiamma*, 7 September 1951.

CHAPTER FOUR
IL CITTADINO CANADESE

Il Cittadino Canadese began publication in 1941. The original owner and founding editor of the Montreal weekly was Antonino Spada, a Sicilian born migrant most notable for his active opposition to the fascisization of the Italian Canadian community in the 1920s and 1930s. Spada's involvement with the Italian language press began shortly after his arrival in Canada in 1924. He served briefly as editor of the *Araldo del Canada* in 1925, a position from which he resigned for ideological reasons after the paper was converted into a filo-fascist organ by the Italian Consul General. He went on to found *Il Risveglio Italiano* which was quickly silenced by the Italian Consul, who almost succeeded in having Spada deported in 1927 for printing anti-fascist material. [1] It was not until over a decade later that Spada resumed his activities as a newspaper publisher and editor with the launching of *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

Spada claims to have founded the paper in 1941, "*prima di tutto per esprimere la mia opinione sulla guerra e sui mezzi utilizzati nella guerra dal Canada*". [2] While the presentation of the War experience in *Il Cittadino Canadese* is a fascinating topic in itself, it is a subject for future research and does not form a part of this thesis. As I have made clear in previous chapters, my concern in this study is with the construction of an Italian ethnic identity in the post-war period. In order to have a more balanced comparison with the Italo-

Australian paper *La Fiamma*, it is the decade from 1947 to 1957 which will serve as the time frame for my investigation of *Il Cittadino Canadese*.

During the years from 1947 to 1957, there was a rapid fire succession of editors and contributing journalists to the paper. Over the course of the decade, there were no less than seven different editors of *Il Cittadino Canadese*. [3] Yet despite the seemingly never-ending turnover of editorial staff, Spada remained the one constant influence on the newspaper's production. He relinquished control when he sold the paper outright to the Moricelli Printing Press in June 1956. But prior to the change in ownership, as Spada proclaimed himself in a farewell address, "[*Il Cittadino Canadese*] "*è stato sempre il giornale di Spada.*"[4]

As the publisher of the paper until mid 1956, Spada played an important role in setting down the guidelines for *Il Cittadino's* political and cultural agenda for much of the period in which I am interested. One of his main aims while directing the paper was to promote the assimilation of Italian migrants to Canadian society. In an often repeated editorial creed, Spada proclaimed that *Il Cittadino Canadese* fought "per il riconoscimento dei bisogni e l'assimilazione degli italo-canadesi..." [5] Given the paper's name, which when translated literally means 'The Canadian Citizen', it is not surprising that an assimilationist line was pursued to some extent. Advertisements issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration appeared frequently in the paper encouraging Italian

immigrants to learn English and French and to take up Canadian Citizenship as soon as possible. [6] *Il Cittadino Canadese* also featured articles to help migrants gain a greater understanding of Canadian history and political structures. [7] Readers were counselled, "*per chi non è nato in questo paese, la miglior cosa è che egli venga qui con la volontà di mettersi fianco a fianco con i Canadesi...*"[8]

While Italian migrants were urged to assimilate to Canadian ways, at the same time they were warned in the paper, "*Basta però non dimenticare le nostre origini italiane!*" [9] It is this insistence that Italian migrants not 'forget' their origins which is the focus of my research on *Il Cittadino Canadese*. As I made clear in my discussion of *La Fiamma*, my concern in this thesis is with the promotion of assimilation to an Italian ideal, not to the norms of the host society. Furthermore, although the concept of Italian national identity is often presented in both newspapers as being a matter of retention, I am interested in how Italian ethnicity gets made, not remembered.

In this chapter I will investigate how the notion of *italianità* was constructed in *Il Cittadino Canadese* and presented to readers in an attempt to heal the various ruptures in the Italian 'community' in Montreal. Italians migrants did not all come from the same place or arrive at the same time in Canada, nor did they share the same political, educational or occupational concerns. Although not explicitly recognized in the 1950s, differences in gender also cut across lines of Italian ethnic solidarity. This fragmentation of the

Italo-Canadian community manifested itself most obviously at an insitutional and associational level. *Il Cittadino Canadese* is filled with reports about the friction caused by divisions between and within the various clubs and organizations which made up the social framework of the Italian community in Montreal.

Yet Spada tried to minimise or downplay such discord by casting himself and his paper in the role of 'community peacemaker'. To this end, he presented a political and cultural agenda designed to promote Italian ethnic cohesion around certain salient symbols and causes. The exact contours of this program to foster unity and mutual understanding between Italian migrants will unfold in the course of this chapter. But first I must consider in greater detail divisive factors which were seen as being an impediment to Spada's ideal of Italian ethnic solidarity in Montreal. Furthermore, it is also important to determine where exactly the newspaper stood in the battleground for community leadership.

Contrary to Spada's claim that *Il Cittadino Canadese* treated, "*ogni gruppo con giustizia e imparzialità*,"[10] the paper was not a neutral bystander, dispassionately observing the struggle for dominance and leadership between various factions in the Italian community. *Il Cittadino Canadese* was caught in the fray of community politics. Rather than just mediating in the squabbles between different organizations or community *prominenti*, the paper was used to voice specific interests and take particular sides in areas of debate. By looking at the associations and insititutions which

received special publicity and encouragement in *Il Cittadino Canadese*, the form of the paper's political and cultural agenda for *italianità* becomes clearer.

It stands to reason that the associations which received the most attention in *Il Cittadino Canadese* were those with which Spada had some direct involvement. One such frequently mentioned organization was the *Ordine Italo-Canadese*, a mutual aid society which provided disability, sickness and life insurance for its members and was also a social and cultural club. Spada was one of the original founders of the group which formed in 1927, splintering off in protest of the fascisization of its parent organization the *Ordine Figli d'Italia*. The *Ordine Italo-Canadese* had its own regular news column in the paper, and was always referred to positively by Spada who maintained," *tra le società italiane in Canada, il primo posto spetta senza dubbio all'Ordine Italo-Canadese.*""[11]

The activities of the older, more established *Ordine Figli d'Italia*, which came into being in Quebec in 1919, were also reported occasionally in *Il Cittadino Candese*. However, the past animosity between the association and its younger rival, (an antagonism which resulted in the creation of the *Ordine Italo-Canadese* in the first place), was evident in the paper. One such instance occurred in 1949 when the organization announced a $31 000 deficit to their members after misappropriating funds in a building project. Spada condemned the society for its involvement in the incident. He criticised,

> *"Nell' ordine sono successe cose che nelle società mutualistiche non dovrebbero mai avvenire...Dio mio, quante porcherie fatte a settecento padri e madri di famiglia! I delegati hanno approvato questo? Ma se nessuno sapeva niente! Nemmeno quelli che ricevevano i dollari. Questa e proprio grossa!"* [12]

There is no reason to doubt that Spada's concern for the seven hundred members of the *Ordine Figli d'Italia* who had lost money in the financial scandal was genuine. However, his disapproving comments were also an indication of the bad blood between the *Ordine Figli d'Italia* and the *Ordine Italo-Canadese*. The mutual hostility between the two groups, which was a legacy of the fascist years, fuelled a continuing war of words between the two associations. For the most part, Spada succeeded in concealing the animosity by avoiding specific reference to the fascist past.

