VICTORIA UNIVERSITY

IMMIGRANT PLACEMAKING IN COLONIAL AUSTRALIA:

THE ITALIAN-SPEAKING SETTLERS OF DAYLESFORD

by

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated

this thesis is my own work

Bridget Carlson

February 1997

DEDICATION

To my mother and dearest friend

Phyl Carlson whose constant support,

enthusiasm for the project and thoughtful

advice made the study possible.

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ABSTRACT

The Italian-speaking settlers of nineteenth century Daylesford were among the first sizeable group of non-English speakers to contest the prevailing Anglo-centricism and to help pave the way towards Australia's multicultural future. The examination of this group interweaves the particular histories of fifteen families with thematic chapters which: define the nature of the emigrant community and the reasons for departure from the homeland; relate the journey to the ports of Melbourne and Sydney as a rite of passage to settlement; describe the early experiences of the Italian speakers as miners and labourers; explore their drift into traditional occupations as farmers and business people in the Daylesford community; and examine their family life and attempts to reconstruct a European life-style in Australia while recognising a growing commitment to an 'Australian' way of life. In the fifteen family sections, these themes are 'teased out' in terms of the life experiences of specific individuals and groups. In this way, it has been possible to describe how, as Stuart Hall has written in another context:

> every identity is placed, positioned in a culture, a language, a history.
> Every statement comes from somewhere, from somebody in particular.
> It insists on specificity, on conjuncture. But it is not necessarily
> armour-plated against other identities (Hall, 1986:46).

In theoretical terms, this study provides valuable insights into how precise individuals negotiate such cross-cutting identities as they construct their individual life histories. The concluding chapter reviews the lives of the fifteen families and assesses the significance of their experiences in Daylesford in the context of Australia's immigration history and future as a multicultural nation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Maria Viola, Michael Milesi, Val Quanchi, Margaret Pekin, Louise and Cliff Prentice among others.

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Fig. 1   *Colliers Encyclopedia with Bibliography and Index*, New York, P. F. Collier Inc., 1992.

Fig. 2   *Switzerland 1990: People and State, Economy, Culture*, Berne, Kummerly & Frey, Geographical Publishers, 1970.

Fig. 3   Gentilli, J., *The Settlement of Swiss Ticino Immigrants in Australia*, Geowest No. 23, Occasional Papers of the Department of Geography, University of Western Australia, August 1988.

Fig. 4   *Ticino: Southern Switzerland*, Lugano, Arti Grafiche già Veladini & Co., n. d. Obtained from Swiss National Tourist Office, Edgecliff, N. S. W.

Fig. 14   These and other sketches adapted from my photographs of the various sites.

TECHNICAL NOTES

IMPERIAL MEASURES

It should be noted that throughout the text imperial measures have been converted to the metric system. Where imperial measures appear within a quotation or other original source material the following table should be referred to:

inch	2.54 centimetres
foot	30.48 centimetres
acre	0.40 hectares
ounce	28.35 grammes
pound	0.45 kilogrammes
ton	1.01 tonnes
mile	1.60 kilometres
centimetre	0.39 inch
centimetre	0.03 feet
hectare	2.47 acres
gramme	0.03 ounces
kilogramme	2.20 pound
tonne	0.98 tons
kilometre	0.62 miles

USE OF ITALIAN

Quotes are exact transliterations and reveal a mixture of styles of Italian. English translations are provided in most cases in the endnotes. Pronunciation is not described phonetically: it is not always clear how particular words were pronounced.

SUMMARY

In this dissertation I argue that Italian-speaking immigration to Australia is to be understood, not simply as an interesting footnote to British colonisation, but as part of a process by which Australia became a 'pan-European' society and is becoming a 'post-European' society. The immigration of Italian speakers has contributed to an opening up of consciousness, a willingness to learn from the rest of the world and an acceptance of a wider and more diverse cultural universe. The post-war phenomenon of immigration to Australia raises questions about the significance of the colonial period, including the role of such groups as the Chinese, the Germans, the Italians and the Swiss. An examination of the Italian speakers in Daylesford in the second half of the nineteenth century, therefore, serves as a useful local study of what is today a national issue.

This examination interweaves thematic chapters with family histories -- the family chapters teasing out how the various themes were experienced by actual individuals and groups. These 'family chapters' -- 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 -- comprise the *'racconti'* of fifteen Italian-speaking families, their friends and associates who settled in the Daylesford district of the Colony of Victoria. The families are arranged according to the earliest arrival date of one or more of their members, the periods covered being 1852-1853 (Pozzi, Morganti), 1854 (Quanchi, Tomasetti, Lafranchi, Perini and Righetti), 1855-1857 (Milesi, Guscetti and Vanina), 1858-1861 (Gervasoni, Caligari and Gaggioni) and 1888-1889 (Vanzetta and Rodoni). By the time the last immigrant has died (Ferdinando Vanzetta in 1965) over one hundred years have

elapsed. The interwoven thematic chapters do not relate specifically to the family histories immediately preceding nor following them; rather, they raise and reinforce ideas common to all the *'racconti'*.

The first thematic chapter, the Emigrants, describes the Colony of Victoria at the time of the 1850s gold rush and, in particular, the area of Jim Crow to which the Italian-speaking immigrants came. It defines the immigrant community as belonging to two distinct groups -- people from the northern regions of what was called Italy after 1870 and Swiss -- who, despite their differing political allegiances, shared a similar language and culture. The chapter outlines the particular set of circumstances which persuaded the immigrants to leave their homelands and to choose Australia as their destination, and suggests that many of the Italian speakers were ill-equipped by their experience of village culture to cope well with life on the goldfields.

Chapter 3, the second thematic chapter, describes in detail the travellers' journey to the ports of Melbourne and Sydney, revealing the degree to which it was made difficult by the travellers' own ignorance and poverty. It shows how the travellers coped on first arrival and describes their journey overland to the goldfields. It reveals how hardship and suffering, as well as the need to adapt to the changed environment, made the journey a rite of passage, its transformative qualities a preparation for settlement.

Chapter 5 describes the early experiences of the Italian speakers at Jim Crow -- 'the scouts', as social historian Robert Pascoe has labelled the first influx of immigrants

to Australia. It examines their attempts to find gold, their adaptation to a harsh and alienating environment and their physical and emotional support of one another. It reveals that only a minority of immigrants fulfilled their financial ambitions, leaving the remainder destitute and destined to spending the rest of their lives in Australia -- a fate which most had barely imagined.

Chapter 7 explores the 'farming' years of the Italian speakers at Daylesford: the forms of employment to which they turned, the growing stability of their life-style which accompanied their re-formation into families, their greater sense of ethnic identity and their interaction with the rest of the community which prevented them becoming an isolated enclave. What emerges is how the 'farmers' laid the foundations for a recognisable Italian-speaking community within Australian society and in the process laid the seeds for the successful multiculturalisation which was to emerge (officially) many years later.

Chapter 9 examines the family life of the Italian speakers: their marriages, their homes and the raising of their children. It notes the extent to which the settlers attempted to reconstruct their European life-styles in Australia while at the same time recognising that their decision to remain in the Colony with a family involved a commitment to an 'Australian' way of life which entailed the construction of new life-styles.

The concluding thematic chapter, Looking Back and Looking Forward reviews the lives of the fifteen families, creating a picture of a people who succeeded in

maintaining elements of their language, cultural traditions and life-style while still adapting to the needs and demands of a new environment and society. Traditional ideas and practices assumed new significance in the light of new contexts; at the same time, appropriation of elements of the history and cultural heritage of incoming groups served to enrich and expand the 'Australian' contexts. Accommodating to these new cultural frameworks and contexts, the Italian speakers of Daylesford may be said to have negotiated between various cross-cutting identities, which gave rise to a new hybridised narrative of identity celebrating the past and taking control of the future. As this chapter argues, the momentum was carried forward by later Italian-speaking (and other) immigrant groups, who helped pave the way towards a more inclusive, multicultural nation.

LIST OF FIGURES

Italian speaking states after the
Congress of Vienna of 1815. The various
dates indicate when each became a
member of the united Italy.

**Fig1   The Italian peninsula
    prior to unification**

Fig 2 Switzerland and Northern Italy

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Fig 4 Valleys of Ticino

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The route
taken by
vessels
bringing
emigrants to
Australia

Fig 5 Sea route from Europe to Australia

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Fig 6   The Colony of Victoria

Muldon
Maryborough
Mt Alexander
Castlemaine
Malmsbury
Glenlyon
Kyneton
Hepburn
Trentham
Woodend
Allendale
Daylesford
Cresswick
Ballarat
Ballan
Buninyong
Smythesdale
Linton
Piggoreet

Newbridge
Dunolly
Stawell
Ararat
Geelong
Portland

MAP OF GOLD AND OTHER MINES IN VICTORIA.

Shewing the Cross Roads from one Mine to another, with indications of various Stations.
Divided into Squares of ten Miles, to easily calculate the distance of any New Mines when discovered

Fig 7 Overland route to the goldfields

From Melbourne to		mile
F	Flemington	3
K	Keilor	9
M	Malor	26
B.M.	Reckless March	33
B	Buffalo	50
I	Bright Inn	67
	Bonyong	73
	Ballarat	73

New Mines		
to Mt Korong		80
to Mt Alexander		60
Forks to Mt Korong		60
		140

Mr John

From Melbourne to		
Mt Alexander & Bendigo	Inde	3
F	Flemington	9
K	Keilor	25
C	Gisborne	36
S.S	Saltwater or Bush Inn	45
K	Carisbrook	50
K	Bonaco	65
M	Malmesbury	65
E	Elphinstone	73
	Golden Gully	80
P	Bendigo	95
P		130

From Melbourne to the Ovens River		
P	Restaurace	
M.V	Mercers Creek	25
K	Kilmore	40
F	Seymour 2 Inns	60
S	Seymour	65
A	Avenell	90
L	Longwood	104
E	Euroa	113
V	Violet	130
B	Benalla	160
W	Wangaratta	187

Cross Roads		
Cross Road from Ballarat		
to Mt Alexander	72
to Kilmore etc	3?
Borton Station	37
Mt Alexander	60

From Parkers Station to		
Carisbrook		10
Carisbrook 2 Inn etc	10
Clever Brothers	22
Carisbrook	32

From Malmesbury to Kilmore	20
Kingston Station	27
Kilmore	62
	63

Geelong to Ballarat		
East Road		
O.M.	St Meura	10
C.F.	Golden Fleece	31
B	Barons Bridge	44
	Bonmorong	50
	Ballarat	58

From Geelong to Ballarat		
West Road		
O.M.	Meara	10
L	Leightonstitch	20
M.H.	Nances Hill	44
	Bonmorong	63
	Ballarat	65

Coolaroke to Seymour
to Baylou (salmon) ... 10
Bayardof ... 30
Seymour ... 5

Scale of 30 miles

OVENS RIVER
King River
MITTA
MURRAY RIVER
BENDIGO
McIVOR
Mt ALEXANDER
BALLARAT
Mt KORONG
MELBOURNE
PORT PHILLIP BAY
GEELONG
Loddon River
Grassy Plains

Fig 8   The Daylesford district

Castlemaine
Malmsbury
Kyneton
Woodend
Porcupine Ridge
Mt Franklin
Glenlyon
Coomoora
Musk
Bullarto
Trentham
Sailors Falls
Yandoit
Franklinford
Shepherds Flat
Hepburn
Spring Creek
Daylesford
Eganstown
Blampied
Newlyn
Ballarat
Ballan
Bacchus Marsh
Mt Bunninyong
Bunninyong
Creswick
Smeaton
Allendale
Broomfield
Clunes

to Linton
Happy Valley
Piggoreet

1 Lavezzolo's Hotel 1860 (Alessandro Pozzi's bakery 1866 was next-door)

2 Stefano Pozzi's wine shop 1867 (It became the Star Hotel)

3 Basili's Manchester Hotel 1850s-60s

4 Battista Borsa's brewery

5 Carlo Traversi's Hotel and dancing hall

6 Daylesford Hospital 1861

7 Holy Cross Convent

8 St Peter's Church

9 Ferrari home

10 Fumburger home

11 Stefano Pozzi's home circa 1884

12 Entrance to Long Tunnel Mine

13 Railway station

14 Daylesford State School

to Spring Ck

Jamison St

Hospital St

Raglan St

Albert St

West St

Millar St

Bridport St

Vincent St

Howe St

Duke St

Camp St

Daly St

Botanic Gardens Est 1863

Central Springs Road

Stanbridge St

Lake Daylesford

Leggatt St

King St

to Ballarat

Victoria Park

Jubilee Lake

to Melbourne

Stony Creek Falls

Stony Creek Rd

Leonard Pozzi had a store in this area
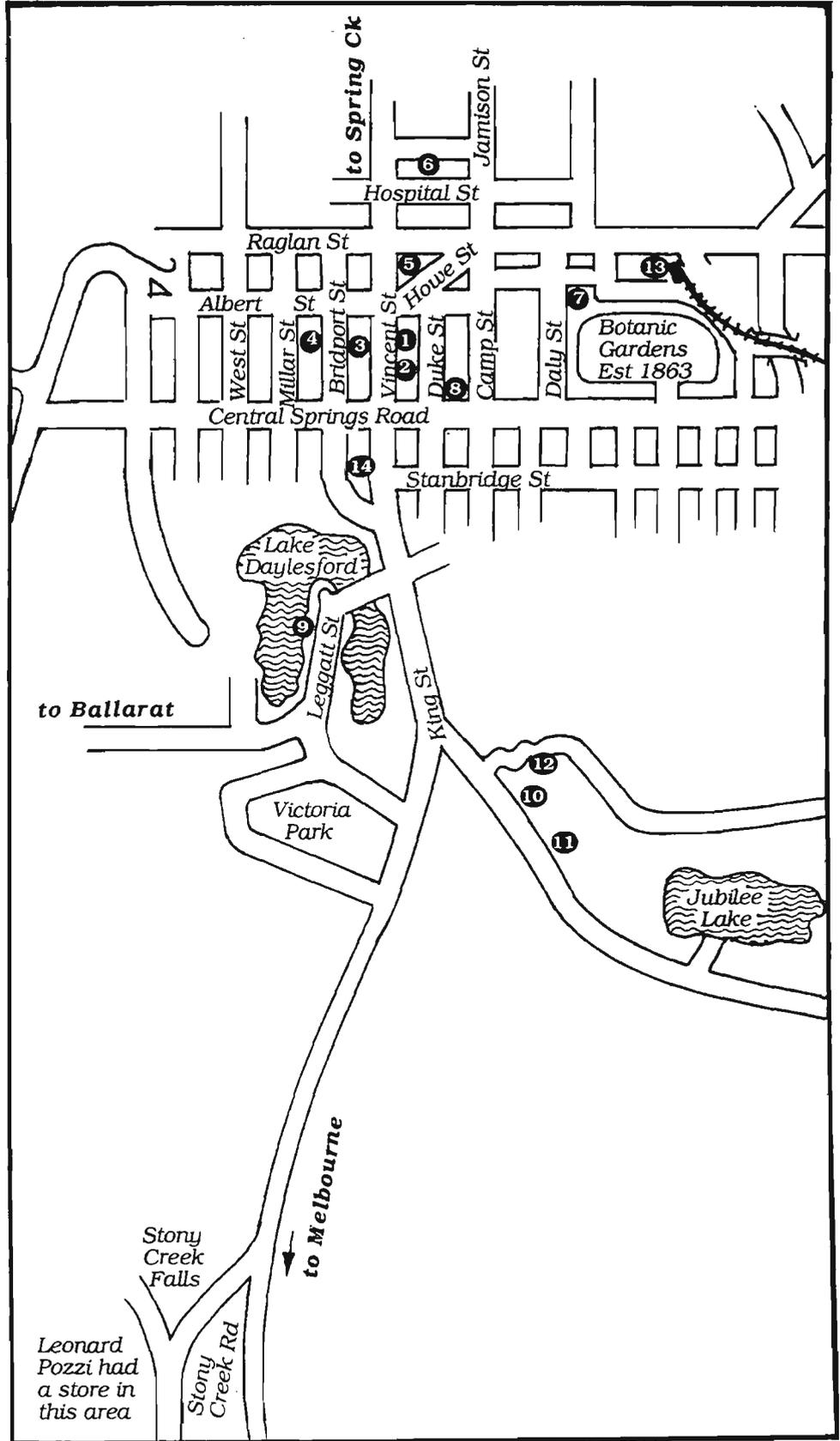
Fig 9   Daylesford