Given Spada's position as a prominent, ardent anti-fascist in the inter-war period in Montreal, it seems odd that there is hardly any discussion of the years of fascist influence in the Italian community presented in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. There is a similar lack of concern with fascism in Spada's book, The Italians in Canada, published in 1969. Spada was questioned about his generally dismissive attitude towards the fascist past in an interview conducted several years before his death in 1990, which was published posthumously in the special fiftieth anniversay edition of *Il Cittadino Canadese*. [13] In the interview, he explained,

> "*Non ho voluto fare la storia del fascismo in Canada perchè sarebbe stata una storia falsa...La ragione principale che mi ha portato a sottovalutare il fenomeno del fascismo e appunto il fatto che si e trattato di un'infatuazione, di un fenomeno senza fondamento.*"[14]

While Spada claims to have avoided any detailed discussion of the fascist years in Montreal in *Il Cittadino Canadese* because it was such an ephemeral phenomenon, another possible explanation for the omission is connected to the rationale of the paper itself. While it is difficult to prove exactly why fascism was a dead issue in *Il Cittadino Canadese* in the post-war period, it stands to reason that Spada was reluctant to discuss past political animosities so as not to exacerbate disharmony in the Italian community. But although Spada may have ignored fascism in order to pursue the greater goal of fostering unity amongst Italian migrants in Montreal, he did not always paper over potentially divisive issues in *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

Another important cause of segmentation which was recognized and even encouraged in the paper was '*campanilismo*'; the expression of loyalty to one's home *paese* (or rather the area from which the bell tower or *campanile* of the hometown church can be seen). Because there was a particularly high concentration of Italian migrants in Montreal from the Molise province, [15] reports of the activities of Molisani societies dominated *Il Cittadino's* pages in the 1950s. One town in particular, Casacalenda, (situated near the provincial capital of Campobassso), occupied pride of place in the paper. The *Società di Mutuo Soccorso Casacalenda,* which had some two hundred and fifty members in 1954, was frequently mentioned

by Spada. The association, founded in the 1920s, provided insurance and social benefits and was responsible for organizing the annual feast of their patron saint *San Pardo*, celebrated at the church of the *Madonna della Difesa* in Mile End every May. [16] As an honorary member of the *Società Mutuo Soccorso Casacalendese*, Spada encouraged the expansion of the parochial society. However he envisaged the growth of the organization in the context of the wider community of Italian migrants as a whole. Spada argued,

> "*Il giorno in cui i casacalendesi (Molisani compresi) impareranno quanti sono e quello che potrebbero fare, quello sarà un giorno fortunata per gli italiani in Canada perchè allora gli italiani avranno trovato la base onde partire per raggiungere le cime della vita economica, politica e sociale canadese.*" [17]

Regional associations were not the only groups to be incorprated within a broader framework of Italian ethnic solidarity in *Il Cittadino Canadese*, so too were class-based groups. Actually, because it is extremely difficult to talk about cleavages along class lines in the context of ethnicity, it is more helpful to refer to associations which were culturally or occupationally elitist as 'status' groups. As Jeremy Boissevain pointed out in his anthropological study The Italians of Montreal, there are many other attributes of status such as family honour, region of birth, occupation, amount of property owned, which make the concept of class segmentation problematic when applied to the Italian Canadian community. [18] Therefore, rather than discuss how class differences were presented in *Il Cittadino Canadese*, it is more useful to look at how the paper dealt with distinctions in status.

Mention of the community *prominenti* was often made by Spada in connection with activities staged by the *Casa d'Italia*, one of the few central institutions in the Italian community where diverse groups could (theoretically) assemble together. The centre was built in 1936 on the initiative of the fascist Italian Consul Giuseppe Brigidi, on land donated by the Montreal Municipal Council in Mile End. Spada had actually protested against the construction of the Casa d'Italia on the grounds of fiscal mismanagement of the funds collected to build the structure. [19] During World War Two, the centre was closed down by Canadian authorities for several years because of its connection with fascist activities in Montreal. However, its re-opening in 1949 was celebrated as a great event and highly publicised by Spada in *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

The first occasion on which the doors of the ex-fascist institution were flung open again in the post-war period was for a banquet to raise money for the Canadian Aid to Italy fund. Spada himself was the secretary of this charity which by February 1949, had collected $14 000 for Red Cross work in Italy. The re-launching of the *Casa d'Italia* coincided with the beginning of a new phase in the money raising program of the Canadian Aid to Italy Fund. Spada presented the cause as a great opportunity for Italians in Montreal to put aside their differences and unite at the grand dinner to be held in the *Casa d'Italia.* He urged his readers, "*Uniamoci tutti per aiutare i bimbi d'Italia...Mettiamo da parte le beghe personali ed anche le differenze di principio. Mettiamoci d'accordi per una causa buona e giusta.*" [20]

While the banquet for the Canadian Aid to Italy Fund proved to be a great success, unity between Italian migrants did not flourish under the roof of the *Casa d'Italia* in the immediate post-war period. By the mid 1950s, the institution was coming under increasing attack for harbouring elitism. As one of *Il Cittadino's* short lived editors, Davide Picca, complained in 1954,

> " *la stessa Casa d'Italia, quella che dovrebbe essere la più pura espressione della patria e della nostra gente, patrimonio comune a tutti, e diventata privilegio di pochi. Se e proprietà privata non chiametala 'Casa d'Italia' ma bettola o taverna...Tutti devono trovarsi colà, liberamente riunirsi, discutere, conoscersi, scambiarsi idee e suggerimenti, ma sopratutto sentirsi nel clima della antica patria e tra la nostra gente. Il fabbricato non deve dare l'impressione, quando si entra, di entrare in luogo di terrore, come il Castello di Don Rodrigo.*" [21]

The exclusive nature of the *Casa d'Italia* and the events staged in it were frequently mentioned in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Yet Spada himself never attacked the institution on the grounds of elitism. For example, in an annoucement for a dance held there in February 1950, Spada informed his readers, "*Il Ballo d'Amicizia sarà un vero divertimento ed un grande avvenimento perchè vi prenderà tutta la elite della communità italo-canadese.*" [22] This elite included: the Italian Consul; the presidents of the *Ordine Figli d'Italia, Ordine Italo-Canadese* and various other Italo-Canadian associations of Montreal; representatives from the Italian Canadian press; the Mayor of Montreal, Camillien Houde, and several federal and provincial government ministers. On the occasion of any special banquet, dance or cultural meeting, the paper identified the same distinguished

crowd who were the appointed or self-proclaimed leaders of the Italian community in Montreal.

The connection between the *Casa d'Italia* and the community elite was also evident in the various reports about the cultural activities undertaken by the *Comitato Attività Culturali della Casa d'Italia.* Created in 1950, the cultural committee of the Casa d'Italia aimed to "*aggiungere una nota di raffinatezza e di distinzione a quella che è una bella colonia italiana...*"[23] What these high minded goals translated to in practice were lectures on Verdi and Michelangelo by Professors of Italian from McGill University for a listening public who were described as "*elegante e colto, il fiore dell'intelligenza italiana.*" [24] This type of cultural elitism was also criticised in *Il Cittadino Canadese,* but once again, not by Spada himself. It was columnist J.R. Vincelli who complained in 1956 that,

> "as it stands today, (the house) is of no use whatsoever to the Italian community. It's about time we open the doors to all Italians...but opening the doors wide and letting anyone into a large and empty hall is not enough, shelter is not what we want. Rather we feel that the House should be able to offer us culture..." [25]

Obviously, Vincelli's idea of 'culture' did not correspond with the concept of 'Culture' held by the *Comitato Attività Culturali della Casa d'Italia.* Vincelli wanted the *Casa d'Italia* to be enlarged to include a gymnasium and swimming pool so that sporting activities could be promoted. The discrepancy between the type of popular culture envisaged by Vincelli was at odds with the cultural agenda of the *Casa d'Italia.* However, for the most part, the highbrow activities

of the *Comitato Attività Culturali* , as well as other culturally elitist groups such as the *Società Dante Alighieri*, received much support and promotion in *Il Cittadino Canadese*.

Spada was also a great advocate of another exclusive organization which recruited members according to their occupational status, The Canadian Italian Businessmen's Association. CIBA was founded in 1949 with the aim to unite the most financially successful Italian migrants together in one group, although membership was theoretically open to any businessman or professional of Italian origin "irrespective of fortune". [26] One of CIBA's main goals was to provide financial assistance to newly arrived migrants. However, as an overwhelmingly Liberal organization, CIBA was more concerned with lobbying municipal, provincial and federal government authorities for the interests of its gentleman members than with the welfare of poor *connazionali* (who they believed could improve their lot if they simply worked harder). The association sent representatives to the federal government in Ottawa to press for such causes as the nomination of an Italo-Canadian to the Senate, increased Italian migration to Canada and immediate family assistance to new arrivals. [27] CIBA's enterprising spirit was applauded by Spada who shared the organization's concern for the promotion of Italian prestige in Quebec and Canada. Spada was willing to support CIBA's initiatives despite his recognition of the elitist nature of the association. Several years after the association was founded, Spada candidly informed his readers,

> "*Non possiamo tacere che la CIBA è nata sotto cattiva stella. Agli inizi molti nostri connazionali la guardavano con diffidenza, perche le credevano, o torto o ragiona, una messa in scena di un paio di furbi galoppini elettorali che intendevano sfruittirla e farsene bello preso i capi di Quebec per portare altra acqua ai propri molini...*" [28]

In the remainder of the article, Spada went on to agree that the organization had been governed by self interested businessmen most of who were Liberal supporters. However, this evidently had not dampened his enthusisam for the group. CIBA's activities were discussed and praised in *Il Cittadino Canadese* well into the 1950s and Spada continued to urge Italian businessmen of all political colourings to join the association.

It seems clear that Spada was aware of, yet willing to ignore (or at least not harshly criticise) the elitism of groups such as CIBA or an institution like the *Casa d'Italia* in his paper. He recognized, yet tolerated the differences in status between Italian migrants, which manifest themselves at an institutional and organizational level, in order to present a more cohesive picture of the Italian 'community' in Montreal. The image of a unified front was crucial to Spada's goal to further the political, social and economic prestige of Italian migrants in Canada. His tacit acceptance of status distinctions in the interests of realizing this aim echoes how other divisions in the Italian community were treated in the paper.

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Before I move on to a more detailed discussion of the principal political and cultural symbols and causes used in *Il Cittadino Canadese* to unify Italo-Canadian migrants in Montreal, there are two more areas of community division which require examination. These remaining lines of segmentation are generational (the difference between migrants who arrived before and after the post-war period) and gender based. While the debate between old pioneers and new arrivals was the most important, frequently mentioned cause of community fragmentation in the paper, the question of gender difference was basically overlooked in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Although gender was not explicitly recognized in the paper as a major cause for division between Italian migrants, it is an area which still warrants further attention.

British sociologists Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davies define gender as "the way in which sexual difference is represented and organized"[29] and argue that it is " thus a product of social relations including those of class and ethnicity." [30] More importantly, they maintain that not only is gender a social product of ethnicity, but it is also a shaping factor in its construction. As they point out,

> "women are often central in ethnic and national reproduction and transformation, not only as biological reproducers of members of the group, or central in transmission of its cultural artefacts, but also as markers of the boundaries of collectivities." [31]

In *La Fiamma*, the Italo-Australian publication I examined in chapter three, Italian women were assigned a crucial role in reinforcing the ideal of Italian ethnicity presented in the paper. They were presented as important boundary markers of the ethnic group with the paper going to great pains to construct a model of behaviour for Italian women which differed markedly from their ethnic male, and Australian female counterparts. The same cannot be said for *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Gender was not used to emphasize the boundary of Italian ethnicity presented in the paper, nor was it seen as dissecting or impeding ethnic cohesion.

Spada did not completely ignore Italian women in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. However their interests were relegated to an innocuous weekly column written by his daughter Armida Spada. The "*Corriere di Mimi*" (or "*L'angolo della Donna* " as it was previously known) consisted mostly of recipes, domestic tips, advice on 'proper' etiquette and fashion and grooming ideas. [32] Marriage and motherhood were presented in the column as the pinnacles of achievement in a woman's life, the highest ideals to which she could aspire. In these roles, women were expected to be subservient and selfless. As Mimi explained,

> "*è la donna sopratutto che deve avere pazienza con il marito, essere riservata, gentile, una buona donna di casa... Fino a quando una donna sa che c'è qualcuno che l'ama e pensa a lei, ella ha trovato un paradiso sulla terra, proprio nella sua piccola cucina!*" [33]

In her 'kitchen paradise' the dutiful wife was expected to prepare meals lovingly for her husband whose apparent right it was to be served like a god after a hard days work. According to Mimi, it was undeniable that, "*l'uomo che torna a casa stanco ed affaticato dopo una giornata di pesante lavoro abbia diritto a tutte le affettuose attenzioni da parte della sua amorosa mogliettina.*" [34] What Mimi failed to take into account was that a great many Italian women also came home tired from work to face the double burden of domestic labour within the home. Roughly twenty percent of women of Italian origin in Quebec in 1951 held paying jobs outside the home, mostly in the manufacturing of textile goods and clothing. [35] By 1961, this figure had almost doubled to forty percent. [36]

Yet Mimi made very little comment on the subject of Italian migrant women and paid labour. Her writings were based on the assumption that Italian migrant women were less concerned with making ends meet than with beauty or proper etiquette. In this respect, her column was probably aimed at the more well established pre-war Italian migrant women or the wives of community *prominenti* who had less pressing financial concerns than new arrivals. [37] Although Mimi never explicitly recognized any distinction between Italian women according to their time of arrival and length of stay in Canada in her column, the division between *vecchi pionieri* and *nuovi arrivati* was the most frequently discussed cause of community fragmentation in *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

The difference between Italian migrants who arrived before and after the post-war period was regarded as a major cause for concern in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. The debate between old pioneers and new arrivals became more heated in the pages of the newspaper as increasing numbers of Italians arrived in Canada throughout the 1950s. In the immediate post-war period, the number of people of Italian ethnic origin in Quebec rose steadily from 25 000 in 1941 to 31 000 in 1951. [38] A consistent intake of around twenty thousand Italians per annum for almost every year of the 1950s caused the Italian ethnic population in Quebec to more than triple in size by 1961 reaching a grand total of 108 500. [39] Most of these migrants were concentrated in the Montreal metropolitican area which was home to some 27 000 Italians of ethnic origin in 1951 and 80 000 by 1961. [40] The extremely rapid growth of the Italian ethnic population in Montreal generated a great deal of friction in the community.

This discord between new arrivals and the older more established Italians in Montreal was not ignored in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Enzo Colla, the author of the weekly '*Punto e Virgola*' gossip column (who later became editor of the paper from 1950 to 1953) defended new arrivals from accusations levelled at them by older members of the community. He urged readers to ignore the complaints that post-war Italians migrants "*non vogliono fare i lavori arcipesanti*" or that they gave themselves certain airs and were "*tutti squilibrati*". [41] Instead, he insisted;

> "*Abbiamo il dovere di chiuderci la bocca sul conto dei nuovi arrivati, come elemento in generale hanno questi vantaggi sui vecchi; sono istruiti, conoscono cosa sia il bagno, parlano meglio l'italiano e cercano di camminare ad occhi aperti.*" [42]

Comments such as Colla's designed to combat animosity between the 'old' established migrants who had arrived prior to the post-war influx of 'new' Italians were common in *Il Cittadino Canadese* throughout the 1950s. The position consistently taken in the paper was that antagonism between old and new migrants was divisive and therefore damaging to the interests of the Italian community as a whole. As editor Camillo Carli complained in 1957,

> " *Se gli italiani fossero più uniti, se non vi fosse l'eterna aria di superiorità e di dispregio dei vecchi emigrati verso i nuovi arrivati, se questo ultimi non dessero spesso tristi esempi di sciaguratagginе e di irresponsabilità, se vi fosse più buona fede e un maggiore dose di genuino idealismo...ebbene...Noi italiani all'estero facciamo schifo..., non riusciamo mai a trovare la strada buona e continuiamo a offrire tristi spettacoli di disunione e di elementare mancanza di solidarietà umana.*" [43]

Carli's criticism of the fragmented state of the post-war Italian community was indeed harsh. His comments were prefigured to some extent by Spada's own attacks against divisiveness which he made earlier in the decade whilst still publisher of the paper. However, Spada was never as pessimistic as his successor about the possibility of Italian ethnic unity in Montreal. As I have made clear in the discussion thus far, even though Spada recognized many distinctions amongst Italian migrants in Montreal, he did not regard these differences as insurmountable obstacles blocking the path to

community solidarity. Rather he treated each division in such a way as either to minimise it, or else incorporate it into a broader context of Italian ethnic identity. Some lines of segmentation such as gender or past political animosities were ignored or played down. Others such as regionalism or '*campanilismo*' were positively encouraged in the paper, but only within the framework of a larger Italian national identity. Status divisions were tacitly acknowledged and accepted in the greater interest of promoting Italian prestige in the wider Canadian society. Finally, the generational distinction between Italian migrants was very explicitly identified in the paper and strongly discouraged by Spada and his successor in order to foster Italian ethnic cohesion.