1 Crippa home 'Parma House'

2 Rolleri's Hotel

3 Perini home and later guest-house 'Locarno' (originally site of the Revival Hotel)

4 Borsa home and guest-house 'Bellinzona'

5 F. Rossetti's hotel, store and bakery, 1855. Bedolla's Hotel, 1860s. Later Savoia Hotel

6 Lucini's Macaroni Factory

Fig 10 Spring Creek
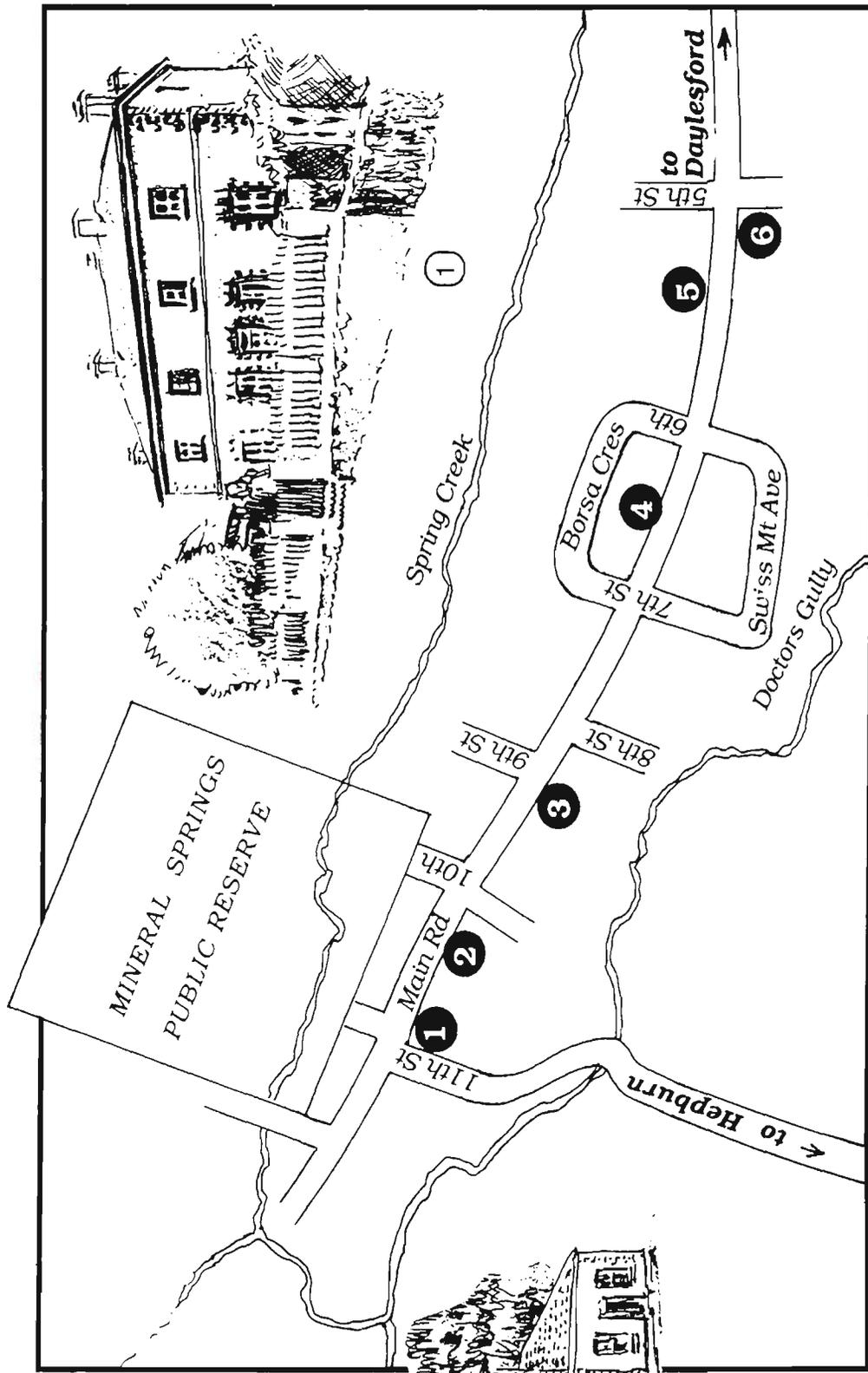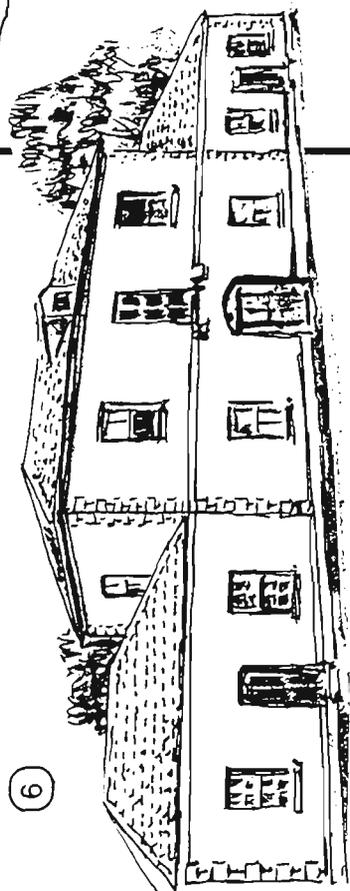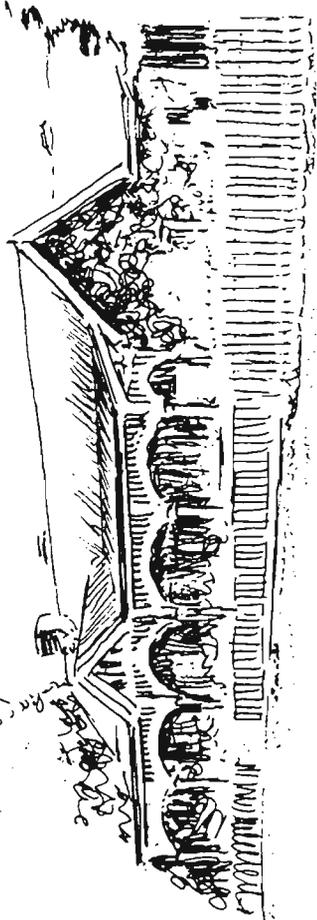
Fig 12 Yandoit and Yandoit Creek
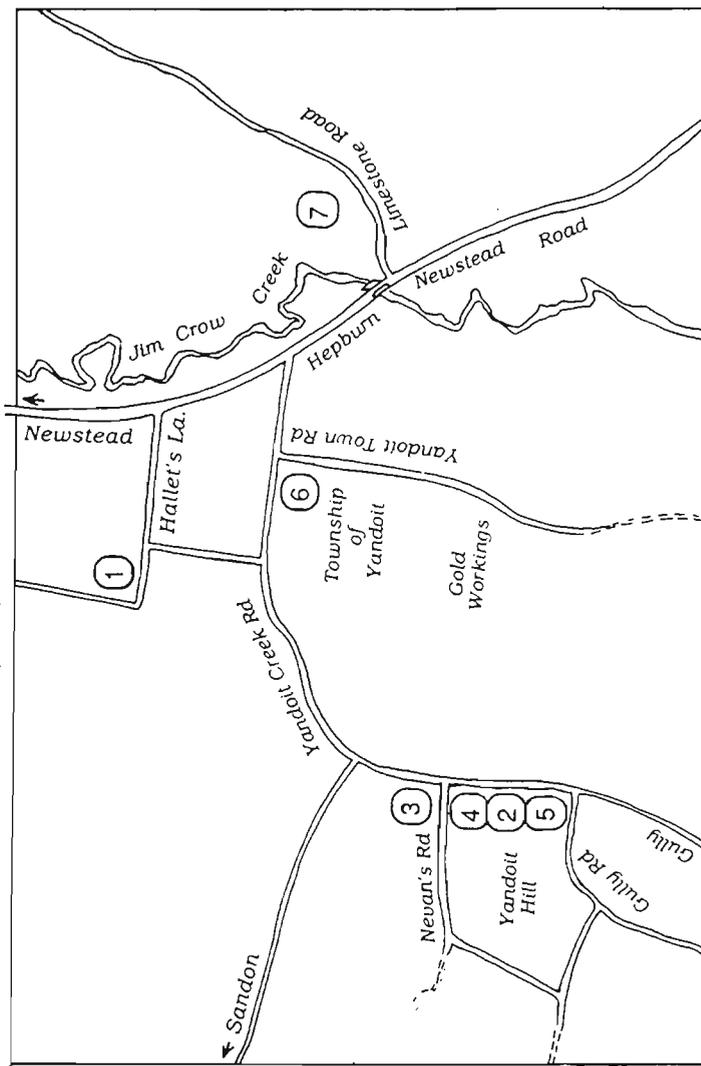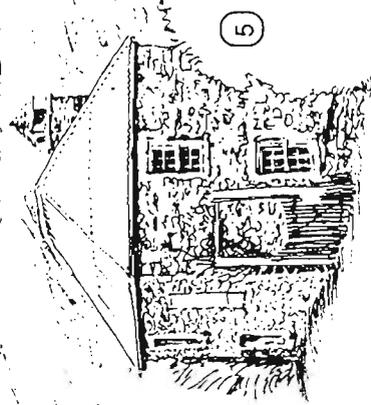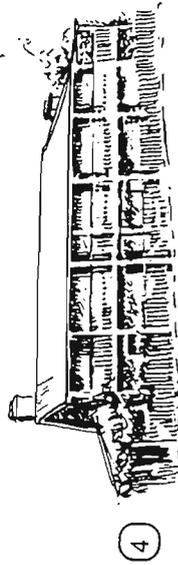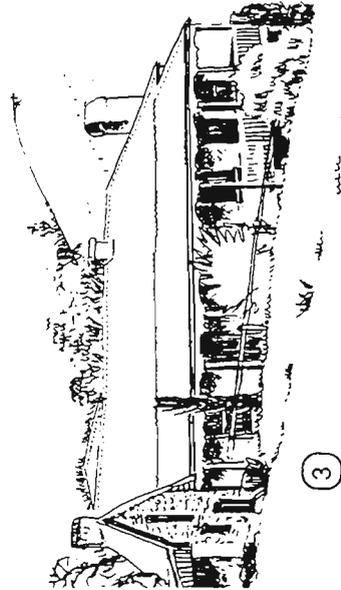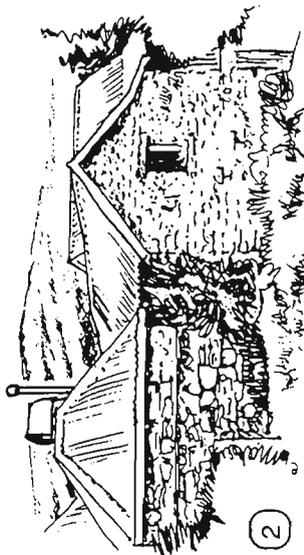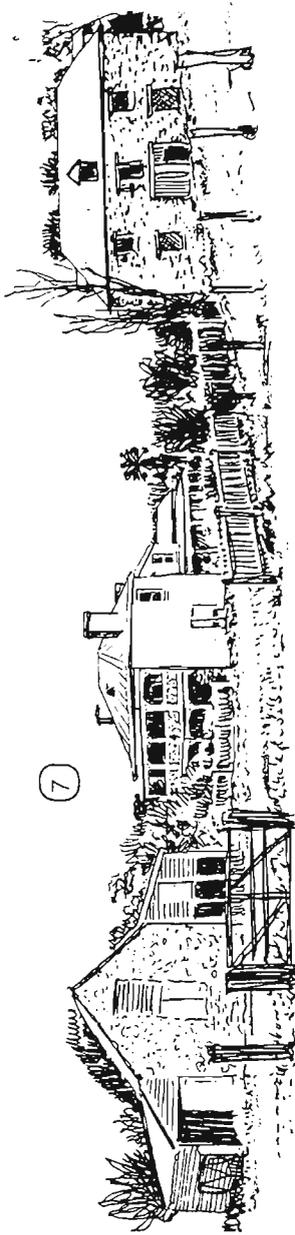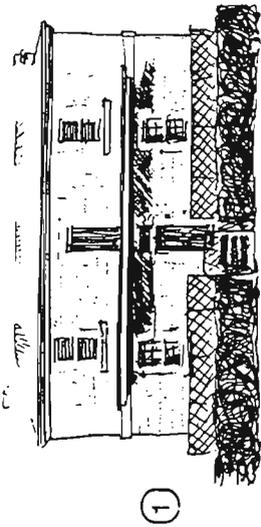
1 Sartori home 'Locarno'
2 Invernizzi home
3 L. Gervasoni home 'Bergamo'
4 C. Gervasoni home 'Old Stone House'
5 A. Gervasoni stone barn
6 Pedrini's wine bar
7 B. Righetti home, barn and dairy

Daylesford
Franklinford

Limestone Road

Jim Crow Creek

Newstead Road

Hepburn

Newstead

Hallet's La.

Yandoit Town Rd

Township of Yandoit

Gold Workings

Yandoit Creek Rd

Sandon

Nevan's Rd

Yandoit Hill

Gully Rd

American Gully

Direction of
A. Tognolini's home /
Milesi's Hotel

Pozzis had
2nd store at
Deep Creek

**Bryces
Flat**

Deep Creek

Joyces Creek

*Caligari
family also
lived in this
area*

G Tomasetti
21.9.72

*Morganti
House*

**Eastern
Hill**

Morganti Road

M Morganti
16.12.74

M Morganti 23.3.63
4.12.76

**Morganti
House**

M Morganti   22.8.76
8.6.72

Cemetery

G Nicola   C Giorgi
10.12.80   23.8.76   13.11.72

Eganstown

A Lafranchi
12.85   21.12.85

A Lafranchi
113.8.72

St
Joseph's
Church
Shamrock
Hotel

**to
Smeaton**

*Blampied
Hotel*

G Tomasetti
31.7.78

Blampied

Swiss
Mountain
Hotel

A Lafranchi
18.7.71

Mt Prospect
School

Langdon's Creek

**Mt
Prospect**

**to
Ballarat**

SWISS MOUNTAIN HOTEL

Fig 13   Blampied and Eganstown

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Rear view of Tognolini
homestead, Yandoit.
Note dove-cote
chimney-pot and
small windows.

Rear view of Morganti property, Eganstown.
Note handmade bricks on stone foundations
which also incorporate a cellar.

Example of stonework on
well at Righetti property,
Yandoit

Rear view of Sartori
property, Yandoit.
Exposed stones
enabled easy
extension work
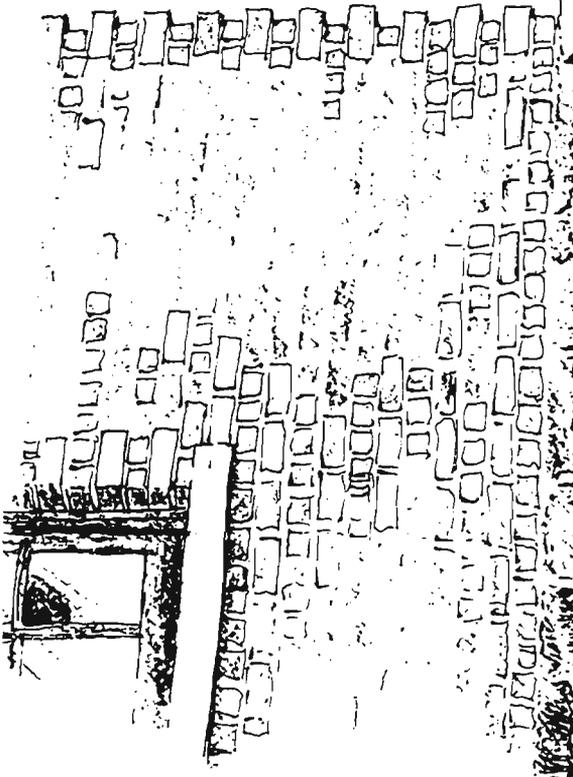
Fig 14 Architectural features

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INTRODUCTION

Traditionally viewed as a 'fragment' of Europe which became disconnected at some point in time, Australia has seen little of itself reflected in its nearest neighbours to the north. Approaching the latter part of the twentieth century, however, Australians have been reaching out toward Asia in a way which would have been unthinkable a mere 30 years ago. One of the significant contexts for this 'post-European' orientation is that our national history is now understood to have been more open-ended than traditionally perceived and has roots greater than those which link Australia with Britain. Italian immigration is one key to this context, because it highlights some of the ways in which Australia's particular mix of immigrants has created a distinctly multicultural future for Australia. By successfully maintaining a cultural distinctiveness within an Australian setting, Italian speakers (as one of the nation's largest and most influential ethnic groups) have contributed to acceptance and a greater tolerance for all ethnic groups. The Italian-speaking settlers of 1850s Daylesford, in challenging the Anglo-centric attitudes of the local white population, were among the first sizeable group of non-English speakers to help pave the way towards this multicultural society. Australian governments and business people now value the language skills of the various immigrant groups and recognise the advantages of cultural exchange. There is now wider acceptance that indigenous peoples should have greater say in Australian society, advising on such issues as wise stewardship of the land, in contrast to the earlier British fiction of *terra nullius*. In 1993, the Australian government supported a proposal to replace pro-British symbols in the Australian Defence Force. Similarly, debate on an Australian Head of State

increasingly focuses on the question of 'when' rather than 'if'. This appointment will be constitutionally distinct from Britain. The shift that is currently being witnessed reflects, not only the progressive demographic changes which have occurred in the wake of post-war immigration, but also the pre-existing multicultural heritage on which that immigration was based.

For much of Australia's post-1788 history, that heritage has been marginalised and dismissed by prevailing Anglo-Celtic attitudes and institutions, but the more recent debate on multiculturalism has seen a public recognition that a significant minority of Australian residents desire to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity -- that neither a 'cultural cringe' associated with being a British outpost, nor a sense of superiority toward the non-British offers the possibility of a free and egalitarian society. In helping to transform the monocultural definition of Australian identity, the Italian-speaking settlement in colonial Daylesford forms part of a broader national and historiographical issue -- the actual means by which Australia has become a post-Anglo-Celtic society and is moving toward becoming a post-European society. This study of fifteen families, their friends and associates addresses this issue by demonstrating how a range of traditional skills and customs -- often represented as 'peasant' attributes by the families and their descendants -- were successfully transplanted from Swiss and Italian villages into colonial Victoria. Their building styles, farming methods, morphologies of settlement and patterns of kinship all reflected a way of life different from that of the British -- sometimes subtly different, sometimes radically so.

The study concerns a group of people with similar linguistic and cultural traditions who emigrated from a region of southern Europe to a recently established British colony. Those from the region of Lombardy, whose people were undergoing a process of political unification with the rest of the Italian peninsula, did not have a strong sense of being 'Italian'. Neither did those Ticinesi, whose language and life-style reflected those of their Lombard neighbours, regard themselves as clearly 'Swiss'. It can more convincingly be argued for most of them that, as peasants, they identified more with their villages and nearby surrounds than with the 'nations' to which they legally belonged. Documents from as early as the sixteenth century reveal that peasants emigrating from Mendrisio in Switzerland used only the words, *il villagio natale* (the village of birth) and *Italia* (meaning the locality in which their villages were situated) to signify the homeland[1] while Italian men from peasant communities, who left their homes as soldiers during the First World War, described the land which they were defending in terms far less abstract than those of their officers: *'Per i contadini ... la patria aveva uno spesso concreto, quotidiano, familiare e si identificava con il proprio ambiente sociale'* (For the peasants ... the homeland had a concrete meaning, the day-to-day, familiar and they identified with their own social environment).[2] Similarly, a significant feature of identity formation among the Italian-speaking settlers of Daylesford and their descendants was the appeal to their peasant culture. While it is impossible to establish the extent to which the actions of the nineteenth century settlers represented 'peasant attributes' -- the ingenuity so often displayed in their new setting is, after all, characteristic of most new settlers -- at the level of self-identification, it is clear that the notion of belonging to 'peasant stock', to acting in a 'peasant way', was both real and significant to a greater or lesser extent for all the families featured in this

study. Time and again in the interviews conducted for this research, the behaviour and actions of their ancestors who had settled in the Daylesford area were categorised and explained in terms of their Italian peasant origins. Given W. I. Thomas's observation that 'if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences',[3] this self-identification as 'peasants' may be considered significant, not only in terms of subjective interpretations, but also in terms of life-style choices and social interaction.

As shown by this study, other features of birthplace and the culture of the homeland - such as identification as 'Swiss', 'Ticinese', 'Italian', 'Maggesi' or 'Catholic' - were also significant among the Italian speakers of Daylesford. Moreover, the changing contexts of the settlement process gave rise to new categories of identity, such as 'Italian-Irish', 'non-English-speaking' and 'outsider'. Accordingly, it would be inaccurate to assume that the appeal to peasant culture, which remains a feature of self-identification among the descendants of the Italian-speaking settlers, continued to mean the same thing with the passage of time and the changing of circumstances.

Similarly, it would be misleading to approach the ethnic identity of the Italian speakers of Daylesford and their descendants as if it were a fixed and unchanging category. As a number of writers have commented, ethnic identity is a notion notoriously difficult to define, Hugh Seton-Watson being driven to the conclusion that '"no specific definition" ... can be devised[,] yet the phenomenon has existed and exists'.[4] Stuart Hall observes that ethnic identity is only one element of a multi-layered and multi-directional social existence, other elements including race, class, gender and sexual position.[5] That identity is both complex and cross-cutting is evident among the

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Italian-speaking settlers at Daylesford: many of them operated efficient businesses while continuing to identify in other contexts as peasants; and male immigrants often reacted in ways inconsistent with the women, their gender cross-cutting with their ethnicity to influence their attitudes and behaviour. As Stuart Hall has suggested, these cross-cutting 'positionalities' are the means through which a person negotiates his or her life.[6]

Often, discussion and analysis of such 'positionalities' has privileged national ethnic identification as the most important or critical 'positionality' through which other aspects of identity are refracted. However, as E. J. Hobsbawm has commented, official ideologies of states and movements are not necessarily accurate guides to what is in the minds of even 'the most loyal citizens or supporters'.[7] Even when such 'national' identification exists, it cannot be assumed that it excludes or is even superior to the other identifications which constitute the social being.

> In fact, it is always combined with identifications of another kind, even when it is felt to be superior to them ... [N]ational identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods.[8]

Other aspects of ethnic identity explored in this thesis have been discussed by Benedict Anderson, who suggests that the phenomenon exists when members of even the smallest groups have a feeling of community with members they never know, meet or even hear of.[9] In their imagination, he says, they experience a 'deeply felt, horizontal comradeship'.[10] The intensity of this 'imagined' kinship varies between groups of people according to differing circumstances. Drawing upon the experiences of Javanese villagers, he says that these people have always believed they are

connected to people that they have never seen but with whom they imagine real feelings of community.[11] This sense of fraternity, where substantial groups of people imagine that they are living parallel lives, even when they are widely separated over time and distance, is evident among the Italian-speakers of Daylesford who, despite coming from different villages and valleys, 'imagined' a common identity, which continued -- perhaps was even accentuated in the light of changing circumstances -- after their arrival in the Colony. This sense of cultural continuity continued to impact on their lives, despite significant material changes in personal and social circumstances. In terms of the epistemological framework of sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman,[12] it could be said that such changes are, indeed, made and experienced as 'real' precisely because they are interpreted according to familiar identity constructs.

The issue has been explored in a different context from an anthropological perspective by Roger Keesing who asks of the indigenous people of the South West Pacific: 'What are the circumstances under which a people can take a sufficient view of themselves and their way of life to see their culture as a "thing"?[13] Attempting to answer this question, he suggests that perhaps 'it is only the circumstances of colonial invasion, where peoples have had to come to terms with their own powerlessness and peripherality, that allow such externalisation of culture as symbol'.[14] He uses the example of the Australian aborigines and the New Zealand Maoris, who both developed closer bonds of identity after confrontation with European invaders. Similarly, Gerhard Brunn[15] argues that a person's sense of ethnic identity may be in abeyance for a long time and only become an active force when certain conditions are met. In transferring to the Colony of Victoria, the Italian speakers entered a dominant

Anglo-Celtic culture which sought to diminish the power of its minority groupings by making them 'history-less'. Thus the aborigines were assumed to have no land rights, English was the only language taught in the schools and the dress and customs of the Chinese were ridiculed. In order to assert their unity and identity as a bulwark against the dominant attitudes and institutional structures, it was to be expected that the Italian speakers should have looked to traditional ways and the preservation of familiar values. The history of 'their' people, even when idealised around the concept of peasantry, was made (in the words of Brunn) 'the ideological nucleus of their existence'.[16]

In his studies concerning other immigrant communities in Europe, Brunn noted the crucial role of history in the formation of group-identity and group-behaviour. He argues that historical awareness, ideas and conceptions have played a central role in the development of cultural homogeneity and continuity. 'History', he says, 'served to confirm the existence of the ethnic group and its legitimation was then built on evidence of an unbroken history'.[17] All peoples, literate or illiterate, members of a tribe or small or large nation, use history to confirm their ethnic existence. It is a creative force which reinforces group consciousness and strengthens bonds. Keesing in his work among Island Melanesians goes further, stating that the (re)invention of the past (history) is an important component for understanding the present.[18] Though a view of events in the past may be expressed which bears little relationship to documented history, people, places and deeds, such memories and stories are the basis for a sense of community, of oneness between a group of people who are adjusting to a new way of life as an isolated, peripheral entity.