In order to mend the tears in the social fabric of the Italo-Canadian community in Montreal, Spada did more than simply urge the various organizations which represented the specific interests of certain Italian migrants to overcome such ruptures. He also presented a cultural and political agenda designed to encourage readers of *Il Cittadino Canadese* to put aside their differences and unite under the banner of Italian ethnic identity. In the remainder of this chapter, I will investigate in greater detail the paper's attempt to construct an ideal of *italianità* which would envelop or overshadow the divisions between Italian migrants in Montreal.

To begin, I will deal with the cultural aspects of the paper's ideal of Italian ethnicity. High 'Culture', meaning the art, music and literature deemed to be part of the Italian cultural cannon received only scant mention in the paper. In the early 1950s, there was a special "*Arte e Letteratura* " column, which paid homage to various Italian writers and composers and kept track of special commemorative days such as the 50th anniversary of composer Giuseppe Verdi's death or the 100th anniversary of poet Giovanni Pascoli's birth. [44] Occasionally, the paper would also serialise a famous Italian novel such as Giovanni Verga's *Storia di una Capinera* which ran in weekly installments. [45]

However, generally speaking, *Il Cittadino Canadese* was far more interested in using popular forms of culture such as sport and the cinema to inspire migrants with a sense of pride in their Italian heritage. Every edition of the paper in the 1950s was filled with advertisements for screenings of Italian films at theatres throughout Montreal. *Il Cittadino's* positive attitude towards the booming Italian film industry was the complete opposite of *La Fiamma's* disapproval of Italian neo-realist cinema. Unlike his Italo-Australian counterpart, Spada did not criticise neo-realist films which portrayed Italians in a gritty, less than flattering light. Instead he enthused,

> "*L'Italia, mecca delle arti nei secoli passati, ha trovato un nuovo ambito in quest'arte nuova e ha portato tutta la sua ricchezza di tradizioni, di gusto, di immaginazione, di bellezze naturali e create....*" [46]

Italian success in the sporting arena was also applauded in the paper and presented as a great source of Italian pride and basis for ethnic solidarity. Reports of bocce tournaments, boxing matches, cycling and soccer dominated the sports pages, which gradually came to occupy more and more space in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Soccer, in particular, received extensive coverage with the paper closely following the fortunes of the Montreal Italian soccer team known as "*Cantalia*". The paper defended the football squad and its supporters from accusations of nationalism levelled at them by other Montreal soccer teams after a series of violent scuffles occured during games in the early 1950s.

After one particular incident in 1953, a group of Montreal soccer teams asked the Canadian Football Association not to recognize any team which was too nationalistic or which recruited players from one given country because of the threat they allegedly posed to Canadian national security. [47] The attempt to disqualify *Cantalia* from the Montreal soccer league on the grounds of ultra-nationalism was roundly criticised in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. The paper maintained that it was really jealousy of Italian sporting prowess, not any threat to national security which was at issue and it rallied against the attack on the premier Italo-Canadian sporting club in Montreal arguing,

> "*Perchè la rivalità sportiva che è bella, che è logica, che è necessaria deve uscire dal suo campo e diventare rivalità politica? Noi ci appelliamo algi autentici sportivi canadesi, che smascheranno questo sporco gioco di businessmen. Poichè tutti sappiamo che lo sport non ha frontiere, ed è oggi l'unica cosa che ancora affratelli i popoli.*" [48]

Sport occupied a far more prominent place in the paper than religion. In comparison to the Italo-Australian pubication *La Fiamma* , which used religion as the cornerstone of its concept of Italian ethnic identity, there was a relative lack of concern with religious matters in *Il Cittadino Canadese.* The Italo-Canadian publication reported feast days such as that of *San Pardo,* the patron saint of the *casacalendesi* which was celebrated every May at the *Madonna della Difesa* Church in Mile End. [49] In the early 1950s, *Il Cittadino Canadese* also included a weekly religious column known as the '*Vangelo della Domenica*' which discussed bible stories and occasionally pressed readers to fulfill religious duties such as attending Mass on Sundays. The author of the column was an Italian priest in Montreal, Father Benedetto Maltempi. Padre Maltempi counselled Italian migrants,

> "*dovrebbe essere consuetudine necessaria di tutte le famiglie quella di santificare la festa...Ma invece, quante famiglie vanno in chiesa nonchè DECAPITATE! A certe messe, si direbbe che sono le messe per vedove, poiche i mariti o sono ancora a letto, o sono all'adunanza della loggia, al Club ecc. I giovanotti? Seguono l'esempio del padre: la religione? Roba da donne e da ragazzetti. E così il giorno del Signore diventa il giorno di Satana: il giorno che doveva riunire in una sola dolce intimità la famiglia e il giorno della dispersione.*" [50]

Padre Maltempi's criticism of the irregular church-going habits of Italians migrants, especially male migrants, could have conceivably been uttered by his Italo-Australian counterpart '*Fra Leone*'. However, such religious commentary in *Il Cittadino Canadese* was restricted to a special interest column. By contrast, in

La Fiamma, readers were more consistently and forcefully encouraged to fulfill certain religious obligations in articles, editorials and advertisements. In other words, readers of *La Fiamma* were confronted with the religious ideal whatever page they happened to turn to in the paper.

In order to account for the difference in the way in which religion was used in both papers, it is not enough simply to point to the fact that *La Fiamma* was originally owned and run by a priest whereas *Il Cittadino Canadese* was under the direction of a layman. The question of ownership only partly explains why religion was so much more important in the construction of an Italian ethnic ideal in the Italo-Australian publication. A more complex line of reasoning has to include some discussion of the distinct social and political circumstances surrounding the creation of these two papers.

It is worth noting that *La Fiamma* was published in New South Wales, a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Protestant society while *Il Cittadino Canadese* came out of Quebec, an overwhelmingly Roman Catholic province.[51] What this difference in religious context suggests is that the Italo-Australian paper emphasised Roman Catholicism as the basis of its concept of Italian ethnic identity, because this is what made Italians different from other members of the host society. Roman Catholics were a distinct minority in New South Wales, accounting for only roughly 10 percent of the population.[52] Furthermore, the Australian Catholic hierachy did not set up special national parishes for Italian migrants, who were

expected to attend mass in English at their local church. All this resulted in a situation where Italian Catholic priests felt compelled to 'defend' the faith of Italian migrants in Australia from the scorn of the majority Protestant population. *La Fiamma* was a product of this 'religion under siege' mentality.

In contrast, the Italian migrants in Quebec, who were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, [53] felt no such attack from outside forces on religious grounds. The Quebec population in the 1950s was comprised of more than 80 percent Roman Catholics, this figure being slightly lower for the specific Montreal city area. [54] Therefore, Italian migrants in Quebec, found themselves in an environment which was not hostile to Catholicism. On the contrary, the Catholic Church wielded substantial political and social power in Quebec. Even though the Church's influence in Quebec began to wane in the 1950s as the province became increasingly secularized, (and evermore so during the 'Quiet Revolution'), [55] the Catholic Church still exercised considerable authority outside the strictly religious sphere by controlling many hospitals, schools and social services.

Furthermore, Italian migrants were well looked after by the Montreal Catholic hierachy. Unlike in Australia where Italians were expected to fit into the existing territorial parish system, Italo-Canadians could frequent national parishes which catered to their specific linguistic and spiritual needs. In the 1950s, there were four Italian parishes in the city; *Madonna del Carmine, Madonna della Difesa, Madonna della Consolata* and *San Giovanni Bosco.* The Quebec

Catholic hierachy also created welfare associations such as the *Societe catholique d'aide aux immigrants*, the *Societé du Bien-être des Immigrants* and the *Société d'Assistance aux Immigrants* in order to provide special assistance for migrants. [56]

Italian migrants in Quebec did not have a religious identity which distinguished them from members of the host society. Religion was an element that brought Italians closer to French Canadians rather than separate them as 'other'. Therefore, Roman Catholicism would not have been as effective a tie in the promotion of Italian ethnic cohesion as it was in Australia because there was no real threat to the religous practice of Italian migrants in Quebec. It was not religion that made Italian migrants in Quebec different from members of the host society, but language. The linguistic issue was a major cause for concern in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. The need to teach Italian migrant children their mother tongue in a school setting was of the most significant areas of cultural debate raised in the paper.