In terms of horizontal consciousness, the past exists only to the extent that it speaks to the present. In oral cultures this is literally the case: if stories fail to make useful statements to present generations they fail to be retold and the history they express is lost.[19] Keya Ganguly, in her study of a group of middle-class professional Indians who emigrated to the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, observes that 'recollections of the past serve as the active ideological terrain on which people represent themselves to themselves'.[20] The present, she says,

> acquires its meaning only with reference to a disjointed and conflicted narrative of the past -- in which references to official narratives about colonisation and historical memory are tangled up with personal memories and private recollections of past experience.[21]

She claims support for this in Gramsci, who also suggested that 'everyday subjectivity is constructed out of a sediment of understandings about the ways in which the past permanently marks the present'.[22] The personality is formed by prejudices from past phases of history and intuitions of a 'future philosophy', which together provide a person's 'narrative' and 'common sense'. Though the past is important in people's self-representations and narratives of identity, it is made up of selected memories chosen according to a person's 'present subjectivity'. The selected memories, or stories which they become, have more to do with the 'continuing shoring up of self-understanding than with historical "truths"'.[23]

This claim runs counter to the still largely dominant method employed in literate societies to record history which demands 'a standard of education and pre-existing consciousness of the past which is usually the preserve of intellectuals'.[24]

Weight is given to the findings of research which only gain credence if they have been approached through 'scientific method'. In such societies, says Brunn, ethnic memory -- at least, the dominant 'official' version of it -- is the product of a small cultural elite. Written histories in the nineteenth century concentrated on grand events and glorious epochs, all serving to create and reinforce national pride: thus the artistic and intellectual achievements of the Renaissance were recognised, as were the glories of the British Empire. Histories which depicted life as a permanent struggle against a hereditary enemy, and contrasted 'golden eras with those marking decline' -- discounting the latter as either self-induced or attributable to oppression or exploitation by alien powers. For literate societies, history provided evidence of a proud past, offered guidance in the present and pointed to an optimistic future.

The history of semi-literate peoples -- such as those from which the Italian speakers emigrated in the 1850s -- had similar aims but resided partly in an oral tradition: in the stories, proverbs and songs which were passed down through each generation. Nineteenth century peasant culture, with its roots in feudal society, was fractured into numerous small isolated rural communities; the needs of the people were limited to those of the group and contact with the outside world, apart from seasonal migration to neighbouring areas, was rare. History centred on village life rather than 'national' affairs, the latter being more commonly regarded with lack of interest or outright hostility.[25] For Antonio Gramsci, the peasants' intellectual and practical horizons were defined by the local environment, and by their elementary needs and were thus materialistic and utilitarian.[26] The peasants' 'grand events' were the orally transmitted stories of endless struggle against the elements and of the importance of

family bonds. In their telling, and in the mode of their telling, they kept alive the collective memory and reinforced familiar values and ways of life.

In analysing the immigrant experience of the Italian speakers on the Australian goldfields, the stories and songs from their oral tradition offer vital clues, not only to their past, but also to the way in which they conceived themselves in the present. Though the notion of belonging to a 'peasant culture' became increasingly 'mythical' with the passage of time, it was 'remembered'; and in being identified with it continued to influence lives to varying degrees. Memories, some of which undoubtedly were of recent 'invention', continued to inform an authentic sense of 'tradition' and 'history'. In oral cultures there is considerable scope for such 'invention' because the immediate 'feedback' received from the audience sets up a group-based dynamic of reinforcement of particular identifications. To view the persistence of 'traditional' elements in these identifications as simply a reaction to processes of modernisation is, as John B. Thompson has argued,

> to fail to see that there are certain aspects of tradition which are not
> eliminated by the development of modern societies, aspects which provide
> a foothold for the continued cultivation of traditional beliefs and practices
> in the modern world.[27]

Such 'footholds' were re-established and maintained -- as described throughout this study -- when the Italian speakers came together in Daylesford. Often this coming together was for social and religious purposes, when the group dynamic gave rise to certain 'idealised' elements of peasant identity taken from different individuals' contributions, which were then drawn from (as it were) as a kind of composite identity. These shared elements were appropriated and adapted by the group as a whole, and by individuals who drew from this shared identity to invest their individual lives with

meaning. This meaning informed their way of relating to other Italian-speakers, to other inhabitants of Australia and to social change.

Drawing upon the oral testimony of immigrants and their descendants, this thesis attempts to provide otherwise unobtainable perspectives on the past -- perspectives which are not necessarily transmitted via conventional literate evidence. Some of the problems faced in dealing with such oral testimony have been discussed by Walter Ong, who claims that we are now so literate that it is difficult for us to conceive of an oral universe of communication or thought except as a variant of a literate universe.[28] In differentiating oral and literate universes of meaning, he states that in contrast to writing, which has the effect of reifying words, oral tradition gives meaning to words by their performance.[29] The difference, he maintains, is not only a difference between modes of expression, but of actual thought processes. When people tell a story, observes Ong, their utterances occur in a 'normal full existential context'[30] which includes gestures, vocal inflections and facial expressions. One implication of this is that to understand oral stories independently of their contexts is not only to miss their meaning but also to impose on them a different meaning. The imposed meaning reflects the more analytical thought and speech structured by writing and characterised by abstractions which separate the knower from the known, rather than the 'aggregate' thought and speech of oral cultures.

It is not possible to resurrect the 'normal full existential context' in which the Italian speakers of Daylesford invested their lives with meaning. But to be sensitive to its role enables an appreciation of the significance of the small-scale social interaction

which features so prominently in the stories passed down to their descendants and in this way gets closer to the meaning of life for the Italian speakers of nineteenth century Daylesford. Allowing for the existential context of the small-scale interaction which constitutes so much of social life enables the modern researcher to get closer to what Greg Dening has termed 'public knowledge of the past':

> not public in the sense of being institutional, but public in the sense of being culturally shared, being expressed in some way. For an expression to have shared meaning, it must be possessed of some system which can be recognised. But this recognition will always hold the ambivalences of circumstanced exchanges. The systems in the expression will always be modified by being expressed and recognised.[31]

The problems the Italian and Ticinese immigrants faced in accommodating the demands of their former peasant society with those of an emerging modern society -- Dening's 'circumstanced exchanges' -- did not result in the total erosion of their past. Rather, precious elements from past experience were maintained and integrated into an ever-changing present. Jonathan Rutherford, who agrees that identity 'is constituted out of different elements of experience and subjective position,'[32] suggests that an 'articulation' -- 'the process of combining elements into a "third term"' [33] -- allows individuals to conceptualise a new identity, which is not merely the sum of the original elements. Such 'articulation', as Gramsci suggested, is 'the starting point of critical elaboration ... the consciousness of what one really is'.[34] For Rutherford, identity 'marks the conjecture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within'.[35] In this context, this study of fifteen families demonstrates that nineteenth century Daylesford's Italian speakers articulated a new ethical and democratic framework within a culture that recognised differences and tried to resolve antagonisms. The experience of the Italian speakers suggests -- as Stuart Hall argues

-- that people can survive the weakening of their identities without losing their ethnicity, that change is going to happen, that no identity will remain the same and that there is no culture or tradition which is immune from change.[36]

Examining the experiences of the Italian-speaking settlers of Daylesford, describing the modifications of their sense of identity, has several implications for multicultural policy-making, notably in analysing the forces making for cultural diversity and homogeneity. As this study shows, such forces occur, for example, within family and social structures, patterns of work behaviour, language and the design and location of houses. The Daylesford community demonstrates that family customs and traditions are both strongly maintained and altered over time through the need to associate (through business and marriage) with other cultures, mainly the Irish. The rituals associated with food preparation and consumption feature prominently in each of the following family histories, functioning as an important bonding force and as a mechanism for reaching out to the Anglo-Celtic community. Language also emerges as a mechanism which both bonds the immigrant community and facilitates integration into the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture. In the design of their homes, maintenance of traditional occupations and work practices, and the tendency to cluster in family groupings, the immigrants can be seen to have attempted to translate a village culture onto the Australian landscape. While such 'translations' served traditionalist ends, they too eventually succumbed to the environmental, economic and social pressures of radically changing circumstances.

In order to explore these forces, this dissertation is presented as a series of family histories counterpointed with thematic chapters which relate to the process of immigrant placemaking. The family histories are grouped chronologically, as defined by the arrival date in Australia of their earliest members; by the time the last surviving immigrant has died (1965) more than a century had passed The thematic chapters explore the nature of the immigrant group, the journey to Australia, the early years on the goldfields, the decision to settle and family life and the home. The dissertation concludes with a chapter, 'Looking Back and Looking Forward', which examines the immigrant experience in the broader context of Australia's becoming a post-European society. In looking in detail at the lives of fifteen nineteenth century Italian-speaking families and integrating their experiences as migrants and settlers in the Daylesford area in the context of the broad themes of the interwoven (alternating) chapters, the dissertation avoids the risk of compiling simply a family history or the history of a nineteenth century Victorian town. Instead, it opens the analysis to the broader, historical, social and cultural implications of this particular migration episode, the reasons for it, and its impact.

The dissertation achieves this aim by drawing upon not only conventional but also unorthodox sources of information and part of this dissertation's contribution to understanding lies in its being informed by a mix of methodological approaches: record linkage which connects various kinds of data concerning a central sample of fifteen families, a cultural analysis of the vestiges of the Italo-Australian presence in the region and the analysis of the oral histories of descendants. In terms of sources, fragments of that heritage include the onomastic evidence of locality and street names,

the epigraphic clues on cemetery tombstones, building pediments and Anzac memorials and the material artefacts in private ownership. Some older residents remember snatches of nineteenth century Italian songs (even though they speak no Italian themselves) and can prepare Italian food of that era. These are some of the tantalising and significant clues to the culturally shared understandings of the past -- to the cultural history of the region.

It has been possible to draw upon an extensive network of local contacts to obtain interviews with descendants in the region, as well as to pursue Ballarat and Melbourne descendants who have continued to have a Daylesford interest. Few family histories have been prepared prior to this study. One (Tomasetti, 1974) is of outstanding value and raises questions applicable to other local family histories. There are also several anecdotal accounts of Daylesford which make reference to its Italian population.

Some of the architectural evidence used in the study is treated by Maguire (1987) and Sagazio (1990). Other local sources (some previously untapped by researchers) include the Daylesford Museum and Historical Society, the Daylesford Shire Offices and the Daylesford Hospital, local newspapers and conventional directories (*Sands & Macdougall's*). Through these sources a prosopographical analysis is carried out, linking these records and providing a coherent account of the fifteen families. Some of the families are Ticinese, whose ancestry can be traced through Cheda's book (1979) or the subsequent work of Pagliaro (1991) and Gentilli

(1988; 1989). Others are from areas in modern-day Italy, whose Australian experience has been the subject of recent research by Pascoe (1987) and D'Aprano (1994).

In its approach, and in the way it gives voice to the previously hidden histories of the Italian-speaking settlers of the Daylesford region, this thesis implicitly challenges the Anglo-Celtic representation of Australian history, based on the fiction of *terra nullius* and the denial that there were non-British convict settlers. In fact, a number of Italians were among Australia's earliest non-British settlers -- Giuseppe Tusa was allegedly among the first Australian shipment, while Vincenzo Bucchieri and Antonio Jano were two early convicts after 1788. It was not, however, until the onset of free immigration that any real ethnic differentiation began to be apparent.[37] Apart from the British pastoralists who had taken up large tracts of land to graze their sheep, many Irish famine refugees had arrived in the late 1840s and soon made up one-eighth of the total population.[38] German Lutherans escaping religious persecution by King Frederich William of Prussia had also settled in South Australia. Despite these immigrant waves, relatively few people of non-Anglo-Celtic descent had begun to settle in Australia before the 1850s. The British, struggling to assert themselves over the country's aboriginal cultures, showed little tolerance for the ethnic diversity of its non-English-speaking peoples and the myth of British supremacy was able to sustain an official monoculturalism and the vested interests of the Anglo-Australian elite. However, when gold was discovered in the 1850s and people of many nations -- including the Italian speakers treated in this study -- flooded into the Colony of Victoria, the first major challenge to this attitude was mounted.

In broad terms, this dissertation argues that Australia's particular mix of cultural groups from this time contributed to an opening up of consciousness and a new willingness to learn from the rest of the world. Specificially, it shows how the Italian speakers, beginning with those Ticinesi and northern Italians in 1850s Daylesford -- who were among the first to establish many aspects of their traditional culture in an Australian setting -- helped lay the foundation for the transformation of Australia from an Anglo-Celtic outpost into more of a multicultural society, with a rich mosaic of life-styles, languages, values and beliefs.

Before turning to the fifteen families who brought to Australia their non Anglo-Celtic life-styles, languages, rituals and beliefs -- the Pozzo, Morganti, Quanchi, Tomasetti, Lafranchi, Perini, Righetti, Milesi, Guscetti, Vanina, Gervasoni, Caligari, Gaggioni, Vanzetta and Rodoni families-- it is necessary to provide a background to the Italian speakers' identity and the circumstances which led to their decision to emigrate.

CHAPTER ONE : THE EMIGRANTS

THE EMIGRANTS

The people of northern Italy and the Italian-speaking cantons of Switzerland emigrated to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century as much due to events taking place in their own countries as those taking place in Australia. The extreme poverty of their mountain villages combined with political upheaval brought about the need to seek drastic solutions to their problems -- which emigration to the Australian and American goldfields seemed to provide. This chapter will define the group of Italian speakers who came to the goldfields, demonstrating that they were not only northern Italians but also people from the Italian-speaking cantons of Switzerland: Ticino and Poschiavo. The chapter will outline the particular set of circumstances which persuaded the Italian speakers to leave their homelands and it will describe the Australian goldfields of Jim Crow to which they looked as a temporary solution to their problems. Finally, it will describe how the Italian-speaking immigrants, experienced in a village culture, would be ill-equipped to cope with the inhospitable life of the Australian goldfields.

The Jim Crow goldfields represented one of the last hopes for the Italian speakers. It was here, in the auriferous rich central highlands of the Colony of Victoria, that they expected to reap grand fortunes and return to their families wealthy men. The ranges and creek around Daylesford (ref. figure 6) had been named Jim Crow for reasons still speculated upon at the end of the twentieth century: some claimed that Captain John Hepburn, one of the area's earliest settlers, had chosen it

from the title of an old sailor's song.[1] Before European settlement, Daylesford and

Spring Creek, which lies four kilometres north west of Daylesford, occupied an area of

land known as the Wombat Forest.[2] The forest extended over a distance of some sixty

kilometres between Creswick and Woodend (ref. figure 8) and contained mainly

messmate, peppermint, white gum, stringy bark, swamp gum and spotted gum-trees.

With the area's heavy rainfall, trees could grow to a height of 35 metres and a

circumference of up to twelve metres. For the original European settlers, it was an

inhospitable land: rugged with mighty trees and a harsh climate. The various

aboriginal clans occupying the resource-rich area -- the Kurang, Wurundjeri, and Jaara

-- had been brought into the care of the Loddon Protectorate at Franklinford prior to

1849.[3] By 1861, the period just after the initial gold rush to the central highlands, the

total black population of the Loddon district had diminished to fifteen males and eight

females.[4] The white name Daylesford only appeared after the first land sales were held

in 1854 and Spring Creek received its title when whites recognised the value of the

natural spring waters flowing through the area (the Italian speakers being among the

first to note their value).

Whites had begun to move into the area known as Jim Crow in the late 1830s,

1840s and early 1850s. The area's first white settler was English sea Captain, John

Hepburn, who arrived on 15 April 1838 after travelling overland from Sydney. He

took up land near what later became Smeaton and built himself a grand home which

has survived more than 150 years. The Port Phillip District had not been the subject of

serious exploration by whites until as late as 1824. The pioneers discovered good

pastures but no settlement followed as the news was not made public. In 1836, the

New South Wales government permitted occupation of pastoral land with an annual licence fee and many settlers flooded in from New South Wales and overseas to take up land. Some time after Captain Hepburn's arrival, brothers by the name of Coghill reached the district and took up land close by where they were the first to sow wheat. By 1850, all the Port Phillip District, apart from the Mallee Desert and the mountains, had been occupied by squatters and their 6,000,000 sheep. Melbourne had a population of 20,000 people[5] and the ports of Geelong and Portland (ref. figure 6) were well developed.

On 1 July 1851, the Colony of Victoria was proclaimed and Charles Joseph La Trobe became its first Governor. It was only a matter of another four days, however, before the peaceful pastoral aspect of the Colony was to be transformed. Gold was discovered at Andersons Creek, east of Melbourne, and at Clunes, near Creswick. Jim Crow, with its few settled squatters, became one scene of the great gold rush of Australia. Gold was first discovered in the region in August 1851 by John Egan, a settler from Ireland.[6] Located in the region known as Wombat Flat, which has since become Lake Daylesford (ref. figure 9), its discovery, was quickly followed by a second find a short time later. Thomas Connell was responsible for the second discovery which occurred west of Daylesford in an area later named Connells Gully.[7] The rich alluvial gold deposits attracted miners from all over the country and the news soon spread overseas.

In December 1851, gold was found at Spring Creek not far from the site of the present Savoia Hotel (ref. figure 10) and the mining activity extended in that direction.

From Eganstown and Deep Creek in the west, Hepburn,[8] Shepherds Flat, Dry Diggings and Yandoit in the north, Sailors Falls in the south, and Coomoora, and Glenlyon in the east (ref. figure 8), gold finds were attracting large numbers of miners. The Daylesford area was, in fact, Victoria's most enduring goldfield and the largest in area, covering over 300 kilometres of auriferous ground.[9] Its population increased greatly between 1852 and 1854, contributing to the doubling of the population of the Colony of Victoria in those years.

People came from many parts of the world to the Jim Crow gold mines. They were met with a unique sight, as this was a young British colony where whites had only recently settled. Apart from the aboriginal population, the people were mainly engaged in stock-raising pursuits and related activities of building, commerce, banking and shipping. Most of the population was English or Irish and few spoke a language other than English. When gold was discovered, waves of treasure-seeking foreigners flooded into the country from Europe, America and China. The intention of these immigrants was to spend a few years mining the gold then to return quickly to their homelands. They were unlike the groups of political refugees who had arrived with their families and possessions to make a permanent settlement in Australia. There was no notion of 'nation-building' or of staying to raise a family. For many of the diggers who arrived early on the goldfields, this hope became a reality and they returned home sufficiently wealthy to begin a new and better life. For others, among whom were many of the Italian-speaking immigrants from Europe, the hope of wealth was to remain an unattainable dream.

As Giorgio Cheda has documented,[10] many of the Italian-speaking immigrants who arrived in the Colony hoped to find work, not as miners, but as tradesmen, shopkeepers or labourers serving the needs of the diggers. They, nevertheless, formed part of this special group of settlers who viewed their time in Australia as temporary. The Italian speakers were predominantly young -- most were between fifteen and 34 years -- male -- only three Ticinese women arrived in the colony during the peak years -- and of basic elementary education.[11] The majority were goat or crop farmers but many were also skilled in areas such as stonemasonry, baking and woodcutting. Their hopes of finding work in their various trades were soon dashed, however, and they joined the waves of miners heading to the goldfields. While many who came to Australia during the gold rush made a reasonable living -- and a handful made a fortune -- at least one quarter lost everything. The Italian speakers, for reasons which shall shortly be explored, fell into this final category, their journey to Australia being one which reduced them to further misery and debt.

The majority of Italian-speaking immigrants who reached Australia during the gold rush years came from two distinct areas of Europe. One group arrived from the northern regions of what was called Italy after 1870, and the other came from the southern Italian-speaking cantons of Switzerland: Ticino and Poschiavo. Italy in the 1850s had no semblance of political unity. The cluster of states which characterised the political geography of the peninsula at the beginning of the nineteenth century (ref. figure 1) was the result of a settlement which had been agreed upon at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, where the Austrian Prince Metternich had contemptuously declared, 'Italy is a mere geographic expression'.[12] It was not until Unification in the 1860s that

the separate states combined to form one nation. The group of travellers who form the subject of this story were, therefore, those people who came from the northern regions of the Italian peninsula, an area under the control of Austrian rule.

The Poschiavini arrived later than the northern Italians and Ticinesi and for reasons not so closely related to poverty, although many had been affected by the devastation of their vineyards in the 1850s.[13] From the Swiss canton, Grisons, their valley of Poschiavo (ref. figure 2) was similar to Ticino in that its people shared a largely Italian culture. Arriving in Australia from around 1859 to the early 1860s, the Poschiavini came chiefly to avoid the threat of conscription brought on by a military campaign in the nearby Italian Valtellina, an alpine valley extending along the Adda River (ref. figure 2). In 1859, Valtellina had been freed from half a century of Austrian rule and the Poschiavini had felt themselves too close to the conflict. Although there was never any real danger of Italian action against them, many decided to emigrate.[14] Poschiavo was poor but it had never experienced the economic crisis which had devastated Ticino, and as contact between the valleys of Ticino and Poschiavo was severely restricted in the 1850s,[15] it is difficult to know the degree to which each was aware of the other's problems. It may have been, as Jacqueline Templeton suggests, that, following the peak years of emigration from Ticino up to 1855, the shipping companies shifted their business into the Poschiavo Valley and from there vigorously promoted the journey to Australia.[16] The 400 or so Poschiavini who came to Australia were, however, also attracted to the Jim Crow mines and many, such as Martino Pedretti and Maurizio Luminati, decided to make the area their permanent home.[17]

They were no doubt encouraged by the presence of the Ticinesi and northern Italians with whom they shared a common language.