Language knowledge constitutes a powerful social force binding an ethnic group together and defining ethnic boundaries. [57] The importance of language in the construction of Italian ethnic identity in Montreal was recognized and emphasized time and again in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Camillo Carli, editor of the paper in 1957, was an especially vocal advocate of Italian language instruction for immigrant children in the immediate post-war period. [58] He repeatedly stressed the message that,

> "*Quei nostri bambini non dovrebbero mai dimenticare la propria lingua madre. Perchè quella della lingua è forse il laccio più solido e più duraturo che ci fa rimanere legati alla Patria d'origine. E qui parlo dell'italiano naturalmente, e non dei dialetti...*" [59]

As is evident from Camillo Carli's statement, there was a careful distinction made in the paper between official, standard Italian and various regional or local dialects which were deemed to be of no practical use for Italian immigrant children. Carli maintained that it was not enough to simply entrust parents with the task of teaching their children Italian, because the language spoken most commonly by Italian migrants in the home was a form of dialect, not 'proper' Italian. Therefore, it was vital that Italian immigrant children receive instruction in their mother tongue in a formal school environment. He argued,

> "*Per conservare la 'sfumatura' della mentalità italiana, non basta quel povero babaflio di qualche centinaio di espressioni dialettali incomprensibile spesso agli altri italiani, che non sono dello stesso paese d'origine. Noi ci riferiamo alla vera lingua italiana, insegnata non alla men peggio in famiglia, ma in vere e proprie scuole italiane.*"[60]

Italian language instruction in a school setting was available in a limited way to Italian immigrant children in the 1950s. A tri-lingual system of instruction, which provided some schooling in the maternal language in addition to classes in French or English, had been in operation since 1936 in the Italian parish schools *Madonna della Difesa* and *San Filippo Benzi.* The *Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montreal* (CECM), had instituted the program in an

attempt to encourage Catholic migrants, especially Italians, to have their children educated in the predominantly French speaking Catholic school system. Until the 1930s, the majority of Italian migrant children had attended French language Catholic schools. However, by the end of WWII, the educational preferences of Italian migrants had shifted to English language Catholic or Protestant schools. [61]

This transfer of loyalties from Catholic to Protestant schools was a source of great concern for French Canadian nationalists in the CECM, who formed a special committee of enquiry called the *Comité des Neo Canadiens* in order to suggest ways of turning the situation around to the advantage of the French Catholic schools sector. In 1952, The committee recommended that the tri-lingual system of instruction, which was already in operation in the Italian parish schools, be extended to other ethnic parish schools, most notably those for Poles and Ukrainians. However, the *Comitè's* attempts to consolidate and extend the tri-lingual system provoked intense opposition from francophone and anglophone opponents inside and outside the CECM. The hostile groups effectively blocked the expansion of the tri-lingual program, and caused major setbacks in the existing system which was in operation in Italian parish schools. Rather than providing some Italian instruction until the ninth grade as had previously been the case, Italian was only taught until the third grade. These changes to the system were criticised in *Il Cittadino Canadese*, which upheld the right of Italian migrants to educate their children in the maternal language. The paper held

French Canadian nationalists reponsible for the incursions on Italian language schooling and denounced the pressure from neo-nationalists to have Italian immigrants assimilate into their linguistic community. It was argued,

> "*La commissione scolastica cattolica francese, imponendo dei limiti nel loro insegnamento pecano di sterile (ma quanto capzioso!) nazionalismo. L'inglese viene insegnato in tutte le classi incominciando della quarta. Ma non è sufficiente per gli italiani che desiderano più d'inglese, poichè questa lingua offre maggiori possibilità di commercio di impiego...nella sola parocchia della Madonna della Difesa, ben 104 famiglie italiane mandono i loro figli in scuole di altre religioni in lingue inglesi. Questo fenomeno ha fatto esclamare il padre Alessandro Carmignani della sudetta parocchia 'Altro che dire la langue gardienne de la foi'. Per noi italiani capito l'opposto, 'la langue ennemi de la foi...'* " [62]

Criticism of French Canadian nationalism, which was building to new heights in the 1950s, was rare in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. The schools issue was the only real occasion when any animosity between Italians and French Canadians was allowed to surface in the paper. It is odd that relations between French Canadians and Italians were presented in such a cordial way in the paper, given that many French Canadian leaders were openly hostile to the large scale influx of European migrants, Italians included, in the post-war period. Mass scale post-war immigration was seen by Quebec nationalists as an attempt by the Federal Government to undermine francophone supremacy in the province by countering French Canada's 'revenge of the cradle', [63] with large numbers of non-francophone immigrants. Yet the French Canadian opposition to mass European migration to Canada was never discussed or attacked in the

paper. For the most part, Spada and his editors had an amicable and conciliatory attitude towards Quebecois leaders and institutions. This friendly disposition is evident in the following editorial by Camillo Carli on the occasion of Saint Jean Baptiste day, 1957. Carli expressed his opinion that,

> "*Nonostante temporanee incomprensioni e passate reciproche acredini, troppe cose ci legano alla Sorella latina...Francia e Italia sono destinati a incontrarsi sempre, a camminare assieme...In Canada, e particolarmente nella provincia del Quebec, sono numerosissimi gli oriundi francesi. Ed è indubbiamente dovuto alla loro influenza e ai loro costumi se noi troviamo spesso in questa magnifica terra, tanti aspetti, meno sconosciuti piu europei, quasi paesani...Ed e appunto ai nostri amici francesi, di cui domani ricorre la festa del santo patrono che inviamo i nostri migliori auguri..*" [64]

Antonino Spada was not quite as forthcoming in extending the hand of friendship to French Canadians as his successor Camillo Carli. Nevertheless, Spada also tried to cultivate good relations with French Canadians while he was publisher of *Il Cittadino Canadese.* He claimed to be equally sympathetic to French Canadian and English Canadian interests, and envisaged his paper as an intermediary between francophone and anglophones in Canada. According to Spada, Italians should not take sides in the battles between the two Canadian charter groups. Instead, he maintained that Italians should walk a neutral middle line. He urged Italian migrants in Montreal,

> "*Noi dovremmo essere l'anello di congiunzione per sanare il dissidio esistente tra i francesi e gli canadesi e inserirci tra queste due forze e stendere la mano a tutti e due per l'integrazione del popolo Canadese.*" [65]

Despite his noble sentiments, Spada's main pre-occupation in *Il Cittadino Canadese* was not with healing dissent between francophones and anglophones in the wider Canadian society. As I already outlined earlier in this chapter, Spada's main aim was to use his paper to minimise conflict within the Italian community itself. In this push for Italian ethnic solidarity, Spada used issues such as participation in community organizations and the importance of Italian language instruction as important unifying principles of *italianità*. However, the most essential part of Spada's agenda for Italian ethnic unity was politics, in the sense of the official exercise of power by governments. Unlike the editions of *La Fiamma*, for whom the examination of political problems of the host society was never a main priority, Spada and his staff made Canadian political news their number one focus. The main political concern addressed in the Italo-Canadian publication was Italian political representation in Canadian, Quebec and Montreal government structures.