The third, but by far the largest, group of emigrants to come to Australia were the Ticinesi. Like the Poschiavini, they occupied a similar region of southern Europe as the Italians and spoke the same regional dialect. Their canton, Ticino (ref. figure 2), isolated by the Alps from the other areas of Switzerland, was more Italian in character than German or French and the people tended to cook their food and build their homes as did their southern neighbours. The Ticinesi sought work in Italy when their own harsh lands could offer them little. Despite the similarity of culture, however, at the time of the mass emigration between 1854 and 1855, there had been no Italian power in control of Ticino for 330 years.[18] In 1802, Ticino had become a sovereign canton within the Swiss Confederation. The Ticinese immigrants in Australia felt a lasting bond to their homeland, even after many years in Australia, and were never happy to be regarded as Italian nationals.

While belonging to two distinct nations, the Italians and the Ticinesi both faced severe economic and political difficulty by the middle of the nineteenth century. A number of factors were to contribute to people's decision to emigrate to Australia, not the least being their long tradition of travel to foreign lands in search of work. Through the research of people such as Cheda and Joseph Gentilli[19] we know that somewhere between 2000 and 2500 Ticinesi arrived in Australia during and after the peak years of 1854 and 1855. Exact figures for the Italians are less forthcoming as the official census for the decades of the 1850s and 1860s only list Italian immigrants

under the heading of 'other European'. The reason for the omission of Italian as a separate category may indicate that they were few in number, or that there was difficulty in establishing what constituted an Italian before the end of the 1860s.

The regions of Ticino most affected by the economic and political problems of the 1850s were the districts of Valle Maggia and Locarno. The remaining six districts of Leventina, Blenio, Riviera, Bellinzona, Lugano and Mendrisio (ref. figure 3) contributed far smaller numbers to this particular emigratory episode.[20] Within the district of Valle Maggia, the two valleys most affected were Valle Maggia and Valle Verzasca -- both of which fan out from the city of Locarno (ref. figure 4) -- two areas of low economic growth: they comprised 41 per cent of Ticino's total surface area but held only 25 per cent of its people.[21] The districts of Valle Maggia and Locarno each contributed close to 850 emigrants to the Australian goldfields, which represented an eleven per cent loss to the Valle Maggia and a three per cent loss to Locarno.[22] Apart from the inhabitants of the larger centres of Bellinzona, Locarno and Lugano, many Ticinesi knew only a village existence, some residing in townships with as few as 109 people.[23] Dotted along numerous valleys, the villages to Ticino were separated by only a few kilometres and easily reachable on foot. News could be transmitted along the valleys but less easily to those adjacent. This isolation of some villages had resulted in unchanging and closely-knit communities where the permanency of generations of families had perpetuated the community's traditions.

It was not an easy life for these villagers in the 1850s. The valleys running out from Locarno were bounded by stark, unproductive mountains, with almost all the

territory consisting of large areas of infertile soil between 1800 and 2000 metres above sea-level. The slopes were extremely steep and wooded or rocky and severe flooding regularly contributed to the sweeping away of fields and farms on what little cultivatable land there was. The canton of Ticino had introduced few of the developments resulting from the Industrial Revolution and the people, with their poor soils, lack of irrigation and crop rotation skills had remained poor and isolated.[24] Their chief crops included potatoes, rye, corn, chestnuts and grapes and many kept a few cows or goats. Living in these harsh lands, the people of Ticino and northern Italy had, however, developed many skills which helped them to survive. Their existence depended on an interplay of land, labour and the family home and, by manipulating these three resources, the peasant farmers were able to provide most needs. Critical to the process was an understanding, common to all family members, of how to harness the land and cope with the environment. To this end, the young and the old, the men and the women knew how to build and mend things, construct walls, doors, furniture and fences and make their own clothes and shoes.[25] They were economical with their food and could dry rabbit and hare skins and use all parts of a pig. They were inventive and able to use things a second and third time. They had a total understanding of the care of animals and crops. Their homes were small factories where all necessities were produced and repaired. Although (or perhaps because) they were poor and in some cases illiterate, the Ticinesi had a masterly understanding of their environment.

The northern Italians lived in a similar life-style, rooted to small patches of land from which they had to provide everything:

> The peasant family, with his house (and stable and surrounding land) is a 'cell' which depends on the weather, always indecipherable and friend-foe. Yet this organic pulsating 'cell' knows how to invent and comply, to build and righten, to add more walls, to design paths, to protect himself with natural defences (the enclosures, the walls, some tree plantations and fences) trusting in the play of the seasons and to luck, to be respected but to be challenged as well.[26]

Everything which the peasants built was with purpose and directed towards their survival as individuals and as a group.

While the peasants from this part of Europe experienced a life-style particular to their region -- determined by geographic and climatic features and their political and social history -- they also shared a way of life common to many peasant communities. May Diaz and Jack Potter identify such communities as having structural parallels which relate to the nature of family groupings and marriage, intravillage organisation, the peasant village as a social unit and peasants in relation to their wider society.[27] Daniel Thorner defines peasant communities 'in terms of the predominance of agriculture, both in total product and in the working population ... the existence of a territorial state, and a separation between town and country .. [and] . the characteristic unit of production [which] must be the peasant family household'.[28] Attempting a definition of the peasant 'personality', Sutti Ortiz states that it is tradition-oriented and slow to change its patterns of behaviour, resigned to its fate and passive when faced with prospects, fearful of the world at large, hostile in interpersonal relations and resigned to the will of God.[29] While this thesis will describe and analyse numerous customs and traditions translated directly from the immigrants' villages and region of birth to Australia, it will also identify a psychology and behaviour which relates to a

'peasant' identity -- to a particular way of life which allows people to cope with poverty and to live a harmonious existence.

Why then did these people, who had been coping with their poverty for centuries, decide to emigrate to Australia in the 1850s? Part of the answer, as noted previously, lies in their tradition of seeking a supplementary income in foreign lands. In Ticino, the desolate alpine regions had never been sufficient to provide all food needs:

> Seasonal migration was an important part of life for centuries particularly from villages in Switzerland's alpine valleys. During the summer months the small farms gave employment for the whole family but in autumn the men frequently left the country. They supplemented their income by working in various trades.[30]

Though the Ticinesi travelled to many parts of Europe, the Italian regions of Piedmont and Lombardy (ref. figure 1) were the most attractive destinations as they were easily accessible and the people spoke the same language. The Ticinesi would draw upon their skills as stonecutters, masons, bakers, wine-sellers, chimney-sweeps and carpenters to find work, and also to trade in cheese, farm animals and grain.[31] The Italians, too, would cross the borders into Ticino in search of work. In the absence of the young, male members of the family, the women and the older men took over the running of the farms and, though this imposed a harsh burden on the remaining villagers, it was a way of life which the peasantry understood and accepted. Factors influencing Ticino's or Italy's economic or political development in the nineteenth century were, therefore, significant to both peoples.

At the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, the Italian Lombards, for centuries governed by the Dukes of Milan and then afterwards by the rulers of Spain, had reverted to Austrian rule: the Austrians assumed control of the area as part of their Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom. During the Italian insurrection of 1848, this new reigning power became hostile to the Ticinesi, claiming they had smuggled arms to the Lombard insurgents with whom they were sympathetic. The Austrian Field Marshall Radetzky, then Governor of Lombardy, closed the frontier with Switzerland and expelled the Ticinesi from Milan and the Veneto. Ticino was faced with a flood of workers returning to its valley and heightening the economic problems.[32] The Napoleonic wars, in which French armies had invaded Switzerland, had also left Ticino in a state of financial crisis, as the German-Swiss landlords had withdrawn from Switzerland under the banner of democratisation and taken their money with them. They had left behind a people with a poorly organised and inexperienced government. In 1850, Austria imposed a second blockade with Switzerland, resulting in almost 4,000 expulsions.[33] When cold weather and much rain brought about a series of crop failures in 1851, the people's endurance was finally broken. The severely reduced food supply threatened famine and people feared a return to the conditions of 1815 when survival meant a diet of crushed *carloni* (a wild nut indigenous to the area), whole walnuts, the outside bark of the beech tree, vine tendrils and hay and straw cut to make *polenta*.[34] With high increases in the price of cereals and other food items, the people began to seek more lasting solutions to their problems. The Italian people, in the midst of the struggle for Unification, also found their lives one of great uncertainty. In the northern regions of Lombardy, Veneto (Venetia), Piedmont and Tuscany (ref. figure 1), crop failures had resulted in poverty and famine. Neither the Italians nor the

Ticinesi could any longer support their starving populations and new solutions to their problems were sought.

In 1851, over 20 men from the Valle Maggia sailed to the Californian goldfields.[35] When another 100 Ticinesi departed for the same destination the following year, it marked the beginning of a chain of migration to America which was to last many decades.[36] At about the same time, however, an interest in the Australian goldfields had begun to emerge. In January and March of 1851, the stonemasons Giovanni Battista Giovannini of Maggia and Giovanni Antonio Palla of Cevio sailed to the Colony.[37] Unaware of the gold discoveries at the time of their departure (as the news was not made public until some months later) the reason for their journey is unclear. It may have been that, accustomed to a life of emigration, they had thought new opportunities might exist in the Australian colonies. They soon, however, found themselves among the hordes of treasure-seekers headed for the Jim Crow mines where gold had just been discovered. Palla returned home to Ticino in April 1854 a relatively wealthy man and the shipping companies in Europe, seizing upon the event, began to promote Australia as the new land of opportunity.[38] They initiated a highly successful propaganda campaign which persuaded many hundreds of Ticinesi to depart for the Australian goldfields. In the north of Italy, too, German shipping companies appointed agents in the main cities of Venice, Milan and Genoa, who carried out a lively recruiting campaign on behalf of the shipping companies organising voyages from various German and British ports. Some companies even offered to advance part of the travel fee in exchange for a per centage of the miner's profits. This irresponsible

business practice was tolerated by politicians who were anxious for their economic and social problems to be resolved in any way possible.

The repatriation of Ticinesi from Lombardy and Veneto had heightened the problems of the *comuni*, or village councils. When would-be emigrants began requesting loans to help with the cost of the voyage, many councillors considered it expedient to give their consent. Finance had, in fact, been available for some time to those Swiss going to California.[39] The councils raised the money for the Australian expeditions by allowing a wholesale clearing of the forests, the timber being bought by speculators from other cantons who were also promoting the emigration.[40] To secure a loan from the councils, the travellers were required to mortgage their homes or possessions as collateral and then form associations to sign the loan contract jointly. They had to agree to repay the loans from their earnings on the goldfields -- in some cases returning up to 50 per cent of weekly takings. The destinies of the travellers became entwined, therefore, through their common debt. Several of the emigrants procured private loans from wealthy citizens on different terms. In cases where the creditor would also be on the goldfields, the loans could be paid back with one or two years' labour. The average loan was around 1,000 francs, an amount sufficient for the cost of the voyage, the acquisition of a passport and food and lodging on first arrival. With an extra five per cent interest, the men were placed heavily in debt before their departure.[41] The 1,000 francs represented a fortune to the peasant farmers and one which they could rarely have saved. The Italians who had resided in Ticino for a number of years were also eligible for the council loans, and so departed for the Colony in the company of their Swiss neighbours.

Arriving in the Colony as peasant farmers, labourers and tradesmen, most of the Italian speakers hoped to find work in the bustling cities of Geelong and Melbourne. Only a handful were from the professional classes, such as teachers and doctors. For several reasons, which shall soon be examined, these hopes of finding work were soon destroyed and the immigrants joined the waves of miners on the way to the Jim Crow goldfields. Mining had never been a part of their history and they soon found that both lack of experience and capital were to lead to them to disappointment and failure. An alpine existence had also ill-prepared them for life on the goldfields. Within the structure of village life, rules and customs were laid down for every important moment of existence. As Fumagalli comments, 'The village constituted the framework within which all peasant activity had followed the rhythm of the seasons for centuries'.[42] It was in many respects a vastly different world which the immigrants entered in the 1850s and, in the chapter which follows, where the lives of two families who emigrated to Australia in 1852 are detailed, it will become apparent what an alien and hostile world it could be.

The decision to emigrate to Australia resulted, then, from many factors: harsh living conditions accentuated by environmental and political circumstances; a tradition of emigration to foreign lands in search of work; a successful propaganda campaign waged by shipping companies; the offer of loans to assist travel and the enticement of easy wealth in the goldfields. All of these factors contributed to the belief that life would be better in Australia. In the excitement and anticipation of the future, little thought appears to have been given to the fate of the remaining villagers: to the

women and children, the old and the disabled who would be left to manage the farms. Had the travellers realised that those left behind would suffer accidents and bone deformities due to overwork, or that the birth rate would fall and that large numbers of babies would be born illegitimately,[43] the decision to depart might never have been taken. It was not, alas, for these young men to know that only one-third would return to their families and that one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Italian speakers would unfold. For the two-thirds who remained in Australia, however, familiar 'family' and 'village' structures were re-created, even invented, to provide (to borrow Gramsci's phrase), a 'continuing shoring up of self-understanding.'[44] In the process, identity was both maintained and transformed -- as can be seen in the following case studies.

CHAPTER TWO : FAMILIES 1852-1853

Pozzi

Morganti

POZZI

When up to 40 Valmaggesi (people from the Valle Maggia) left the famine-hit areas of their canton to seek better opportunities in California and Australia, it marked the beginning of a chain of emigration which was to last more than 30 years. While the drift towards America would continue to the end of the Second World War, the emigration to Australia reached its peak in the years between 1854 and 1855.[1] In 1852, another 100 Ticinesi departed for California, while four -- Luigi Caporgni and Tommaso Pozzi from Valle Maggia (not immediate members of this family), Battista Borsa from Bellinzona and Giacomo Bruni from Dongio -- headed for the lesser known fields of Jim Crow.[2] Two vessels arrived carrying Ticinesi in that year: the *Atrevida*, which departed from London carrying Borsa and Bruni, and the *Miguel* which left from San Francisco. The Ticinesi aboard this second ship, Antonio and Attilio Gobbi from Quinto, had presumably been mining in California.[3] In 1853, the year in which Field Marshall Radetzky imposed his blockade of the border with Ticino, many more Italian speakers departed from Europe for Australia. The *Asia*, which left on 26 April, carried 20 Ticinesi while the *Marchioness of Londonderry*, which departed just four days later, carried another 23.[4] Aboard this second ship, the *Marchioness*, was Alessandro Pozzi. He and three of his brothers were to arrive in Australia before the end of 1861.

Alessandro Pozzi was born in the valley of Valle Maggia, in Giumaglio, a village of some 400 people (ref. figure 4). His parents, who were goat farmers, had

produced ten children, two dying as infants and one as a man of 36 years. Remaining at home were five sons, Alessandro, Stefano, Leonardo, Giuseppe and Celestino, and two daughters, Carolina and Annamaria (the youngest). By the time of Alessandro's departure for Australia in 1853, his father was also dead and his mother an elderly woman. The Valle Maggia has a rugged terrain, which a friend in 1906 described as 'wild and romantic and beautiful beyond description'.[5] It combined towering mountain peaks, huge precipices, sparkling cascades and, in places, a luxuriant growth of trees, shrubs and grass. The Pozzi home in Giumaglio was surrounded by a well-kept garden with flowers, vegetables and vines, the latter trailing along stone posts three metres high. Inside was a grand old 'dining room with four very old pictures ... [and a] fine old fire place six feet six inches wide'. On one wall was a large oil painting which portrayed Mrs Pozzi seated and holding an open book. On her fingers she wore two dress rings and her black hair was held back in a net. In Stefano's bedroom, which was also decorated with family portraits, was a wooden carved bedstead constructed in 1657: the room had been the boy's birthplace. There was a strong presence of the Catholic Church in the village, with a church building to the rear of the Pozzi property and another two nearby. It was this picture of Giumaglio, with its peasant houses, large gardens, and picturesque views which the Pozzi boys brought with them to Australia and which they tried to recapture in the areas they settled.

By 1853, Giumaglio was in serious economic difficulty. For centuries an area of low economic growth, its people had sought work in nearby countries to supplement their farming incomes: in 1850, the seasonal migration rate had stood at four per cent.[6] When the Austrian government imposed its border blockade with

Ticino, many of those working in Lombardy and Veneto had returned to their homeland, placing under further strain the village's ability to feed its people. The series of crop failures in 1851 increased food prices and many among the poor faced famine. When news began to filter back to the village about the 'golden opportunities' in Australia, pressure was placed on the Giumaglio council to make loans available for those wishing to emigrate.[7] The Pozzi family was swept up in the enthusiasm and Alessandro, at 22 years of age, and in the company of another eighteen Valmaggesi, made plans for the journey. Unlike many of his companions, however, Alessandro was from an educated family (this was the point made ostensibly by the portrait of Mrs Pozzi reading a book): Carlo, before he died, had been a painter in France; Celestino was a notary (and later served sixteen years as a Member of Parliament); Leonardo was a gunsmith; Stefano was a watchmaker and goldsmith; Giuseppe was a baker and Alessandro an interpreter. Despite these skills, the political and economic uncertainties of Ticino had reduced the opportunities for work and Alessandro turned his hopes to the Colony.

Alessandro arrived at Port Phillip on 2 August 1853, thanking God for a tolerable journey and a safe arrival.[8] He passed a few days in Melbourne, during which time he looked unsuccessfully for work, then headed off to the towns scattered around the Jim Crow goldfields. Drawing upon the remainder of 1150 francs savings -- the council loans not having been made available until after his departure -- he spent seven days walking the 110 kilometres to the goldfields (ref. figure 7) where he and his companions resumed the hunt for employment.[9] Again encountering difficulty, the British colony providing few opportunities for its non-English speakers, they turned

their minds to the search for gold. Purchasing a licence and the necessary tools, Alessandro's mining knowledge was initially limited to his experiences of planting flax in Ticino.[10] He had little success and, finding the work extremely strenuous, returned to Melbourne where he found employment with a group of Ticinese stonemasons. Included among the groups was Giovanni Palla, who had arrived in Australia in 1851; when Palla returned to Ticino in 1854, Alessandro bought his share in a stone quarry. Despite the difficulties earning an income, Alessandro was impressed with the Australian countryside which he described as beautiful and health-promoting; the vegetables and plants were green and flourishing and grew far more vigorously than any he had seen back home. He considered work plentiful for those who spoke English and was hopeful of a secure future. He wrote encouraging letters to his brother Stefano, inviting him to join him on the goldfields.

By 1854, the numbers of people leaving Ticino had begun to peak. Due partly to the travel assistance being provided by the village councils, and also to the aggressive marketing strategies of the shipping companies, who had set up their agencies in the larger centres of Ticino and Italy, many more men were considering their future in the Colony. Stefano, who had gone to school until he was seventeen years old and then completed a four year apprenticeship in the watchmaking trade, was encouraged that he would find work in Australia. After serving six months in 1854 in the watchmaker's school in Geneva, he set off to join his brother. He departed from Liverpool on 14 May 1854, aboard the *Carpentaria*, and arrived at Port Phillip on 1 August, 1854.[11] The vessel, which took three and a half months to complete its journey, carried a total of 139 Ticinesi -- one of the largest shipments to arrive during

the peak period, only the *H. Ludwina* and the *Adele* in 1855 being greater. Perhaps to highlight the devastation that poverty was causing to his village, in his letters Stefano exaggerated the figures aboard the *Carpentaria* to 160.[12] Of the 139 aboard the *Carpentaria*, almost all were from the regions of Valle Maggia (fourteen villages) or Locarno (ten villages).[13] During the voyage, wild storms made many of the travellers fearful and they prayed for a safe arrival -- their shared Catholic beliefs a force bringing them closer together. When, some time later, Stefano recounted these episodes, he dated them according to corresponding saints' feast-days, these dates being especially meaningful to the people of his village.[14] It was with great relief that the ship finally reached its destination and its passengers were permitted to disembark.

Stefano, along with another two Giumagliesi who had accompanied him on the voyage, was met at the port by his brother. Alessandro later returned to the goldfields while Stefano remained in Melbourne, finding work as a jeweller and watchmaker in Collins Street. Within two months, however, he had grown dissatisfied with the low wages of ten shillings a day (which was more than he would have earned in Ticino but less than stonemasons and carpenters were earning in the Colony), resigned his position and headed off to join his brother. Drawing upon his 1,000 francs savings (not, apparently, having availed himself of the council loans) and the little which he had earned in Melbourne, he teamed up with a few compatriots and began the journey to Jim Crow. Like Alessandro, Stefano wrote long and detailed letters to his family, one of which included this description of his journey:

> **Per venire alla mina ci ho impiegato quattro giorni e in questi quattro giorni si prova digià la vita della miniera; si parte da Melbourne con due coperte di lana un vaso per fare il tè, una padella di acciaio per il bifstek, un ferro di taglio per far legna, il bicchiere di tola, la scorta di tè e pane, per un pasto e l'altro, e**

> nulla altro né pantaloni né camicie più della muda. Partì da
> Melbourne al matino di buon'ora, e si viaggia tutto il giorno per
> grandi pianure e piccole colline senza bosco, e alla sera si arriva ad
> un bosco folto, e là si ferma si accende il fuoco per cena e poi si tira
> una coperta a uso tenda e poi quella serve per stanza e il terreno
> per letto. Questa è la vita di tutti quelli che vengono alla mina. [15]

Stefano's scholastic achievements are reflected in his letters, which, while displaying inconsistencies of punctuation (see comment in chapter 3), are both lucid and expressive. Several of the words he uses, such as *puffi* (debts) and *stopare* (to block), differ from standard Italian (refer later chapters), suggesting the influence of his local dialect -- and indicating the close relationship which existed between the Ticinesi and their southern Lombard neighbours. The group of travellers became lost in the Black Forest and were without food for three days. They trudged on until they reached an aboriginal encampment, then in the charge of the famous Edward Stone Parker, where they asked for food or flour to make damper. Parker claimed to be out of supplies and waiting for the bullock wagons to arrive with further provisions. The men walked on, weary and hungry, until they finally reached their destination where they were joyously greeted by their countrymen.

Alessandro had, by this time, become disillusioned with the opportunities in the Colony: he had secured only temporary labouring and cooking jobs and prospered little in the gold mines. He complained that the hunt for gold had made his compatriots greedy and dishonest since, united more by common debt than common purpose, they had grown suspicious and critical of one another. The majority of the Italian speakers worked in groups of three or four, a four-man claim being typically eight metres by eight metres and a two-man claim smaller. Stefano joined a mining party working a short distance from his brother but mined with little success. The

Pozzis wrote less optimistically to the family in Giumaglio but, despite the lack of encouragement, a third member of the Pozzi family, Leonardo, arrived in Australia in 1855.

Leonardo, Alessandro's twin brother, had attended school in Ticino until he was seventeen years old, then worked on the family goat farm. In 1851, when he was 21 years old, he had moved to Lausanne in the canton Vaud where he was engaged for three years as an apprentice gunsmith. He later found employment with a Monsieur Jaccard, a European orthopaedist in Lausanne, where he made instruments for the treatment of bone deformities. Announcing his decision to emigrate to Australia, Leonardo received little encouragement from his employer or his family, but, believing he would be away only three years, gathered up 800 francs in savings and headed off. He travelled to Australia aboard the German vessel *Agen Und Heinrich*, which departed Hamburg and reached its destination four months later.[16] The 122 Ticinesi passengers, including five Giumagliesi, were not treated well during the voyage as many of the terms of their contract, especially those conditions regarding food, were broken. Leonardo, who was able to assist the crew as an interpreter, in return received a few extra food rations. Despite the discomforts, there was a strong feeling of comradeship among the group of travellers who sang, laughed and talked hopefully about the future.

Upon his arrival at Port Phillip, Leonardo spent little time in Melbourne before deciding to join a company of twelve compatriots heading for the Jim Crow goldfields. As their meagre savings and peasant backgrounds suggested little hope of a meal in a

roadside tavern, they bought meat to cook and eat along the way. Leonardo wrote often to his family during these weeks, sometimes spelling out place-names as they would have been written in Italian: Jim Crow thus became *Gim Cru*.[17] Upon his arrival at Jim Crow, Leonardo began mining with two men from Someo, there being insufficient space for an extra partner in Stefano's claim. Like Alessandro, he was appalled by the general behaviour of his compatriots on the goldfields and wrote long letters detailing their misdeeds to his family. For the literate, letter-writing provided an opportunity for emotional release from the day's frustrations for it gave the knowledge that the dishonest would be frowned upon within the village. For the illiterate, gossip concerning compatriots provided the best outlet as did discussion about the political and economic problems of Ticino: when Severino Guscetti, an ex-Member of Parliament (and whose story is told in a later chapter), arrived on the goldfields, Stefano commented that perhaps he had now finished robbing the poor.[18] Judging by the case of the Pozzi brothers, it would appear that the immigrants sought security through their faith in God and through their ties with the homeland, with little apparent concern for the political or social problems of Australia.

By 1856, the Pozzis had earned sufficient from their gold mining and various odd jobs to open a small store in Hepburn (ref. figure 11). The store combined a bakery, grocery shop and liquor outlet. Stefano also mended watches and Leonardo carried out photographic work on glass. The three brothers formed a partnership with Battista Adamina from Orselina and employed an Italian from Como, David Staffieri, to do the baking. Stefano sought additional goldsmithing work travelling the countryside with a friend from Locarno, Bartolomeo Bustelli,. Local history records

that Stefano constructed a jeweller's shop in the upper section of a tree after removing the top-most branches and building on the level surface; this 'watchmaker jewellers up a tree', as it was called, provided a premises more secure from the many thieves who roamed the goldfields.[19] With their business and mining interest combined, the Pozzis developed a stronger relationship with the English-speaking community, one of the effects being an increasing anglicisation of their language. Words such as 'claim', which the Pozzis pronounced and wrote as *clem* or *clemo*, 'prospect' (*prospetto*) and 'store' (*storo*) were among the first to be introduced: these terms related to the young men's earning activities.[20] Though the Italian speakers formed a large and cohesive ethnic group at Jim Crow, the pressures of the commercial environment began slowly to erode the cultural divisions. Leonardo, who had previously shown an interest in English pronunciation, also mastered some rudimentary English grammar: instead of pluralising words by changing their final letter, as required in Italian, he learned to add an 's', 'two stores' thus becoming *due stors*.[21]

Despite the large numbers of settlers on the goldfields, the Pozzis struggled to make a living from their store. The greatest competition came from Battista Righetti, a settler from the Ticinese village of Someo (about whom more will be heard later), who had set up a grocery and bakery shop next door selling bread at lower prices. The Pozzis managed, however, to establish a second store at Deep Creek, one and a half hours away on foot, which provided another outlet for their produce. By May of 1856, they had bought out Adamina's share in the Hepburn Store and were operating as a family business. This may be seen as an application of peasant traditions which taught that employment of children and relatives was preferable to the hiring of

outsiders who only reduced the earning capacity of the family. It was far better, claimed Alessandro, to have debts of 400 pounds than to share the profits with a partner.[22] The Pozzis did, however, borrow money from their compatriots and employ a young boy, Celeste Lesina, to help serve.[23] While Leonardo took charge of the Deep Creek store, Alessandro and Stefano remained at Hepburn. It was a hard life for the Pozzis as the bread had to be carried on their backs each day to Deep Creek; the strenuous life of the peasant had, in a sense, equipped them for the equally hard life of the goldfields. Profits were always low due to the fierce competition among traders and the pressure to sell goods 'on tick'. Few Italian speakers could refuse to help their compatriots in need and debts soon accumulated.

The Hepburn store was the more profitable of the two for the Pozzis and allowed them to send money home to the family. On occasions the amounts were large -- up to 1,000 francs -- other times less so. In 1856, Leonardo sent two pure gold brooches to this brothers while Alessandro sent some equally valuable gold rings. He also sent a knife to his sister, Annamaria, which he suggested would be good for killing the goats; it would seem that in the years of economic hardship, some roles traditionally assumed by the men in most Lombard communities[24] had been increasingly performed by the women. Money worries were the focal point of their letters as well as a continued interest in the political events of their homeland. In 1856, Alessandro commented on the struggles of the northern Italian regions after receiving information from a Ticinese newspaper to which he subscribed.[25] Mrs Pozzi, in her replies to her sons' letters, was equally concerned about money but also remarked on the boys' spiritual welfare. To her complaint that they were not seen often enough at

confession, Alessandro replied that nobody wanted to lose two weeks on the goldfields and spend fifteen to eighteen pounds to see a priest in Melbourne. The stresses of life on the goldfields, combined with the difficulties of getting to a church, had lowered the religious resolve of many Italian speakers. Feelings of guilt surfaced for the Pozzis, however, in December of 1856, when their mother died after a serious illness and it seemed that God was surely punishing them. [26]

The concluding weeks of 1856 brought another unhappy event to the Pozzis -- the destruction of the Hepburn store by fire. The blaze, which occurred four days after Christmas and began in the kitchen behind the store, was first noticed by Alessandro who had been sitting in his tent playing his piano-accordion. The boys lost everything in the fire except a horse and cart and an amount of money and stock which Leonardo had been keeping at a new branch store at Stony Creek (ref. figure 9). After being offered financial assistance by a wealthy English businessman, the Pozzis paid 54 pounds to the Traversi brothers from Cevio to have the store rebuilt. Although they lost about one month's trade, the Pozzis were pleased with their new store which was larger -- measuring about thirteen metres by five metres -- and provided one-third space for a warehouse. The shop lay in the centre of the building with, on one side, a drinking room for customers and, on the other, a bedroom. Behind the store was a wooden kitchen with a detached oven built to one side.

Business prospered in the new premises and the *osteria* (drinking parlour) became a popular meeting place among the Italian speakers for the *Festa della Madonna* (Feast of the Assumption), a traditional feast-day celebrated by Roman

Catholics on 15 August, and thus referred to by the Italian speakers as *mezzagosto* (mid-August). Men arrived to sing, dance, eat and drink while the Traversi brothers played music from Giumaglio. Carlo Traversi, who later ran a well-known orchestra and dance hall in Daylesford (ref. figure 9), played on a viola which he had brought from Ticino. Music and singing were central to the life of the *osteria* (as it had been in their villages), transforming it into '*qualcosa di più, che il semplice baretto dove si beve un bicchiere*' (something more than the place where one came to drink).[27] When Leonardo, impressed with the four days of revelry, stated that everyone had celebrated in the 'colonial way',[28] he was also acknowledging the simultaneous shift and maintenance which such 'traditional' practices and beliefs were undergoing in the new contexts of Australia -- the new points of reference which invested the cultural and ethnic identity of Italian speakers with additional meaning and significance. On normal working days, the Pozzis would take their cart around the mines delivering bread to the customers. On Sundays, the same group of customers would come to the *osteria* to relax. Stefano had ceased to be the baker and was employed making cider with a Luganese friend, Daniele Quadri. To attract customers, the pair placed a sign reading 'cider' near the doorway to the store: this indicated a recognition on the part of the Italian speakers of some English words as well as the existence of an English-speaking clientele.[29] This, and other anglicisms which entered the Pozzis' language -- such as *pubblichouse* (public house) and *polisman*[30] (policeman) -- mirrored the broader acculturation the Italian speakers were undergoing in Australia, and reflected the new points of reference for their changing cultural identities. The very imprecision of many of the new renditions reflected the transitory character of these early years of settlement. The word 'claim', for example, had taken on three forms: *clem, cleme* and

clemo.[31] Stefano learned to use capital letters when writing the nationalities, *Inglesi* (English) and *Italiani*, which is not necessary in Italian.[32] The creation of these new words, with their Italian out-of-English rendition, were linguistic explications of emerging Italo-Australian identities, reflecting 'the ambivalences of circumstanced exchanges'.[33]

The Pozzis continued to operate their stores throughout 1857. At Hepburn they planted a vegetable garden using rows of upturned bottles to contain the beds. They requested flower and fruit seeds from Ticino, for planting in order to maintain their traditional diets. They also purchased several cows and hens in conjunction with another Pozzi family and sold milk and eggs to the miners, the eggs selling for six pence each. Leonardo's store at Stony Creek supplied goods to the many Giumagliesi who had settled in the area as miners. Despite having resided in Australia for some time, the Pozzis remained interested in the political events of Ticino. In May of that year, Alessandro boasted the commendable role of its nation's liberal government in education and social organisation.[34] With the increasing permanency of the townships around Jim Crow, the clergy also made its first appearance. A welcome sight to many, the arrival of a Catholic priest at Wombat in 1857 gave little comfort to Alessandro Pozzi, whose bitter comment was a reflection of the politcal views he had brought with him from his village:

> **ma credo che per i nostri tanto, era meglio che non si fossero disturbati tanto questi religiosi, perchè non gli danno disturbo; è tanto come se parlasse chimere, se fosse per andare a prendere oro sì che allora non perderebbero tempo ma per andare a sentire chiachiere di quei del bel tempo ne sono già sgonfiati da quando erano a casa, e rapporto al confessarsi, qui in Australia fanno pochissimi peccati**[35]

Ticino's liberal party, which had finally attained a majority in the parliament in 1844, had long struggled against the Catholic Church, a body which had done all in its power to promote the electoral victory of the opposition moderates. While the liberals' success had brought *'pericoli per l'avvenire religioso'* (dangers for the future of the clergy),[36] the often overt and violent conflict between church and political party[37] had alienated many of its faithful parishioners. The Pozzis were disappointed that their years of struggle on the goldfields had profited them little: Stefano complained that, after years training to be a jeweller, he was reduced to making bread.[38] Before many years had passed, Leonardo, who could no longer tolerate the low profitability of their business (due, he claimed, to the pressure to extend credit to his compatriots), sold out of the partnership and set up a business on his own. Stefano and Alessandro, possibly making use of the money resulting from this sale, purchased two small blocks of land at Hepburn on 16 August 1859 -- presumably, the site of their store.

One of the reasons behind Leonardo's decision to set up business on his own may have been that he was now supporting a wife. His marriage to a young German girl, Margherita Leichner, had taken place on 22 January 1859, and marked one of the few occasions where an Italian speaker married a non-English-speaking European. (The marriage patterns of the Italian-speaking immigrants will be dealt with in more detail later.) Eighteen years old and ten years his junior, Margherita married Leonardo at a service celebrated at the Mount Franklin Hotel (ref. figure 8). The couple later purchased the premises in partnership with two friends, Louis Tognini and John Body, for the sum of 1,000 pounds. With the proceeds of the sale of his earlier partnership, Leonardo also bought from Tognini a dance hall and billiard room at Hepburn valued

at 250 pounds.   Later, when gold was discovered at Yandoit, Leonardo and

Margherita moved into the town to set up its first hotel: the Yandoit Hotel cost 1,125

pounds to establish and incorporated stables for the Cobb and Co. coaches.[39]

Leonardo also took in photography work and maintained an interest in the mines,

which may have reflected the general peasant tradition of a varied income or just his

entreprenerial initiative.   When the gold dwindled, however, and the business

partnership with Tognini came to an end, Leonardo and Margherita found themselves

in economic difficulty.   Left with only their saloon at Hepburn, which they eventually

sold in 1860 to Alessandro Monighetti from Biasca for 350 pounds, they opened

another saloon in Yandoit for 250 pounds.   Combined with losses in the mines, it was

not long, however, before they again faced economic ruin.[40]   Distressed by his financial

losses, Leonardo turned to his family for support, complaining that in five years, he had

not once heard from his brother, Giuseppe, in Ticino.   This was remedied in 1861,

when Giuseppe arrived on the goldfields.

By 1861, almost one quarter of Giumaglio's population had emigrated to the

Colony.[41]   While the majority who had departed in the years between 1854 and 1855

anticipated finding gold, those leaving towards the end of the decade were joining

friends or family in established businesses or opening up businesses of their own.   At

43 years of age, and one of only nineteen Ticinesi to emigrate in that year, Giuseppe

arrived in Australia aboard the *Elizabeth Bright*.[42]   He immediately set himself up in a

flour mill in Daylesford -- drawing upon his baking skills -- and bought land on which

to cultivate grape-vines.   Despite their business disappointments, his two brothers were

also making positive statements about their decision to remain in Australia: in that

same year Alessandro was naturalised and one year earlier Stefano had returned to Ticino to find a wife to bring to the Colony.

Stefano remained in Ticino for two years, at 28 years of age marrying Giacomina Pedrazzini of Maggia, who was then 26. Their wedding in 1862 resulted in the birth of a son who died at only six months of age.[43] In 1862 Stefano returned to Australia promising to send for his wife as soon as fortune allowed. He returned to the store at Hepburn where he and Alessandro resumed the pattern of their working lives. They began to take more interest in political affairs of the colony, Alessandro noting the government's inadequate role in helping the unemployed.[44] Alessandro may have sold out of the partnership with Stefano about this time, for on 2 August 1865 he purchased land in Hepburn opposite the bakery and, in May 1866, opened a bakery in Vincent Street, Daylesford (ref. figure 9). An advertisement which appeared in the local paper on the day of the store's opening had this to say:

> Daylesford Bakery (Next Lavezzolo's Hotel) Alex Pozzi, begs respectfully to inform the public that he has opened the Daylesford Bakery, lately occupied by G. Calanchini. Having had considerable experience in the business A. Pozzi is satisfied that he will please those families that patronise him ... A good supply of fresh buns every morning. Motto; good bread and cash returns.[45]

Alessandro (whose name had by this time been anglicised to Alex) was also involved in gold transport to Melbourne and in 1867 opened a wine ship in Daylesford. Within a year, however, he was to meet an untimely death at 37 years of age. He had written to his family several months previously claiming to be in good health[46] but the death of his brother, Carlo, at 38 years suggest the possibility of a history of family illness. Alessandro died unmarried and in poor financial circumstance.

Leonardo received the sad news of his twin brother's death from his new home in New Zealand. After producing two children -- Giglia in 1859 and Matilda in 1861 -- and being naturalised in 1863, Leonardo had decided to move to New Zealand seeking work. Departing without his family -- in the tradition of his Ticinese ancestors -- he organised an expedition of five men with pack horses to go to Cadrona near Hokitika in New Zealand. In Hokitika, he bought the Crown Hotel, where his family eventually came to live. The same year as Alessandro's death, and five years after his return to Australia, Stefano opened a wine shop in Vincent Street, Daylesford (ref. figure 9). He sold wine imported from Melbourne and his premises housed a billiard room and a meeting place for the Swiss and Italian community.

As the operator of a large and well-known Daylesford business establishment, Stefano joined in various community activities and associations. In 1867, he became a member of the Daylesford Fire Brigade and then later the Daylesford and District Citizens' Band -- in which he was to participate for 50 years. He was associated with the Daylesford Hospital, contributing both in cash and kind, and a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), an Anglo-Australian non-Catholic organisation.[47] Traditionally dependent on the support of family, an interest in broader community affairs represented a shift in values for the Italian-speaking peasantry: the life of a business person demanded wider social contacts and involvements. As immigrants, however, the Italian speakers also found support in social groups linked with their heritage, many joining and playing an active role in the Swiss and Italian Association (which should not be confused with the much larger Swiss Society of

Victoria located in Melbourne). The meetings, which were often held in the home of Stefano Pozzi, were attended by members including S. Righetti, the Lucinis, V. Perini, Messrs Bellini, Calabresi, Finacci, Morganti and Gorbani, T. and S. Delmue, A. Paganetti, L. Zanoli, A. and C. Togni, A. Ferrari and C. Scascighini.[48]

In 1869, Stefano became interested in a mine named the Long Tunnel situated beneath Italian Hill (the area having been worked for some time by Italian speakers), outside Daylesford (ref. figure 9). The mine, which had shown potential since 1867 and had been worked continuously by various parties, eventually had to be sold to pay its creditors. When it passed into the hands of its three purchasers -- Stefano Pozzi, Christian Fumberger and Albino Paganetti -- the tunnel had already reach over 1,800 metres in length and was paying well.[49] Stefano, who was appointed mining manager, finally thought himself sufficiently financially secure to invite his wife to join him from Ticino.

It was around eight years since Stefano had left Ticino and both he and Giacomina were in their mid 30s. The couple moved into a home in Duke Street, Daylesford, at the rear of the Vincent Street wine shop, where Giacomina produced two daughters: Erina Seconda, born in 1872, and Ida, born in 1874. At first, Giacomina found life in the Colony strange, especially the custom of dressing to go out:[50] this was not surprising considering that Ticinese peasant women rarely went out, their family commitments offering them few opportunities for contact beyond the home environment.[51] Their clothing usually reflected the day's work to be done and the climate. Giacomina, however, felt surrounded by a large Italian-speaking community

and was happy in her new home. She was able to speak in her own language -- though she made attempts to learn English -- and was more financially secure that she had been in Ticino. The Pozzis would have been well respected in the community -- Stefano, through his involvement in the wine shop and Long Tunnel mine, and her brother-in-law, Giuseppe, as a miller with over 32 hectares of grape-vines. Stefano had also been able to extend his business contacts through a new association with the Freemasons who met in Bridport Street. He and his mining partner, Albino Paganetti, who had emigrated from San Nazzaro in Ticino in 1858, had been initiated into the Mount Franklin Lodge of Hiram on 3 November 1870.[52] Citing his occupation as watchmaker, the title perhaps being more prestigious than that of hotelier or miner, Stefano became a lifelong member, in 1872 holding the office of Junior Deacon. His appearance at the meetings of the Masonic Lodge, along with that of a small number of his compatriots, reflected the degree to which he had won acceptance within the English-speaking community.[53] (It also suggested that he had grown more sympathetic towards the political views which Guscetti represented.)