Spada was positively driven in his quest to have delegates from the Italian community in Montreal voice the interests of Italian migrants in official government power structures. The push for Italians in power was a constant theme in the reporting of the three federal elections (1949, 1953 and 1957), two municipal elections (1950,1954) and the Quebec provincial elections (1956). [66]
Local politics attracted the most attention, probably because it was the most accesible level of political power for Italian migrants at that time: a concentrated number of Italians living in a local voting ward could block vote for an Italian candidate. [67]

Even though it may have been less difficult for Italians to gain power at the municipal level rather than in larger, more mixed provincial and federal constituencies, in 1950 there was not a single Italian representative in the thirty three divisions of the Montreal City Council. Spada bemoaned this fact repeatedly in the lead up to the 1950 local elections. He complained,

> "*gli italiani di Montreal, divisi come siamo in gruppi...non potremo mai far peggiore figura di quella che facciamo adesso...è anche giusto che, per lavarsi dello schermo pubblico, questa rispettabilità venga registrata nei libri degli amministratori comunali.*" [68]

When second generation Italian Alfredo Gagliardi announced his candidacy for the District Six seat of Mile End, Spada rejoiced and threw the full weight of his paper behind Gagliardi's bid to become the first Italian councillor in Montreal. He did so in spite of personal animosity towards Galgiardi, who was one of the most important members of the *Ordine Figli d'Italia* and the owner of a rival paper, *Il Corriere Italiano*, which began pubication in 1952. [69] Gagliardi's personal credentials were not really important at all in the campaign mounted for him in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. Spada argued that it was not Gagliardi the individual that mattered...

> "*ogni voto per Alfredo Gagliardi non è solo un voto per lui, ma anche per il rispetto e l'affermazione del nome italiano in questa città...Come consigliere, egli non sarà solo il rappresentante attivo dei cittadini del suo distretto, ma sarà anche, e sopratutto il consigliere degli italiani di Montreal che adesso come tali non hanno alcuna voce in capitolo.*"[70]

Gagliardi did become the first Italian councillor in Montreal in 1950. His successful bid for Mile End was undoubtedly helped by the publicity he received in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. The paper was just as supportive four years later when Gagliardi sought re-election. In the 1954 municipal elections, he was joined by Colombo Teodori, Giacomo Tozzi and Guglielmo Remizzi in the running for local office. Spada backed all four candidates, once again not because or their politics or their outstanding qualities, but simply because they were Italians. Spada declared,

> "*Non staremo qui a farvi la descrizione della vita di questi uomini, non e il valore di questi singoli individui che a noi deve interessare...ma la loro azione inquadrata in quell'unità di intenti necessaria per la soluzione di quei problemi che da anni gravano sulla nostra collettività Al di fuori di ogni ideologia politica e al di sopra di qualsiasi odio di parte dei singoli individui, noi incitiamo gli italiani a VOTARE PER GLI ITALIANI.*" [71]

Italian unity was the main underlying theme throughout the electoral campaign. Readers were urged to vote for candidates who spoke their own language, understood their problems and on whom they could count for unconditional support. Italian women were especially singled out and targeted during the election. They were warned, "*Chi si vergogna, chi si astiene dal votare per qualunque ragione commette un atto di diserzione. Le donne italiane, figlie fiere di fierissima stirpe, non vogliono essere contate tra i disertori. Avanti donne d'Italia! Alle urne!*" [72]

Once again with the help of *Il Cittadino Canadese*, Gagliardi won the seat of Mile End. He was joined in victory by Giacomo Tozzi, the landlord's representative in the same constituency. The addition of another Italian councillor bolstered hopes in the paper for increased Italian political participation. Spada seized the triumphant occasion to announce somewhat optimistically, "*Il tempo della minorità è finito sul serio per gli italiani di Montreal...Questa è seriamente l'ora di pensare d'andare all'esecutive della citta, al parlamento provinciale e a quello federale...Le porte sono aperte.*" [73]

While the doors may have opened slightly for Italo-Canadians in local politics during the 1950s, they were still barred shut at the provincial and federal levels. Entry into federal and provincial politics proved far more difficult for Italians because there were no single constituencies in areas heavily populated by Italian migrants. When electoral boundaries were reviewed by the government in 1952, Spada complained that just as the Jews of Montreal had the seat of St. Louis, the Italians should have been given their own consitituency made up of Mile End together with segments of St. Denis and Jeanne Mance. However, Spada did not blame the federal government for ignoring Italian interests, but rather he criticised the Italian community itself for not taking the opportunity to lobby the government to create change. According to Spada, the real problems holding Italians back from assuming positions of power were apathy and disunity, not the existing power structures or brokers. He complained that it was the fault of,

> "*tutto il menefreghismo storico italiano che non crea i capi e tenaci. Se i capi ci fossero stati, niente sarebbe stato più facile che formare una delegazione di prominenti cittadini di origine italiana presso la Camera dei Comuni a Ottawa per far presentare al Comitato che il nuovo collegio da aggiungere all'isola di Montreal sarebbe dovuto esser creato nel centro di maggior densità di cittadini della nostra razza...Il nuovo parlamento federale dovrebbe avere uno di nostra razza...*"[74]

Because there were no candidates of Italian origin in Montreal ridings in either the 1949, 1953 or 1957 federal elections, the paper had to choose who to support for reasons other than nationality. In the 1949 election, *Il Cittadino Canadese* stood behind St. Laurent's Liberal government. In somewhat contradictory terms, Spada declared his paper to be "*francamente liberale; anche se imparziale*".[75] Although *Il Cittadino Canadese* may have been undiscriminating in the way in which it accepted advertising revenue from the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, St. Laurent's Liberals were clearly favoured in separate articles and editorials.

The reason for this preference can be deduced from the political advertisements themselves. The Conservatives used communism as their electoral focus, accusing St. Laurent of putting Canada at risk under a liberal-socialist coalition. For the Liberals, immigration was their main platform and they specifically targeted Italian interests by equating the Liberal vote with the maintenance of "*una sana politica d'immigrazione italiana.*"[76] Anti-communism versus a continued Italian influx to Canada; faced with a choice between these two issues, predictably Spada championed the latter. To encourage readers to share his political concerns and vote Liberal

he warned, "*Se Ottawa vi dovrà essere un cambiamento di governo siamo sicuri che le porte del Canada rimarrano aperte ai nostri connazionali?*" [77]

While a clear Liberal preference was shown in the paper around the time of the 1949 federal election, in the following national election Spada had a more ambivalent attitude to the major parties. In the 1953 Canadian federal election, he gave no firm support for St. Laurent, nor did he allow criticism of the Liberals to appear in the paper. This political indifference was replayed in the 1957 federal election. It cannot be said that any particular predilection for St.Laurent's Liberals or John Diefenbaker's Conservative party was displayed in *Il Cittadino Canadese* on the occasion of the1957 federal election. Once again, political advertisements for both parties appeared in the paper, while editorial comments remained fairly neutral with respect to the two major contenders. Diefenbaker's victory was recorded as no great triumph, nor was St. Laurent's loss seen as a major blow to Italian interests. Instead, Camillo Carli, the editor in 1957, focused on the familiar themes of Italian representation (or rather the lack of it) and the need to overcome apathy and register a vote.

By 1957, *Il Cittadino Canadese* had cast itself adrift from the Liberals, or any other major political party and had indeed become fairly impartial (or rather 'indifferent'). Perhaps the most obvious indication of its increasingly neutral political stance was its coverage of the 1956 provincial election in Quebec. *Il Cittadino Canadese* did

not give its readers any clear directives on who to vote for in the contest between George Lapalme's Liberals and Duplessis' Union Nationale (in power in Quebec since 1944). The only major point of discussion was the postion of Italians in regard to the warring Liberal and Union Nationale contenders. In the regular "Il Moscone" column, journalist J.R. Vincelli came out in support of the Union Nationale. He proclaimed,

> "Let's remember fellows when the sky is red, it's a storm ahead and bad times can be looked upon...so be careful with that vote...remember that a blue sky means a good time ahead and clear coasting...so vote blue and vote for the candidate representing the Union Nationale in your county." [78]

Spada himself was in no way supportive or critical of Vincelli's comments. He simply mediated in the squabble which erupted in the paper between Giuseppe Frascadore, president of the *Associazione Liberale dei Canadesi Italiani di Montreal,* and Vincelli. Basically, Frascadore raised the ire of Vincelli when he stated in a liberal circular that if any Italians did not vote (because they did not yet have the right to vote) they should be deported. Vincelli responded, "if you haven't the right to vote you should not vote Liberal because everyone remembers that the last time the Italians gave their vote to the Liberal Party, they were interned..." [79] Spada censured both Vincelli and Frascadore for engaging in what he considered to be divisive, irrelevent arguments. Their petty bickering was an example of what Spada detested most; disunity in the Italian community.