As the Long Tunnel Mine became more profitable, an application to have it registered as a limited company under the provisions of the Mining Companies Act of 1871 appeared in the *Daylesford Mercury and Express* in January 1875. The registered office of the company was located at Pozzi's rooms in Vincent Street, and the manager of the company was Mr Francis Rotanzi, a native of Peccia in Ticino and also a member of the Freemasons Lodge (serving for a time in the highest office of Worshipful Master). Among the major shareholders were Stefano Pozzi with 130 shares, Battista Paganetti with 250 shares and Albino Paganetti with 260 shares. Other

Swiss or Italian shareholders of the 32 involved were: Bennione (Beniamino?) Quarti, a bootmaker at Daylesford; Christian Fumberger, a hotelier (from the German speaking region of Switzerland); Vincenzo Biondi, a miner at Hepburn; Maurice Sartori, a storekeeper at Hepburn; Luigi Togni, a miner at Daylesford; Francis Rotanzi, a clerk at Hepburn; Lazarus Pima and Giacomo Delmotti, miners at Daylesford and G. B. Antognini, Giovanni Bianco and Marjaro Paganetti, miners at Italian Hill.[54] The partners worked the mine systematically, using the latest in sluice boxes and ripples for catching the gold and employing twelve to fifteen men -- though they produced an average of only 1.5 grams per tonne wash load, over 1,000 tonnes were trucked out each quarter.[55] The mine was eventually extended by three kilometres and contained enough offshoots to make becoming lost easy. Its successful operation indicated the highly co-operative effort of the Italian speakers.

In 1877, Stefano was saddened by the death of his wife at only 42 years of age. Having no extended family to care for his young daughters or render him emotional support, he again faced the isolation of his early days on the goldfields. His search for a new wife did not, however, this time take him to Ticino but to the English population of Daylesford. In 1880, he married Mary Anne Page, whose parents had emigrated to Australia from Wessex in 1840, and that same year the couple produced a daughter; named Violetta Primavera, it would seem that she was born in her father's European springtime. Toward the end of that year, on 8 December, Stefano applied for a hotel licence for his business in Vincent Street but was refused on the grounds that it did not provide sufficient accommodation.[56] He continued to run the business for several years although it was Luigi Togni whose name appeared on the Licensing Register on

16 December 1886. The Star Hotel, as it was named, because a popular meeting place for Swiss and Italian miners; Stefano was often known to lend money for compatriots' business and mining interests. His premises were also popular among the Cornish miners, suggesting that entertainment venues, as well as the market place, tended to become cultural melting-pots -- an example of what Stuart Hall refers to as the complex and cross-cutting forces at work modifying ethnic identity.[57]

While Stefano was prospering well in his hotel at Daylesford, Leonardo was doing less favourably in New Zealand. Once Margherita had joined him from Australia, the couple produced another four children: Valerio Lambert in 1864, Emilia in 1866, Teresa in 1874 and Giuseppina in 1878. Despite extensions to their hotel in Hokitika, by 1879 they faced financial ruin. They decided to sell the hotel -- receiving in return only 100 pounds -- and Leonardo returned to his original trade as gunsmith, setting up in a shop in Christchurch.[58]

By 1884, Stefano was paying rates on a house and land at Italian Hill. This was to become the site of his new home and the place where he and his family would live until his death some 30 years later. In 1885, Mary Anne produced a second child, a son, whom they named Nilo Ezio. That Stefano insisted on Italian names for all his children after 30 years in the Colony reveals the strength of his ties with Ticino. In 1886, he built a new home on Jubilee Lake Road next door to his mining associate Christian Fumberger (ref. figure 9). To the rear of Fumberger's property was the entrance to the Long Tunnel Mine, with a second mine entrance directly behind Stefano's house. Both their properties were irrigated by an iron-rich water supply and

proved the ideal setting for their homes. Stefano set to work building a large seven-roomed weatherboard house with a solid underground cellar and a verandah which looked out over the largely unpopulated Daylesford landscape. As most of the Pozzi children were too young to contribute to the physical work, Stefano employed a number of people to help establish the property, including a Chinese gardener who lived in a cottage opposite. One story which persists up to the present relates how Stefano also employed a man with no legs, who worked the garden while pushing himself around on a small wheeled trolley[59] -- the point of the story seeming to be that Stefano's experience as an immigrant made him sympathetic to those whom other emplyees may not have wanted to hire. The clearing of the property is reported to have taken the labour of six men working six months. Stefano planted a magnificent garden, which according to visitors to his home town in Valle Maggia in the 1880s, contained the same flower varieties -- camellias and wisterias -- as had been planted in Giumaglio. He planted exotic trees including a rare New Zealand Oak, grape-vines, fruit trees and a vegetable garden.[60] Some of the seeds for these plants many have come from Ticino, as had those for the garden at Hepburn; Giacomina, who had talked of sending seeds to her family in Ticino, is also likely to have acquired seeds in this way.[61] Stefano's garden was skilfully landscaped with paths made from the local rock and a walk-through area over which the vines grew, again translating a cultural pattern. Around the house he built a high wall of quartz which had been extracted from his mine and which was embedded with small pieces of gold; it was a small show of ostentation which lasted only until gold thieves arrived. To extend the available farming land, Stefano also worked a block belonging to Albino Paganetti in nearby Patterson Street.

In their five-roomed cellar -- a familiar feature in most of the peasant homes of Europe -- the Pozzi family stored its home-made wine and food products. This may also have been the site of a second drinking establishment named the Vines Hotel which came into operation when Stefano was older. His neighbour, Christian Fumberger, also ran a hotel on his property which he aptly named The Long Tunnel. Under the 1864 Licensing of Public Houses Act, people were able to obtain a colonial wine licence which allowed them to sell up to 'two gallons' of wine or cider between the hours of 6.00am and 11.30pm if consumed on the premises. With their home, mining and business interests, the Pozzis had attained a near self-sufficient life-style and one which combined the beauty of a garden with sweeping views of the undulating countryside. The scenic views would have reminded the Ticinesi of their homeland and this feature perhaps influenced their decision to settle in the hills around Jim Crow. In 1888, Stefano and Mary Anne produced their last child, a daughter named Riva.

Throughout the 1880 to 1900 period, the Long Tunnel miners trucked out over 1,000 tonnes per quarter, the depth below the basalt reaching down about 45 metres. By the 1890s the mine had become less productive and, in the eighteen months prior to 1893, Stefano lost around 1,600 pounds.[62] Two years previously, the family had been saddened by the death of the second eldest child, Ida, at seventeen years of age. A young neighbour who was present at the funeral made the following comments:

> We always thought Mr. Pozzi a bit strange. He had a beautiful house with fine wooden furniture and carved tables, but refused to have curtains at the window. Being a Mason, he was against the Church ... and when his little girl died he would not let the priest come and bury her. He carried her in the coffin on his shoulders all the way to the cemetery himself.[63]

Stefano may have appeared eccentric to this young girl, not only because of his unusual behaviour, but because of his now ageing appearance: his once dark and curly hair and heavy moustache -- so telling of his European origins -- had turned to long white whiskers; his slight body had become frail. By the end of the century, the Pozzi adventurers of 50 years before had all grown old and, on 16 June 1897, at 79 years of age, Giuseppe reached the end of his life. He had been a miller and resident of Wombat for 36 years and, of his brothers, perhaps the most financially successful.

At the time of Giuseppe's death, his brother Leonardo was possibly still living in New Zealand (though it is possible that he may have returned to Australia). He had worked in a number of capacities in New Zealand, including that of gunsmith, machinist and orthopaedist, but had failed to secure a regular income. He complained that the English aristocracy controlled the labour market leaving little for its non-English speaking immigrants. He also claimed that they had swindled the Maoris out of their land.[64] Leonardo tried to establish a home for his family in New Zealand, in 1886, requesting seeds for mulberry trees from Ticino for his garden: he hoped perhaps to evoke the memory of the plantations around Como where the silk industries had flourished.[65] By the end of the decade, however, his family had returned to Melbourne, where Leonardo worked in a variety of occupations and stores, eventually settling in the inner suburb of Carlton (an area which, after the Second World War, gained prominence for its large Italian population). In 1889, as an example of his creative abilities (again arguably tied to his peasant upbringing), he invented an ink feeder for steel nibs. His last enterprise was as a Fitzroy gunsmith in 1890; from here he distributed advertising pamphlets carrying a picture of the Swiss hero, William Tell,
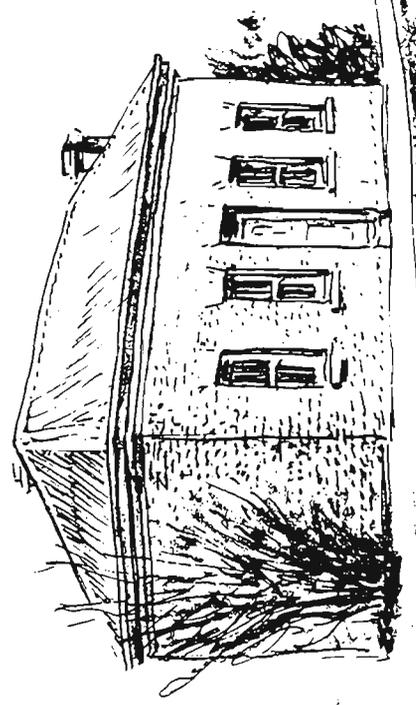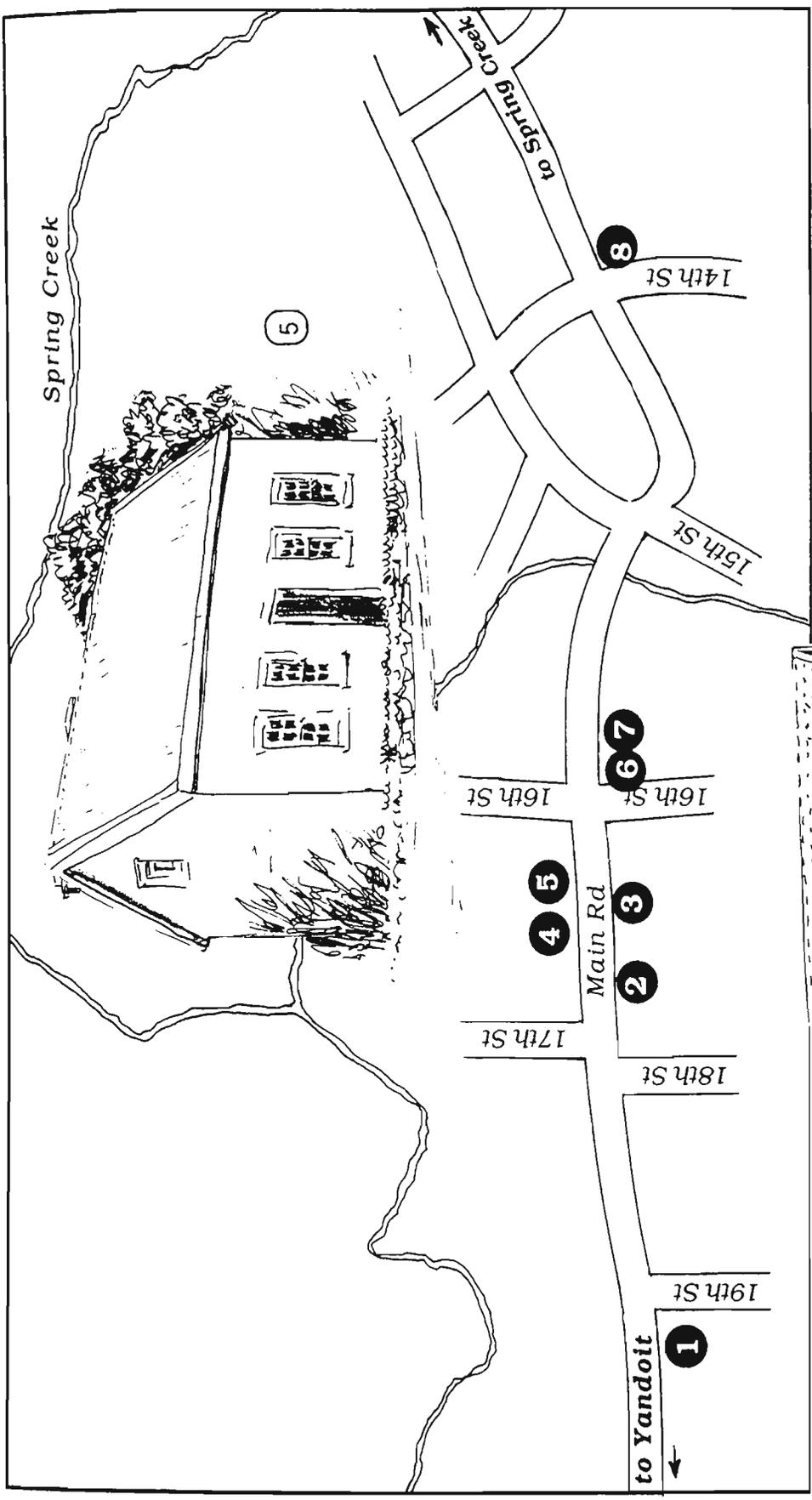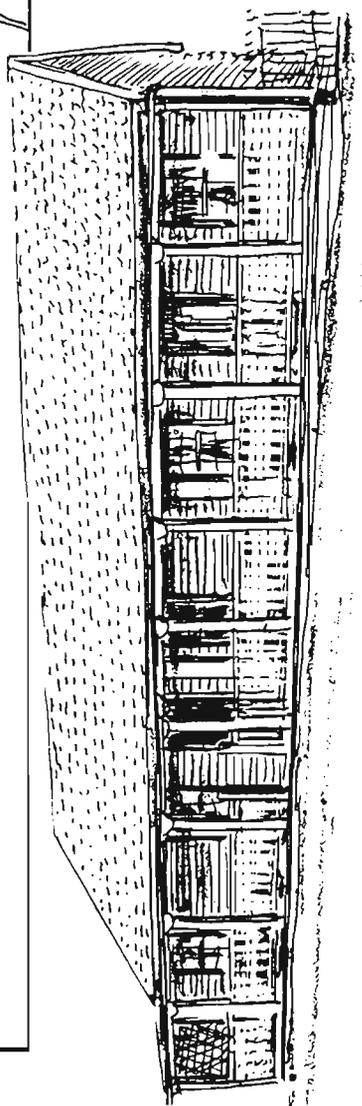
1 Old Racecourse Hotel (later became Hepburn Hotel)

2 American Hotel

3 Vanina home 'Biasca'

4 Fred Vanina's black-smith shop

5 Gaggioni home 'Gordevio'

6 Site of Righetti bakery-begun by Battista in 1855. Land purchased by Guseppe Righetti 16.8.59. Operated Union Store with. F.Rossetti . Later site of Vanzetta bakery

7 Pozzi brothers' store 1856

8 Hepburn State School

Spring Creek

to Spring Creek

14th St

15th St

16th St

16th St

17th St

18th St

19th St

Main Rd

to Yandoit

Vanzetta bakery

Fig 11 Hepburn

linking Pozzi with his cultural roots. After years of struggle against the upper classes, Leonardo revealed himself sympathetic toward a political party with socialist ideals, his great disappointment being that Australia, the land of opportunity, had failed to offer a fair deal to all who had made the country their home.[66] This disappointment might represent a 'natural' peasant affinity with Australia's working poor; it also reflects political sympathies with Ticino's left-wing liberal party.

In 1902, at 69 years of age, Stefano sold out of the Star Hotel and concentrated his efforts on his mine and property at Italian Hill. The hotel went up for auction on 22 March 1902, the newspaper advertisement describing it as:

> having a frontage of 28 feet to Vincent Street by a depth of 330 feet through to Duke Street, to which it has a frontage of 49 feet, six inches ... a substantially built two storey brick and wooden building ... containing bar, two billiard parlours, billiard room, dining room, sitting room, seven bedrooms, kitchen and offices.[67]

The dimensions of the establishment reflect Stefano's financial achievements in Australia as well as the high public profile he had earned as a businessman in Daylesford. The hotel passed through several hands before it was pulled down in 1911 to make way for the construction of the Alpha Hall and two shops. Withdrawing from an active business life, Stefano maintained his mining interests: he was on the Board of Directors of the Cornish Mines and had great faith in the payable quality of the stone lying around Cornish Hill.[68] He worked hard to secure the continuing operations of the Old Cornish Mine when it was in the hands of the North Cornish Company but was out-voted.

Stefano died at 89 years of age on 31 December 1922. His funeral, which took place on New Year's Day 1923 and proceeded to the Daylesford Cemetery, was attended by a large number of the district's residents. Headed by the Daylesford and District Citizens' Band, the coffin was carried by Andrea Lafranchi, Cos Lucini, O. David, A. and F. Ferrari and R. Gheeman. The cord-bearers were E. Pozzi, W. Williams, H. Haynes, L. Kieran, G. Page, L. Rolleri, J. Young, W. N. Harvey and J. Holman. The crowd, which included representatives from Stefano's family, members of the various community groups to which he had belonged and his friends, proved the high respect he had earned both as a member of the Italian-speaking population and of the community in general. A tribute which appeared in the local newspaper twelve days after his death had eulogised Stefano:

> [Stefano was] industrious, energetic, enterprising and honest. He was loyal to the country of his adoption, interested in the welfare of its people and ever ready with his services or cash to befriend a needy fellow citizen.[69]

By the time of his death, three of Stefano's children were married: Nilo, Erina Seconda (to a Mr. J. T. Haynes), and Violetta (to a Mr. W. Williams). Riva, at 36 years of age remained at home and, together with her mother, decided to sell the family property and move to Melbourne. Their land holdings, which all came up for auction on 24 March 1923, included the block on which their house stood, two blocks opposite purchased on 8 January 1894, a block to the rear of the house purchased 15 February 1897 and land bought 9 May 1916 when Stefano was 83 years old. Together they totalled around three hectares. On the same date, all the household furniture and

effects went up for sale; piled up outside and ready to be taken away, they belied the enormous sacrifices and struggles of their owners.

After moving to Melbourne, Riva took up work as a governess, but returned to Daylesford on occasions to visit her old family home. She was saddened by the sight of her old bed which lay in the cellar and by the camellia tree and New Zealand Oak which her father had planted. All of these had bonded her with her childhood and her father's life in Ticino. Stefano would have been comforted to know that she had always considered her life with her father a happy one, recalling how he used to say at the beginning of the month of May, 'How I wish I could take you to Switzerland. It is so beautiful, everywhere with flowers growing wild'.[70] After only six years in Melbourne, her uncle Leonardo had died of acute diabetes in 1908. Valerio, his son, had taken over his business in Fitzroy but had been killed at Gallipoli during the First World War. Riva lived out her final years with one of her nieces and then later as a permanent resident of the Royal Freemasons Home where she died. She had requested that her ashes be scattered under the New Zealand Oak to reunite her with her childhood but this wish was never granted. Of her brothers and sisters: Erina became the mother of seven children, Violetta died at 89 years of age on 24 March 1969 and Nilo moved to Sydney, married and produced two children. In Sydney, he opened a restaurant named The Matterhorn which proudly displayed the Swiss Flag on its roof and the crests of various cantons on its interior walls. As a third generation Anglo-Swiss, it was a tangible link with his Ticinese heritage, a conscious expression of identification with an 'imagined' ethnic community over a long period of time.

The home on Italian Hill was sold many times during the depression years, at one stage coming into the hands of the town mayor. Later owners restored the property's beautiful garden, renewing its links with Ticino. Of the Pozzis who had remained in Europe, Celestino produced two sons, one of whom is reputed to have compiled a family tree dating back to 1618 [71] -- a symbolic reuniting of the family across continents and time. Annamaria, who lived to 93 years was, no doubt, his greatest source of information.

The Pozzis were among the first of the Ticinese families to settle in Australia and, as such, entered a largely Anglo-Celtic environment. Despite the pressures this imposed, they were able, as shown in this chapter, both in their early years on the goldfields and in their later years as business people, to maintain their cultural traditions. They spoke in their own language, they set up support networks, they diversified their income in a 'peasant' manner, they adapted their homes to incorporate familiar elements and they established self-sufficient life-styles. Stefano returned to Ticino to find an Italian-speaking wife. For the many hundreds of Swiss and Italian immigrants who were to come to Australia, the Pozzis helped establish an Italian-speaking community at Jim Crow. Though life in the Colony resulted in important changes to their traditional ways, the Pozzis continued to identify with the Ticinese peasantry. In the section which follows, where the Morganti family is introduced, further evidence will emerge that the Italian-speaking immigrants of colonial Australia , in establishing their own way of life within a prevailing Anglo-Celtic society, continued to draw from what Gramsci describes as 'a sediment of understanding about the ways in which the past permanently marks the present'.[72]

MORGANTI

Five members of the Morganti family emigrated to Australia from their village of Someo (ref. figure 4) in the middle of the nineteenth century. Situated only a few kilometres from Giumaglio (the home of the Pozzis) in the Valle Maggia, Someo also found itself severely affected during Ticino's years of economic and political turmoil. So serious were its problems to become that, by 1873, 40 per cent of the population would emigrate to Australia or North America.[1] By the end of the 1850s, around 50 per cent of that total would have come to the colony of Victoria.[2] Like Giumaglio, Someo's economy was based on farming and the seasonal work of its population -- mostly labouring, woodcutting and stonemasonry -- in neighbouring Lombardy, Piedmont and Veneto. In 1850, over eight per cent of Someo's population was employed outside Switzerland.[3] The Morganti family, generations of whom had resided in the village as pastoralists and as peasants struggling with the region's harsh climate and terrain, was swept up in the problems of the village and faced the risk of financial ruin.