Spada's main political concern, which he repeated time and again, was that in order to make it in Canadian politics, Italians needed to unite and present their own candidates and be taken seriously by the major parties. Spada's 'politics' was this commitment to encouraging consensus and unity amongst Italian migrants, so that they may get organized and demand a share of power for themselves. The actual ideologies and policies of major parties and candidates was never the major political focus in *Il Cittadino Canadese*. What mattered most was being Italian, or at least being open and responsive to the concerns of Italian migrants.

This is in direct contrast to the presentation of Australian politics in *La Fiamma*. The central issue in its reporting of the Australian political situation was communism, or rather anti-communism. Communism was also the overriding political concern in *La Fiamma's* treatment of Italian politics, which attracted far more attention in the Italo-Australian paper than in its Italo-Canadian counterpart. *Il Cittadino Canadese* included nowhere near the same amount of news regarding Italian politics as did *La Fiamma*. As already stated, Spada's focus was on political matters closer to home.

Clearly, *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese* had very different interests at heart in their presentation of how governments exercise power. As I have already set out, *La Fiamma's* decade long obsession with communism had no parallel in *Il Cittadino Canadese* which was more concerned with Italian political representation in Canada. But although each paper focused on separate issues in its

treatment of 'politics', their underlying aim was the same; to unite Italian migrants around a central rallying principle. This common drive to promote community cohesion amongst Italian migrants can also be seen in the way in which *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese* dealt with power relations between groups within their respective ethnic communities. Both papers tried to heal the ruptures between Italian migrants. It is the symbols and causes chosen by each paper in order to facilitate this end, and the reasons for wanting to promote cohesion which differed. I will suggest reasons for this difference in the concluding pages of this thesis.

[1]For a full discussion of Spada's near deportation from Canada, see Luigi Bruti Liberati, *Il Canada, l'Italia e il Fascismo 1919-1945* (Rome: Bonacci.,1984). Liberati explains how after Spada published the Communist Manifesto in *Il Risveglio Italiano* on May 1st 1927, he raised the ire of the Italian Consul General who sought the help of the Provincial government and the Federal Minister of Justice in securing Spada's deportation. On the 31st of December 1927, immigration officials issued the order for his deportation on the grounds that Spada was only admitted to Canada on a simple student visa, not with permanant entry status. Rather than accept the decision, Spada's anti-fascist friends made his a *cause celebre* and collected ten thousand signatures protesting the government's action. Ordinance of his deportation was discussed in Federal parliament and the case was eventually revoked on condition that Spada stop writing anti-fascist polemics and cease publication of *Il Risveglio Italiano.*

[2]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 27 October, 1993.

[3]The list of editors of *Il Cittadino Canadese* over the decade from 1947 to 1957 is as follows; 1947: Luigi Vezina, 1950: Enzo Colla, December 1953: Davide Picca, February 1954: Giose` Rimanelli, January 1955: A. Silvestri, February 1956: Nick Ciamarra, March 1956: Camillo Carli, July 1956 Nick Ciamarra, April 1957: Camillo Carli.

[4]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 29 June 1956.

[5]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 1 January 1947.

[6]See *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 17 September 1954, 16 November 1951 and 3 May 1957.

[7]For examples see *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 11 November 1950, "Democracy in the Commonwealth", 9 January 1953, "The History of Colonization of New France", 11 June 1953, '*Grandi Canadesi;* Sir John A. MacDonald", 15 January 1954, "*Storia del Canada; Jacques Cartier*".

[8]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 22 July 1955.

[9]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 6 January 1954.

[10]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 4 January 1947.

[11]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 23 July 1948.

[12]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 22 October 1949.

[13]The interview was conducted by Filippo Salvatore in Clearwater Florida, which had been Spada's home since retirement in 1969. It appeared in

Il Cittadino Canadese on 27 October 1993, the special 50th anniversary edition of the newspaper which was two years late (*Il Cittadino Canadese* was founded in 1941) but worth the wait in terms of the historical information it contained.

[14]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 27 October 1993. p.34. On the question of whether Fascism ever really influenced Italians in Canada see Luigi Bruti Liberati, *Il Canada, l'Italia e il Fascismo 1919-1945*, (Bonacci: Roma,1984). Bruti argues that Fascist control over the clubs and prominenti did not necessarily mean that fascism was really taken to heart by most migrants who were essentially apolitical. Gianfranco Cresciani writes essentially the same thing about Fascism amongst Italian migrants in Australia in Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia 1922-1945, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980).

[15]See C.Painchaud & R. Poulin, *Les Italiens au Quebec*, (Montreal: Editions Asticou, 1988), p.86.

[16]For reports of the Festa di San Pardo see *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 20 May 1955 & 25 May 1956.

[17]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 1 October 1954.

[18]Jeremy Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer.,1970), p.35.

[19]See Bruti-Liberati,*Il Canada, l'Italia e il Fascismo 1919-1945*, p.99.

[20]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 29 February 1949.

[21]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 15 January 1954.

[22]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 28 January 1950.

[23]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 21 July 1951.

[24]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 18 December 1950.

[25]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 23 March 1956.

[26]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 19 March 1949.

[27]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 3 February 1956 & 12 April 1957.

[28]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 12 October 1956.

[29]Floya Anthias & Nira Yuval-Davies, Racialized Boundaries; Race, nation, Gender, Colour, Class and the Anti-rascist struggle, (London:1992), p.101.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid, p.113.

[32]See *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 22 October 1949. In the article, women were issued nineteen beauty 'commandments' such as "*Evita di farti vedere al mattino, quando sei ancora nel disordine del sonno!*" The nineteen beauty commandments were as the example suggests, frivolous. But these ideals were not put forward as mere trivialities. Beauty was presented to female readers as an instrument with which to gain more power within their assigned roles as wife and mother. As number twelve of the commandments spells out, "*Sempre bella, avrai piu 'potere su tuo marito!*"

[33]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 10 February 1956.

[34]Ibid.

[35]See Canadian Census Statistics for 1951 and 1961.

[36]Ibid. I arrived at these rough percentage estimates by dividing the number of working Italian women in Quebec in both years, by the total number of women of Italian origin in the province. For 1951, these figures were 3, 109 female workers of Italian origin divided by 14, 861 women of Italian origin in the province. For 1961, these figures were 12, 547 and 29, 990 respectively. It is interesting to note that roughly 30% of these women in 1951 (approcimately 990) worked in the manufacturing of textile goods and wearing apparel. In 1961, the category 'tailoresses, furriers, upholstery and related workers' contained 50% of the total number of workers (6009) .

[37]In this respect, her column was similar to the woman's page in Toronto's *Corriere Canadese* mentioned by Franca Iacovetta in Such Hardworking People (Montreal: McGill/Queen's University Press.,1992), p.99.

[38]NB Although the majority of the 174 000 Italians who arrived in the decade from 1947 to 1957 settled in Ontario, between twenty and thirty percent of these migrants made their homes in Quebec. See Painchaud & Poulin, *Les Italiens au Quebec*,, Table 5.1 p.82.

[39]Sources: Census of Canada 1941, 1951, 1961.

[40]Census of Canada, 1951 & 1961.

[41]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 19 March 1949.

[42]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 14 March 1949.

[43]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 13 September 1957.

[44]See *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 17 February 1951 & 10 February 1956.

[45]See *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 1954 editions for the serialised version of Verga's *Storia di una Capinera*.

[46]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 3 May 1947.

[47]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 6 February 1953.

[48]Ibid.

[49]See *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 20 May 1955 & 25 May 1956.

[50]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 8 January 1954.