Eustachio Morganti and his wife had produced five sons: Giacomo, born in 1822, Battista in 1826, Maurizio in 1835, Lazzaro in 1839 and Eustachio in 1841 -- all of whom were employed on the family farm. The boys helped supplement the family income as itinerant workers in Lombardy, Battista as a woodcutter and the others

possibly as labourers. The closure of the borders with Lombardy reduced the family's income earnings capacity, forcing a total dependency on the meagre earnings of the farm. When bad weather resulted in crop failures and a rise in food prices, the family became desperate to save itself from financial ruin and possible death. The sons, seeing little hope for a secure future in their village, looked to the 'new' southern continent for solutions.

In 1853, Battista, who was then 27 years old, and Maurizio, who was only eighteen, became the first of their brothers to emigrate. They were also possibly accompanied by Giacomo, who was 21.[4] In 1852, the village council of Someo had begun making loans available to those citizens wishing to emigrate to California, funding the project, in large part, through the continued logging and sale of its forests.[5] The Someo council had also tried to overcome the unemployment problem by providing work opportunities for its citizens on local projects; as the village coffers were almost empty, these projects were funded through the donations of various charitable organisations. When large numbers of men began to emigrate to Australia in 1853, these programs were aborted and the remaining money diverted to help the travellers with their transport fares. Battista and Maurizio Morganti each borrowed 1,400 francs, a large amount, indicating a lack of personal funds. Fourteen hundred francs were considered sufficient for all foreseeable expenses: the travel fare of around 560 francs, additional money for a passport, clothes and board and lodging on first arrival. Almost half Someo's emigrants to Australia were eventually to borrow money from the village Council, the remainder availing themselves of private loans or drawing on their own savings.[6] The funds from the charitable organisations were only made

available for a short time, however, after the State Council interceded to forbid the use of such money for travel assistance.

The three Morgantis set sail for Australia aboard the *Asia* which departed from Liverpool on the 26 April 1853. Carrying nineteen passengers from Someo and one from Giumaglio, this large ship departed only four days before the *Marchioness of Londonderry* (which had carried Alessandro Pozzi) and arrived in Australia four days after that vessel on 6 August 1853.[7] Alerting the Morgantis to the harsh life they had chosen was the death of two fellow villagers during the voyage. Upon their arrival in Australia, the Morgantis possibly looked for work as labourers in Melbourne before moving on to the goldfields of Jim Crow. Unlike the Pozzis, who left many letters detailing their experiences in Australia, no such records remain of the Morgantis. There is a possibility that the boys were illiterate, having left school at an early age to help on the family farm: 20 per cent of Someo's Australian emigrants were disadvantaged in this way, reflecting the village's poverty and the traditional employment of its young sons and daughters in the main income earning projects of the family. Someo's illiteracy rate was, in fact, the highest of all the villages in the Valle Maggia at that time.[8] Since most of its citizens were uneducated farmers, this figure is not surprising, nor is it surprising that of the 121 immigrants landing in Australia, almost half were farmers, a quarter stonemasons and the remainder mostly stonecutters, foresters, carpenters and chimney-sweeps.[9] Along with the Morgantis, they were hoping to find an outlet for their skills in Australia.

Arriving only a few years after the first gold discoveries at Jim Crow, when alluvial gold was still being panned from the creek beds, it is possible that Maurizio, Battista and Giacomo mined with some success. Working the creeks around Jim Crow, one of the brothers earned sufficient to open a small store in Spring Creek.[10] By 1854 this same member of the Morganti family had also purchased a number of dairy cattle and was supplying milk to the miners. In what could be considered a traditional peasant manner, he had tried to diversify his income by drawing upon his farming skills and the opportunities which a growing colony offered. His dairy cattle were permitted to roam freely through the scrub, summoned home for milking -- in traditional Swiss manner -- to the sound of a large horn.

There is evidence for the mining activities of others members of the Morganti family around Daylesford in the mid 1850s from Maddicks: 'The first gold panned east of Daylesford was by Morganti and party in 1856 in Leechs Creek'.[11] As at least three members of a different branch of the Morganti family had also arrived in Australia by this time, it is not certain, however, to whom the comment refers.[12] A similar problem exists with a letter Stefano Pozzi wrote in 1855, recording good gold finds for members of the Morganti family:

> **I fratelli Morganti hanno un buco buono, e sono otto compagni, entra anche il Giuseppe Cerini detto Cerucchi, è già duve settimane che fanno circa una libbra d'ora ciascuno compagno.[13]**

Cerini had arrived in Australia from Giumaglio and was, no doubt, a friend of both the Pozzi and Morganti families. Stefano's letter is indicative of the types of information networks established by these peasant people in order to keep their families informed of their whereabouts: since a number of the immigrants were illiterate, these networks

were an important link with the homeland and increased the men's dependency upon one another. The networks also reveal the equally strong links which existed in Ticino, ensuring that information would be relayed along the valleys.

One member of the Morganti family mined for a time with Filippo Cerini, who had also emigrated from Giumaglio. The pair worked for several years in partnership and then joined one of the larger mining companies as wage earners. When the alluvial gold began to run out at Jim Crow larger companies had begun to form, allowing the purchase of more sophisticated mining equipment. Although many of these companies were owned by English speakers, some Italians and Ticinesi also set up their own large concerns -- Stefano Pozzi's Long Tunnel Mine being one later example. Working for a larger mining company, however, often resulted in a loss of independence, much to the regret of the Italian-speaking peasants who, despite the restrictions which poverty and a severe alpine climate had imposed, had always been masters of their own destiny: they had decided what crops to plant, where and when to go in search of work and how to utilise the labour of their families. It was with some sadness, Filippo Cerini's son, Joe, remarked, that 'his father Philip Cerini and Morganti had worked seven years as mates and seven years for wages'.[14] Employment in a large mining company run by English speakers also meant withdrawal from the close ethnic community and the pressure to assimilate. Not total withdrawal, however, as the many examples of continuing identity with a 'peasant' existence suggest an 'articulation' into a new form of consciousness combining elements of the old and the new.[15] Words such as *prospetto* and *clem* no doubt also became part of Morganti's and Cerini's vocabulary. Preferring an independent life, many of the Italian-speaking immigrants, including

Maurizio Morganti, sought self-employment in Australia, mostly through the establishment of a farm or business. Indeed, by the 1860s, the Daylesford newspapers had begun reporting a very active participation of the Swiss and Italians in the business community (such as that of Alessandro Pozzi seen in the previous section): infrequent attenders at miners' meetings, they were more serious about this alternate form of money making. They were more familiar with the risks of self-employment and unwilling to hand over their futures to an employer who may have no further need of their services. With the opening of a store and dairying operation in 1854, one member of the Morganti family had indicated his desire for an independent working life in Australia. As many other Italian speakers began to set themselves up in business, Daylesford soon boasted hotels, bakeries, wine shops and stores, all run by the ethnic group. It was into this growing community of Italian speakers that Eustachio Morganti, the fourth member of the Morganti family, arrived on 2 May 1861.

The younger brother of Battista, Maurizio and Giacomo, Eustachio travelled to Australia aboard the *Great Britain*, one of only two vessels to bring Italian speakers to the Colony in that year.[16] It carried nine Ticinesi, all from Someo, and included among them Maria Tognazzini (of whose family more will be heard shortly). The shipment, despite being the last to bring people to Australia from Someo for many years, reflected a village still in turmoil. Eustachio was then 20 years old and may have been accompanied by an older brother, Lazzaro, then 22.[17] It is possible, however, that Lazzaro arrived in the colony some time after Eustachio and hence too late to see his brother Battista who had already departed for America. After living in Hepburn as a miner, Battista had grown tired of his lack of success on the goldfields and headed for

California. Though his brothers were to remain in Australia for longer periods, only Maurizio and Giacomo were to settle in the Colony.

In the mid 1850s Maurizio had been living in Spring Creek as a miner, and possibly a store owner in Hepburn. By 1862 he had moved to Boots Gully near Eganstown (ref. figure 8), where he married a young girl from Someo, Maddalena Tognazzini, whose sister Maria had travelled to Australia with Eustachio Morganti in 1861. Some years earlier, Maddalena's father Pietro had been a passenger aboard the *Asia* with Maurizio and his brothers. After settling at Jim Crow, Pietro had been joined by several family members, a son Noè being the first to arrive in 1855. In 1858, he had returned to Someo to escort his wife and another son and daughter to the Colony and his daughter Maddalena had also emigrated at some stage. It had become difficult for females in Someo to find husbands, due to the exodus of young men to the American and Australian goldfields: this may have been the reason for Maddalena's voyage. In the mid 1850s a gender imbalance had arisen, reaching serious proportions: of the 250 people who were eventually to leave Someo between 1843 and 1873, 238 were young single males.[18] In Australia, the opposite situation was unfolding with males unable to find wives, especially wives from an Italian-speaking background: very few Italian-speaking women, apart from those joining husbands or fiances, had emigrated to the Colony. It is quite possible, therefore, that a marriage had been arranged between the Tognazzini and Morganti families to overcome this problem.

It is equally possible that a friendship had developed during Maurizio and Maddalena's time in Australia, this eventually leading to marriage. As settlers in a new

world, the Tognazzini and Morganti families had become closely bonded, sharing in one another's joys and sufferings. When Noè experienced appalling hardship on a voyage to Australia aboard the *H. Ludwina*, everyone lent a sympathetic ear: the voyage which lasted an horrendous five months, exposed its passengers to inadequate food supplies and sub-standard hygiene. Ill and emaciated, the passengers had been off-loaded at Sydney -- after being poorly informed of their destination -- and left with little alternative but to take a steamer to Melbourne. The journey had became notorious throughout the Italian-speaking community at Jim Crow, the following details also being revealed:

> Those 176 Italian-Swiss passengers on board the Dutch *Heileage Ludwina* were initially convinced they had paid for a trip to Melbourne but actually they ended up in Sydney Harbour in October 1855 after a most troublesome journey. The ship's departure from Belgium's Antwerp was delayed by efforts of the passengers to increase the food supply which, however, remained scarce throughout the voyage. During the first few weeks the third class passengers refused to eat mouldy biscuits and later out of Cape of Good Hope they were forced to pay additionally for the rotten food. When they finally arrived in Sydney after 149 days of near starvation their friends and relatives couldn't recognize them.[19]

Sharing in the lives of the Tognazzinis, Maurizio eventually became a much-loved husband, son and brother-in-law of their family.

On their wedding day in 1862, Maddalena and Maurizio, who was then 27 years old, walked the four or so kilometres from Eganstown to Daylesford to be married and, at the conclusion of the ceremony, walked the same distance home again.[20] While this appears a somewhat bleak picture of a wedding day, it was possibly not so for these peasant folk, for whom carriage rides were an unnecessary and costly extravagance: few occasions, even a wedding, could be permitted to detract from the

daily grind of survival. They were also well equipped to walk long distances having travelled many kilometres to their farms in Ticino. Strangely, due to a mix-up on the day perhaps caused by language difficulties, the pair were not married in a Roman Catholic Church but in one of the Wesleyan denominations.[21] They possibly returned to Boots Gully to live after their marriage, however Maurizio also at one stage operated a hotel at nearby Deep Creek.[22] Never a grand affair, Morgantis' Hotel offered a comfortable resting post and food and home-made wine for the miners.[23]

About this time, and possibly with the profits from his hotel, Maurizio made a payment on a block of land in Eganstown. The government, by this stage, had begun to sell land on reasonable terms to the miners in order to encourage permanent settlement:

> The Lands Act of 1862 allowed land selection only after surveying, at a pound per acre ... half payable in equal instalments over 8 years at the end of which period the other half would be paid in a lump sum. A house or a fence and some cultivation were needed in order to obtain the title. Maximum area allowed was 640 acres.[24]

As British Citizenship was a prerequisite for land purchase up until 1863, there was a high number of applications for naturalisation during this period.[25] After acquiring British Citizenship in 1863,[26] Maurizio purchased his small block on 23 March of that year (ref. figure 13). The land extended across a track in Eganstown which later came to be known as Morgantis Road: while it was not unusual for village dwellers to name roads and locations after prominent families or landmarks, this particular naming served to inscribe a Swiss-Italian identity onto the Australian landscape, which in a subtle way was thus transformed. Shortly following the purchase of their land, Maurizio and Maddalena produced their first child, a son named Avelino. At some

stage in the 1860s they also decided to build themselves a better home at Eganstown, erecting it on their newly acquired piece of land.[27] Eastern Hill, which lay near Morgantis' property, attracted many of the penniless Italian speakers due to the land on its north side being of poor quality and thus more affordable. Other settlers to the area included the Caligari and Tomasetti families, about whom more will be heard later.

The Morganti home, built with the assistance of Lazzaro and Eustachio Morganti and Noè Tognazzini, was a two-storey brick structure in the Swiss style.[28] Erected from handmade bricks with stone foundations, it was shallow from front to back with a solid bluestone cellar (ref. figure 14). The construction of a brick home posed certain problems for the Morgantis because of the need for access to locally available building materials. To make bricks, the Morgantis needed good supplies of mud or clay and plenty of firewood or coal as a fuel to stoke the ovens. Raw materials and fuel were heavy and expensive to transport with the result that everything needed to be found within close proximity. A ready supply of these resources at Eganstown -- the area was heavily forested and there was an abundance of creeks and springs -- probably helped in their decision. The family used 'English pattern' bonding (layers of side-on bricks alternated with head-on bricks) which ensured strong walls in the absence of an hydraulic lime mortar. This style of bonding, though traditionally favoured among the British, may also have been popular in other parts of Europe and thus known to the Ticinesi before their arrival.[29] The Morgantis, like most Ticinesi, relied upon mud mortars made from a mixture of lime and sand, some adding cow manure and other reinforcing agents: the choice was again dependent on the locally

available resources. Hydraulic lime, which sets under water and is much stronger than common lime, could be obtained commercially from Mt Franklin but few Ticinesi could afford such luxuries. Some may, however, have built their own bush kilns.

Since all the construction work was done by hand, the Morganti home was small with few unnecessary decorative features. Like other pioneer homes, it reflected the practical needs of the family and placed as little stress as possible on the builders or the supply of building materials; the aim was to build no higher, wider nor deeper than necessary.[30] Bricks left exposed at the rear of the Morganti dwelling may be seen as a 'peasant' adaptation designed to overcome the need for more space: these bricks allowed the possibility of future extension work should the family grow.[31] Economising on space, the front door to the Morganti home is level with the facade. It has several large windows, evidence of the skill of its builders. Owing to the plentiful supply of stringy bark and yellow box timbers, the house may originally have possessed a shingle roof which was later replaced by one of galvanised iron. Surrounded by a number of sheds and workshops where the family performed a variety of chores -- preparation and storage of foods, carpentering and repair work, blacksmithing -- the property was named 'Eastern Hill Farm' after the nearby mount. It was enclosed by a series of handmade fences erected from the local timbers. These fences included both the horizontal variety (morticed posts with rails) and vertical (roughly split pickets). Commonly made from stringy bark, the early settlers' fences were often held together with pegs, wedges and strips of hide, rather than precious handmade nails. Simply constructed gates linked the Morgantis' fences, one with a somewhat 'extravagant' decorative arch: it was a recognition that timber, at least, did not have to be rationed.

As evidence of the masterful building skills of the Morgantis and Tognazzinis, the property remains largely unchanged and habitable at the end of the twentieth century. Only the cheese cellar has been removed and several bedrooms and a timber-roofed kitchen added.

The Morgantis were among several Italian-speaking settlers who built in brick at Jim Crow. In the early 1860s, Pietro and Giacomo Lucini built their macaroni factory in Spring Creek from the same material, as did Fabrizio Crippa his home. These settlers from northern Italy (about whom more will be heard later) were, like the builders of 'Eastern Hill Farm', skilled bricklayers and stonemasons. The reason these mainly agrarian people possessed such skills lies, in part, in the history of Lombardy: long famous for its stonemasons, the Como region of Lombardy (ref. figure 2) was home to the so-called *Maestri Comacini*, or Como Masters, members of a guild of skilled stonecutters and builders who had helped erect some of Europe's most magnificent churches.[32] The peasants of Lombardy, working as labourers alongside the masters on many projects, had, over the centuries, refined their own building skills, as had those Ticinesi arriving in search of seasonal work. The peasants had taken these skills back to their villages, adapting their homes to suit their local needs. The Italian-speaking settlers arriving in Australia were thus well-equipped to erect their own housing without the need of professional help.

The Morganti children all grew up in the brick house at Eastern Hill. The birth of the first child, Avelino, was followed by the arrival of Maurizio (named after his father) in 1864, Maria Eliza in 1866 and Maria Rebecca in 1868. The children's uncle,

Giacomo Morganti, was living in the district in the time, having married and produced two children, Maddalena Maria and Henry. He died, however, in 1870 at only 48 years of age and, as both Lazzaro and Eustachio had probably returned to Ticino by this stage, this left Maurizio the only remaining brother in the Colony. He and Maddalena produced two more children between 1871 and 1872, Adelina Matilda and Dionigi Pietro, but soon after were saddened by the death of their first son Avelino at eight years of age. In 1874 the Morgantis produced a seventh child, whom they named Sofia. Two years later another son was born and named Avelino in memory of the son who had died. The high infant mortality rate of the nineteenth century had caused many parents to refer to their new-borns as simply 'baby' for a year or so until they could be sure it would live; if it died they could reassign the name to another new-born.[33] A ninth child Maddalena (named after her mother) was born in 1878, and the following year a son David Severino. Six years later, in 1885, Andrea was born followed by the last child, Henry Alexander, some time after. This brought the number of living offspring to eleven.[34]

As the Morganti clan grew larger, the family began to extend its land holdings at Eganstown. Presumably drawing upon the profits from Morgantis' Hotel, as well as the mining interest which had been maintained, they were able to buy a large tract of land alongside their original block on 8 June 1872, followed by another block on the opposite side on 16 December 1874.[35] In 1876 they acquired two more blocks, one to the front of their home and one to the rear (ref. figure 13). From 'peasants' with very little property they had become owners of one of the largest holdings in the district,

their purchases reflecting a belief in the power of land to provide the needs of the family. With labour from a growing family, the Morgantis were confident of survival.

The Morgantis drew upon their peasant resourcefulness to help feed and supply the needs of their large family, establishing a farm and self-sufficient life-style at Eastern Hill. Where others might have failed to successfully farm the infertile soils of the region, the Morgantis were equipped to draw maximum benefit from it. The geographically isolated and mountainous nature of the Ticinese valleys had demanded much from its people: almost totally hemmed in by mountains, the available farming lands were on extremely small plots usually far removed from the villages. Isolation had resulted in exclusion from the agricultural revolution taking place in most other parts of Europe in the 1850s leaving the people ignorant, apart from alternating potatoes and corn, to the benefits of crop rotation. Irrigation usually depended on the capriciousness of the rainfall (with disastrous results in the 1850s).[36] To compensate for their lack of productive farming lands, the people (like the peasant families of most parts of Italy) had developed intensive farming techniques which involved planting crops into every available patch of fertile space -- even on almost inaccessible and dangerous mountain slopes -- using everything frugally, taking the manure from the grazing stock to fertilise the crops and using fruit scraps to feed their animals in the winter months. All resources, such as bits of metal or animal hides, were used a second and third time and everything was made by hand. Each family member was encouraged to understand the workings of the farm: to be able to deliver young animals, tend crops and do repairs. The peasant home resembled a small factory providing all the family's needs and a self-sufficient life-style.[37] The crops grown in the

Valle Maggia had generally included potatoes, rye, turnips, corn and, in the milder areas, grapes. Fruit and nut trees were also an important food source, chestnuts sometimes being used to provide flour. The horse and the ox were virtually unknown with goats and cattle providing the main form of livestock.[38] Few families produced enough for commercial purposes but provided most of the needs of their families. Once settled at Eastern Hill, the Morgantis drew upon these skills and set about building for themselves a similar life-style.

The couple planted many crops traditional to Ticino and kept a minimum of livestock for meat, milk, diary products and eggs. They planted an orchard of apple, pear, plum and quince trees and had areas for raspberries, black currants, strawberries and melons. The vegetable garden was equally large with onions, lettuces, shallots, carrots, parsnips (these were not common in Ticino and indicate a new influence), peas, beans and potatoes, the land being worked intensively to provide a year-round food supply. Unfamiliar foods such as tomatoes, marrows and pumpkins were excluded while the herb garden provided thyme and sage. Inside the house, onions hung in bunches ready for use, along with a variety of drying herbs. The aromas which resulted from this particularly European practice recalled the cooking areas of Ticino. Cereal crops retained an important position but, as Eastern Hill was too cold for wheat, the family grew large amounts of oats which were used to feed the stock. They also grew corn and possibly barley. Before 1900, a vineyard which provided sufficient grapes for wine was planted on the hillside. The family was never successful in growing olives and only managed to keep one tree alive for a time under a glass shade.