[51]See Canadian Census Statistics 1941, 1951, 1961. Also Australian Census Statistics 1947, 1954, 1961. From these figures, I drew some rough estimates of the proportion of Roman Catholics in Quebec and New South Wales.
Quebec society in the 1950's was comprised of over 80% Roman Catholics.
1941: 2, 808, 368 Roman Catholics out of a total population of 3, 331, 882. (84%)
1951: 3, 563, 951 Roman Catholics out of a total population of 4, 055, 681. (87%)
The figures for the Montreal area itself are slightly lower. 1941: 825 000 Roman Catholics out of a total Montreal population of 1, 139, 921 (72%)
1961: 1, 641, 738 Roman Catholics out of a total Montreal population of 2, 109, 509 (77%).
In New South Wales, there was a total of 144, 510 Roman Catholics in 1947, roughly 10% of the total population. The largest denominational group was Church of England (646, 196) This relative proportion remained the same in 1954.

[52]Ibid.

[53]97% of Italian migrants in Montreal were Roman Catholic in 1961.
See Jeremy Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal, p.19.

[54]Ibid.

[55]See Linteau,Durocher,Robert (eds.,) Quebec since 1930 (Toronto: Lorimer., 1991), pp.237-249.

[56]M.Behiels, Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism 1900-1985 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association., 1991), p.12.

[57]Jeffrey G. Reitz, Language and Ethnic Community Survival",
Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada., (eds. Rita M. Bienvenue & Jay E. Goldstein), (Toronto: Butterworths., 1985), pp.105-123.

[58]For information on Camillo Carli see Spada, The Italians in Canada, (Montreal/Ottawa: Riviera Printers & Publishers Inc., 1969), p.117.

[59]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 11 October 1957.

[60]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 7 September, 1956.

[61]The reasons for this English language preference are explained by Michael D. Behiels in Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism 1900-1985, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association., 1991), pp 13-17. Behiels states that after the Depression, when many Italians were encouraged to enrol their children in Protestant schools to qualify for social welfare, more childrenof Italian migrants were sent to the English language sector of the CECM or to English language Protestant schools. In the French language Catholic schools, immigrant children could not get English language instruction until grade six. Furthermore, there was no fully developed French language Catholic public high school system, so most parents had little choice but to send their children to English language elementary schools to prepare them for entry into Protestant high schools.

[62]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 14 May 1954.

[63]NB: The term 'revenge of the cradle' refers to the traditionally high birth rate in Roman Catholic Quebec. However, in the post-war period, the Quebec birth rate actually began to decline dramatically.

[64]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 28 June 1957.

[65]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 11 December 1953.

[66]Although there were provincial elections in Quebec in 1952, that year is missing from the newspaper records and consequently will not be examined.

[67]See Stephen Castles "Italo Australians and Politics", in Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin/Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli., 1992). What Castles says about Italian ethnic political activity in Australia can also be applied to the Canadian context.

[68]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 11 November 1950.

[69]Gagliardi is conspicuously absent from Spada's chapter"Great Oaks" in The Italians in Canada. There is also some evidence of personal rivalry between Spada and Gagliardi in an article which appeared in *Il Cittadino Canadese* on March 16, 1956 in which Gagliardi is accused of bad-mouthing the paper to advertisers and potential advertisers in the interests of having them invest in his own paper *Il Corriere Italiano*. The rivalry between Spada and Gagliardi was most evident on the occasion of the 1960 Montreal municipal election when both men ran as candidates, different districts and parties; Spada for the Civic Party and Gagliardi for the Municipal Reform Association.

[70]*Il Cittadino Canadese*, 9 December 1950.

[71] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 22 October 1954.

[72] Ibid.

[73] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 21 January 1955.

[74] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 22 May 1953.

[75] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 11 June 1949.

[76] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 25 June 1949.

[77] Ibid.

[78] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 25 May 1956.

[79] *Il Cittadino Canadese*, 1 June 1956.

CONCLUSION

" *Al di fuori di ogni ideologia politica e al di sopra di qualsiasi odio di parte dei singoli individui, noi incitiamo gli italiani a VOTARE PER GLI ITALIANI!*

Il Cittadino Canadese, 22 October 1954.

"*La Fiamma è il giornale degli italiani in Australia perchè è italiano e cattolico...*"

La Fiamma, 22 November 1956.

La Fiamma and *Il Cittadino Canadese* expressed very different ideas of what it meant to be 'Italian' to their respective reading publics over the decade from 1947 to 1957. In the Italo-Australian paper, to be 'Italian' was to be Catholic. Roman Catholicism was the cornerstone of the newspaper's ideal of *italianità*. The makers of *La Fiamma* attempted to promote cohesion amongst Italian migrants in Australia through religious ideals, because it was Roman Catholicism which made Italians distinct from the surrounding predominantly Protestant society. The paper's religous agenda was most forcefully presented in its earliest years of publication. This is partly because initially, *La Fiamma* was owned by a group of Catholic Missionaries and also edited by a priest, Father Anastasio Paoletti. But even once Paoletti relinquished active editorial responsibilities, there was a continuity of religious concerns in the paper.

By contrast, *Il Cittadino Canadese* did not focus on religion in its presentation of an Italian ideal. Under the direction of Antonino Spada, the Italo-Canadian publication repeatedly stressed the need for Italian migrants to be represented in official power structures in Canada. To be 'Italian', one had to first and foremost 'vote Italian'. The professional or social credentials of the candidate did not matter to Spada; what was important was whether the hopeful politician was Italian or not. According to Spada, only a *connazionale* could effectively represent the interests of Italian migrants in the wider Canadian and Quebec society. Spada saw elections, more than any other issue or symbol, as opportunities to rally readers of the paper together and encourage them to forget their differences.

More research is needed in order to expound fully the reasons for the difference in outlook between the two newspapers. It is not enough to argue that *La Fiamma* used religion to promote Italian ethnicity while *Il Cittadino Canadese* concentrated on politics simply because the Italo-Australian paper was originally run by a priest and the Italo-Canadian paper was not. Certainly, the different ownership backgrounds of *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese* did help to determine the contrasting direction of each paper's agenda for *italianità*. But as I made clear at the beginning of this thesis, a newspaper is shaped by more than the minds which create and produce it. Readers also play a part in defining the ideological contours of commercial publications. Therefore, the experiences of Italian immigrants in Quebec and New South Wales would have

influenced the different ways in which the concept of *italianità* were constructed in the two newspapers.

One of the most important discrepancies in the social context between Quebec and New South Wales has to do with the religious climate. Italian migrants to Montreal settled in a society which was predominantly Roman Catholic. Furthermore, the Catholic Church in Quebec attempted to look after the specific needs of Italian Catholic migrants. The same cannot be said for Italian migrants in Sydney, New South Wales. Italo-Australian migrants found themselves in a majority Protestant society, and their specific needs as Italian Catholic migrants were basically ignored by the Australian Catholic hierachy. Therefore, *La Fiamma's* emphasis on religion as the basis of what it meant to be Italian was used as a defense mechanism to 'protect' the faith of Italian migrants from the forces hostile to Catholicism.

This idea of an essentially 'defensive' Italian ethnic ideal presented in *La Fiamma* is in direct contrast to *Il Cittadino Canadese's* more outward looking, aggressive concept of *italianità*. Spada's justification for the promotion of Italian ethnic cohesion was not that Italians need stick together in order to guard the faith, or because of blood ties or primordial links. Rather, his argument was that unity of Italian migrants in Montreal made smart political sense. Unity was a way to achieve power and influence in the larger Canadian society. Solidarity was a tool to be used aggressively in order to better serve the economic, political and social interests of

Italians. This pro-active way of using ethnicity in order to gain more power which was characteristic of *Il Cittadino's* concept of Italian ethnicity may be connected to the fact that minority representation is enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. The right for separate groups in Canada to fight for their specific interests within the larger Canadian national framework is a fundamental feature of Canadian society. Perhaps this feature can help to explain the more aggressive, political focus of *Il Cittadino Canadese.*

In order to better understand the reasons for the differences in how an Italian ethnic ideal was constructed in *La Fiamma* and *Il Cittadino Canadese,* further research on Italian migrants in the specific contexts of Montreal and Sydney is required. A more thorough, direct comparison of the two host societies needs to be conducted. In this thesis, what I have been able to do is point out the unique contours of each paper's attempt to mould the Italian ethnic ideal of its readers. In the process of doing so, I hope to have firmly established the idea that ethnic publications do not simply reflect the experiences of their reading audiences, but rather, like all newspapers, they attempt to define and shape opinions and identities.

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