It was, for the Morgantis, a small touch of home -- and for their Australian friends a glimpse of that home.[39]

The family's livestock included cattle for meat and dairy supplies, pigs for ham, bacon and pork and large numbers of hens for poultry and eggs. The Morgantis cured their own meats and made butter and cheese. Not being familiar with the raising of sheep, mutton and lamb were among the few items acquired outside the home. Fish, which occupied a small part of the Ticinese diet, was bought tinned from a local store. The family supplemented its food supplies by scouring the countryside for field mushrooms and blackberries, which grew along the creeks. The resourcefulness and the experience which comes from living through lean times and famine were evident in these practices. The remaining needs of the family, such as clothing and furniture, were also met through their own labour, most tasks being carried out in the sheds and workshops surrounding the home. Each family member was encouraged to learn the skills of blacksmithing or building, further reducing the family's reliance on the outside, commercial world.

While the children were young, they attended the local Deep Creek National School, a government-run institution which had opened on 1 November 1861. In the later Common Schools period, the schoolhouse consisted of a wooden building designed to accommodate 82 pupils, an indication of the high growth rate of the area. In 1881, the name of the school changed from Deep Creek to Eganstown and in 1882, a new schoolhouse made of brick was built to accommodate 100 pupils.[40] The younger Morganti children all attended this school and were taught by Mr Shepardson,

a man whom they fondly referred to as 'old Shepherd'. Shepardson was a clever man who, besides his skills as a teacher, also designed the bluestone building for St Joseph's Church in Blampied. Since the region possessed no Catholic school the Presentation Sisters, who came to Holy Cross Convent in Daylesford in 1891 (ref. figure 9), sent two nuns across to Eganstown and Blampied each day to educate the children. The Morganti offspring remained, however, at the government school, some Italian speakers finding the Irish-dominated Catholic Church alienating and unattractive. The sight of Mother Margaret Cowly and Mother Alphonsus Southwell being driven from Daylesford each day in an enclosed phaeton with their black curtains well drawn and praying all the way presented a much more severe view of religion than that to which the Ticinesi were accustomed. At Eganstown the children were taught in the church in the cemetery grounds (sometimes receiving the condemnation of their teachers when they ran all over the graves at recess).[41]

An incident which occurred during this period highlights, at the personal level, the strong will and determination of Maddalena, and, at a more abstract level, the multi-layered and multi-directional nature of identity.[42] At the Department school, under the guidance of 'old Shepherd', the Morganti children had all achieved excellent results. When it came time for their Confirmation, a ritual within the Catholic tradition, the Irish parish priest refused to accept the children because they had not attended the Catholic school. He demanded that the children change schools immediately. Maddalena, who thought it most unfair to remove her children from a school where they had been achieving well, especially as the request coincided with the expected arrival of the District Inspector, refused to co-operate. She felt that the

withdrawal of her children from the government school would reflect badly on the teacher. It was not until the arrival of the archbishop that Maddalena was able to explain the situation and receive a sympathetic hearing. The archbishop agreed that any child who knew his or her catechism should be allowed to be confirmed and, as the Morganti children had been well instructed by their mother, the matter was quickly resolved. Maddalena never moved her children to the Catholic school but, as a compromise, the youngest children, Andrea and Henry, later became its pupils.[43] Some years after it was decided to close the Education Department school due to falling numbers, a situation not helped by the fact that even the headmaster sent his children to the Catholic school.[44] The Presentation Order applied to buy the old school building but, when the Education Department opposed the sale, the Catholic community, dominated largely by the Italian speakers, built their own wooden schoolhouse nearby. This school has since been pulled down but, ironically, the old brick schoolhouse remains intact up to the present.

While at school the children in the Morganti household contributed to the running of the home and farm. In the sheds and workshops surrounding their home, they learned to build and repair things, to make nails and horseshoes and to care for the animals. They planted and harvested the crops and made preservable sausages and jams. They churned the butter and made the cheese. Maintaining the traditions of their forebears, they became experts in the running of their home and farm and indispensable to its success. In the kitchen, the girls helped their mother prepare a variety of foods, such as rich vegetable soups, and, in later years, pasta with flavourings of fried onion and cheese. In the stone cellar beneath the home, which was

entered through an external arched opening at the side of the house (ref. figure 14), were stored all the family's food-stuffs including its meats, cheeses and wines.[45]

The Morgantis' lives did not revolve solely around work, however, and social activities with the Italian-speaking community were a welcome form of relaxation. They were generous hosts and often visited by their friends from Eganstown. Together they would sing songs and speak in their native dialect. They remained good friends of Noè Tognazzini until he and his wife, Maria Zanoli (who had arrived in Australia from Gordevio in Ticino in 1873), moved to California in 1888 with eight of their thirteen children.[46] Maurizio was also a member of the Swiss and Italian Association in Daylesford.[47] The Italian-speaking community was closely knit with warm welcomes given to all new arrivals. Space was made available in the home until the settler could arrange more permanent accommodation, and (despite the risk it brought to many commercial enterprises) businesses extended credit.

Though there was a large community of Italian speakers living at Eganstown, some people claimed that it was the Irish who dominated the population, the Swiss and Italians being more prominent at Blampied (ref. figure 13). Others, however, believed that the two ethnic groups mixed along five kilometres of road: around Blampied lived the Irish families -- Clohesy, Ryrie, Ryan, Cleary and Boyd -- as well as several Italian speakers; at Eganstown resided the Sullivans, Tomasettis, Togninis, Morgantis, Cerinis and Pescias; and, on the overlap between the two towns, lived the Giorgis, Caligaris, Dwyers and Burkes.[48] It was the rituals surrounding a shared Roman Catholic background -- the weekly Mass, weddings and funerals -- which brought the two

groups together, providing both the Italian speakers and the Irish with a new sense of 'horizontal comradeship' in addition to their existing religious and cultural identifications.[49]

Despite Maddalena's occasional conflict with the Irish Catholic clergy, she was a deeply religious woman who raised all her children to have faith in God and the saints. Veneration of the saints represented a particularly Italian approach to religion, a tradition usually transmitted to the children through their mothers. Maddalena's own strong faith had taken root in her childhood when, as an eight year old and living in Someo, she had embarked on a pilgrimage to save the health of her sister. Carrying her sister, who was afflicted with a debilitating skin rash, Maddalena had walked several kilometres to the Shrine of *Maria del Sasso*, where she had hoped a miracle cure would be performed. Every hour along the way she had had to stop to change her sister's bandages. When, some years later, the child recovered from the illness, Maddalena had seen this as a sign that the saint had intervened.[50] This story was retold to the children of each generation of the Morganti family, reinforcing, in its retelling, a sense of cultural connectedness and identification with a powerful religious tradition. Perhaps influenced by this story, one of the grand-daughters later joined the Mercy Order of nuns in Ballarat.[51] Many of the Italian speakers who emigrated to Australia prayed to the saints: during one stormy voyage to the Colony a shipload of Ticinesi is said to have prayed to the *Maria del Sasso*, offering her a votive painting if she interceded to stop their ship from sinking. Upon arrival, a picture of the frightening scene and the intervention of the saint was duly painted and placed in the church of the

Madonna del Sasso at Locarno, a reminder to the people of Ticino that the saint had watched over their families.[52]

Belief in the goodness of the saints was also a comfort when a family member died, especially a young member. In 1885, the Morgantis' eldest daughter Maria Eliza passed away at only nineteen years of age. Elizabeth, as she had then come to be known (though within the family she may still have been referred to as Maria Eliza), had earlier left home to marry Pasquale Brocco, an Italian speaker from Sementina in Ticino. Several second generation Ticinesi chose Italian-speaking partners, continuing a tradition which had existed in the villages of their parents.[53] Pasquale, who had emigrated to Australia at around thirteen years of age and had become a miner, was left with two small children in his care. Several years later and, at only 28 years of age, the eldest Morganti son Maurizio died: while a high mortality rate might be assumed to have characterised peasant life, transfer to Australia was unable to shield the Morgantis from the poor hygiene and lack of medical knowledge of the nineteenth century.

While the loss of the children brought great sadness, the death of Maurizio one year later could have threatened the very survival of the family. Dying suddenly, at 58 years of age, Maurizio left his young wife with several children for whom to care and a farm to run: the youngest child, Henry, was under seven. A family structure, however, which encouraged the men, women and children to each be knowledgeable about the workings of the home and farm, especially since the men would often be absent from the farm in search of work, protected the Morgantis from financial ruin. With little

specialisation of roles, each family member was capable of assuming the duties of the father: the planting and reaping of crops, the caring for the animals, the blacksmithing and the carrying out of repairs. The children were also experienced in caring for the younger members of the family, freeing their mother to perform other tasks. This total involvement of the family in a productive capacity prevented dependence upon the father as sole bread-winner and allowed the Italian speakers to survive when others might have failed.

Reliance on the younger members of the family meant, however, that few Italian-speaking children were encouraged to remain at school beyond the compulsory years. Despite Maddalena's concern for her children's early education, there was no possibility that they would gain a tertiary education or take up a professional calling. The children all remained on the farm with their mother until it came time for them to marry.[54] Maria Rebecca was the only other child to choose an Italian-speaking husband, marrying George Pedrotti, a second-generation Ticinese. Born early in the Morganti marriage, she and Maria Eliza may have developed a closer affinity with the Ticinese culture; perhaps their parents had talked more about home or been more encouraging of such a marriage. Maria Rebecca died childless in 1912. In 1894, Adelina Matilda married Julius Wolff and produced three children. Dionigi married Catherine Bourke in 1899 producing seven children. Sofia married twice, first to Frank McWhinney in 1909 then, later, to George Reid in 1918; she produced no children from either marriage. Avelino married Margaret Hetherington who bore one child.

With the skills learnt in childhood, Avelino opened his own blacksmithing business but later found employment filling cylinders at the mineral springs. He remained a resident of Eganstown for many years, confirming the strong bonds of family. One of his brothers, possibly David Severino, also drew upon the skills of his childhood, entering the coach-making trade. Severino married in 1905 and the couple produced one child. Andrea married Mary Christensen, the couple raising six children. Mary was Danish but insisted that her married name be written as Morganty to hide its foreign (or more particularly perhaps its Italian) links. Ironically, she named one of her children, Dagmar. Neither Henry nor Maddalena married and both remained to work the farm until they were well into their 60s. This was long after the death of their mother in 1912. As they grew older and could no longer run the property efficiently, it was sold along with the house, and the couple moved to a modern home in Daylesford where they claimed they could be nearer a doctor and a priest.[55]

As emigrants to Australia, Maurizio and Maddalena had helped their family escape a peasant existence of unrelenting hardship. They had not, however, attained the hoped-for riches, instead joining the ranks of Australia's lowest paid workers. For their children, and indeed for most of the second generation Italian speakers, there was little hope for a professional career or an affluent existence. Most either remained to work the family farm or business -- sometimes opening a store of their own -- or found employment in lowly paid jobs. The public service became one of their larger employers, offering security and a new way of life. Dionigi Morganti, after marrying in 1899, moved to Melbourne to become a grip-man on the cable trams, and then a foreman on the railways. As the railways were an expanding industry, men were being

given the opportunity to work through the ranks from cleaner to firestoker, to a driver of various grades, until the highest paid job, an express train driver. In the 1900s, the Morgantis moved back to Eganstown, wanting to be nearer the family. They shifted into a weatherboard house on the main Daylesford road, not far from the red brick house of Dionigi's childhood.[56]

This old brick home became a popular destination of Dionigi's children who loved to visit their grandmother, aunts and uncles. The family continued to attract visitors from the Italian-speaking community, the Lafranchis and the Ferraris being among their friends. One of the grand-daughters later recalled that it was 'a house full of fun and the family spoke both in the Swiss dialect and in English'.[57] The grandchildren also learned a little of this dialect even though no one really made the effort to teach them. The aunts had, by this time, become expert cooks preparing both traditional recipes and others, such as seasoning and puddings, learned from their English speaking friends. Though there was evidence of assimilation into Australian life, the Ticinese culture remained strong at Eganstown. On 1 August of each year the people celebrated Swiss National Day, a festival which had been introduced in Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century to commemorate the founding of the Swiss Confederation in 1291. While those in Ticino celebrated with musical performances and community singing, the festivities of the immigrant families included eating traditional foods, playing Swiss ball games and much singing and dancing. Referring to this day as *mezzagosto*, Maurizio's grand-daughter later suggested that the Catholic Feast of the Assumption (a ritual described in the Pozzi section) was also celebrated at this time and that its Italian name had been carried forward into the

twentieth century.[58] Her confusing of the two dates -- placing one within the time frame of another -- reveals how memories are more than a simple record of happenings; they also permit an understanding of the ways in which events are perceived and of how a person's subjective reality influences what passes into family 'folklore'.

As the family grew older, Dionigi and his wife moved the family to Ballarat for the children's education. While Maurizio and Maddalena had been happy for their children to leave school at age fourteen, the second generation felt that success no longer lay in basic survival skills but in qualifications for highly paid employment.[59] As noted, Dionigi became a foreman on the railways but the family later moved back to Melbourne for Mrs Morganti's health. Many years later, one of the sons travelled to Someo to visit his grandparents' old family homes. Lazzaro and Eustachio Morganti had died by this time and he discovered that Eustachio, his great grandfather, had left a reasonable amount of money to his two sisters.[60] The will had stipulated however, that upon their death, the remaining money was to be shared equally among the living relatives. Since only one relative had claimed the inheritance, this boy, aware of the hardships his parents had suffered in coming to Australia, insisted that the money be evenly distributed among the relatives. In receiving their alloted 110 pounds each family member also received a reminder of their common ancestry and shared history.

Though the Morganti story is one of struggle and hardship, it is also one of close family ties and community support. Like the Pozzis, the Morgantis had emigrated to Australia in the early 1850s. While two of the brothers had returned to

Someo and another had gone on to California, Maurizio and Giacomo had remained to bring up their families. Settling into a large community of Italian speakers at Eganstown, they had sought self-sufficiency through diversified income sources and a reintroduction of the peasant life-style. The Morgantis had built a new life for themselves in Australia while retaining much of their cultural heritage. The immigratory experience had not, however, left them totally unchanged. They had come to know a new language, to accept friends and marriage partners for their children from outside their own ethnic group and to tolerate the religious practices of the Irish Catholics. However it is described, in terms of the concepts which inform this study, such changes might be referred to as 'articulation', new 'cross-cutting positionalities', new 'imagined communities', 'circumstanced exchanges' or 'third term'. This process of transformation had begun the moment they left their homelands, the journey to Australia -- as will now be documented -- being as significant an influence in their new lives as the experience of colonisation.

CHAPTER THREE : THE JOURNEY

THE JOURNEY

The Italian-speaking immigrants who arrived on the Australian goldfields were mostly young, strong males filled with the hope of quick profit and of being able to return home to their families. Despite the crippling poverty which they left behind, the journey to the goldfields soon awakened them to the enormous risk they had taken in leaving their homelands and to the hardships they would endure. Lack of money had meant booking the least comfortable and longest journeys and these men were often the victims of unscrupulous travel agents who deceived them about the conditions under which they would be transported. The Pozzi and Morganti stories introduced to some of the discomforts of the voyage: this chapter will describe in more detail the travellers' journey to the ports of Melbourne and Sydney and reveal the degree to which it was made difficult by the travellers' own ignorance and poverty. It will show how the travellers coped on first arrival and will describe their journey overland to the goldfields. It will reveal how hardship and suffering, as well as the need to adapt to the changing environment, made the journey a rite of passage, its transformative qualities a preparation for settlement. At the same time, the ongoing attempt to impose familiar meaning and significance upon the new experiences of the journey epitomised the subsequent history of the Italian speakers' settlement, as described throughout this study.

'*L'euforia della partenza*', wrote Giorgio Cheda, in his evocative description of the Swiss emigration to the Australian goldfields, '*e la radicata speranza di fare fortuna e di vincere la miseria per la propria famiglia, asciugavano presto le lacrime*

del distacco.' [1] So keen were the young men to leave the poverty and degradation of their homelands that it was impossible to hide the elation and joy of going to a new land. *'Veniva via se fosse anche per fare il mare a piedi'* [2] was the pithy exclamation of Giovanna Filippina, one of the few women who came to the Jim Crow mines in the 1850s. In this typically epigrammatic way she summed up the sheer determination of her generation. The young adventurers from Ticino and northern Italy could not have imagined the suffering and deprivation they would endure on the journey to Australia, their main concern being to arrive as quickly and as cheaply as possible. For the many Italian speakers who left their homelands in search of a better life in Australia, the journey was only to be the first of many trials to awaken them to the brutality and harshness of the path they had chosen.

It has already been noted that, in order to persuade their young men to emigrate to Australia, the *comuni* (councils) of some of the villages of Ticino made available loans to assist in the travel costs. This money was raised by allowing a wholesale clearance of the forest and selling of the timber to the same speculators from other cantons who were promoting the emigration. The travellers were advanced several hundred francs which were to be paid back later with interest. A few of the more wealthy Ticinesi also lent money for the passage to Australia after the promise of a good share in the profits of all future gold sales from their borrowers. [3] The travellers thus felt well financed for their journey and confident of finding work or gold not long after their arrival in Australia. These loans and the duty to repay them soon weighed heavily upon the emigrants, however, their doubts and worries finding expression in their letters home. Filippo Pasqualini from the Swiss village, Cerentino, wrote in 1859:

Al momento non posso spedirti denari, ma spero che presto di fare qual cosa essendo in un lavoro che si può fare dell'oro allora ti spedirò qualche cosa, e spero di pagare i miei debiti, fatto ciò spero di venire a casa.[4]

Even with work, Pasqualini's debts had proved impossible to repay. For many of the Italian speakers entering Australia, the burden of debt was to remain for decades, denying them the opportunity to return to their homelands. Besides the lack of money for the fare, there was the shame of being unable to repay friends, family or the village *comune*. For this reason, Pasqualini's letter evokes all the more pity, for his one wish was to return home quickly.

The prospect of leaving friends and family to go to a distant country also weighed heavily upon the travellers who, despite their hopes for adventure and a desire for wealth in the Colony, harboured underlying sadness and fear; the excitement of seeing the world also meant departing from all that was familiar. The villagers were, however, encouraged by the bold advertising campaigns of the travel agents, who were eagerly selling large numbers of tickets to Australia: their propaganda, besides promising the possibility of untold riches, suggested the men would be able to find work in their own trades earning 25 to 30 francs a day.[5] Reports were made of the comfort with which each passenger would be transported, creating in the traveller's mind the idea that, with only minor inconvenience, he would soon be in the Colony making enough money to return home wealthy to his family. In Locarno, the Swiss travel agents set up their agencies on the beautiful Promenade on the shores of Lake Maggiore. In northern Italy, British and German shipping companies worked to take advantage of the new and burgeoning market.[6]

In 1852 and 1853, the years prior to mass emigration, the majority of Italian speakers had travelled to Australia on board comparatively comfortable English ships, such as the *Marchioness of Londonderry* (which carried Alessandro Pozzi), but, by the peak years of 1854 and 1855, German shipping companies had begun advertising cheaper fares of around 500 francs, which also compared favourably with similar vessels coming from France.[7] (This might explain the relatively large numbers of Germans in the Victorian colony during this period.) Anxious to attract the business of as many locals as possible, the travel agents offered prized places on these ships, omitting to advise their clients that lower fares usually implied poorer conditions and a delayed arrival. The Italian speakers, anxious to make any savings possible, eagerly lined up to sign their contracts and secure a passage to Australia. German ships would bring about 500 Ticinesi to the Colony between 1854 and 1855 alone.[8]

It would appear that most Italian speakers were unquestioning about the terms of their travel contracts both because they had difficulty understanding them -- a number being illiterate -- and because they were desperate to reach Australia quickly. Unscrupulous travel agents, therefore, found it easy to deceive their clients about the conditions under which they would be transported and also persuade them into signing agreements which bound them to near impossible terms. In some cases the travel agents offered to advance part of the emigrant's travel fee in exchange for a per centage of the expected gold finds.[9] While the emigrants felt that this, like the loans, enhanced the prospects of discovery, in reality it pushed them further into debt:

> For example one agent sold tickets for half the price on the condition that the clients pay the rest after their arrival in Melbourne or by their work within two years. The Ticinesi ... felt trapped by the contracts.[10]

Many of the contracts were also misleading or unclear, some agents selling tickets to unspecified destinations which most of the passengers assumed to be Melbourne. These tickets, sold at reduced prices, attracted the poorest and most desperate travellers. Recall, for example, Noè Tognazzini who travelled to Australia aboard the *H. Ludwina* in 1855: when his ship docked at Sydney he was forced into the extra expense and time loss of a steamer ride to Melbourne.[11] For those without the money for public transport, this final leg of the journey -- some several hundred kilometres -- was made on foot. Had the Ticinesi been in a position to better understand the contracts, or been less anxious to escape their squalid conditions, they may have chosen to remain at home.

Many northern Italians living near the border close to Switzerland (such as the Gervasoni family who will be introduced later) signed their contracts with the shipping companies in Ticino.[12] Those who had lived in the Swiss valleys for a number of years also became eligible for the same council loans as the Ticinesi -- evidence of their close cultural ties. Often the Italians were joined by their friends or relatives, resulting in a steady flow of emigration. Despite the newspaper reports of the opportunities in the Colony and the propaganda campaigns aimed at attracting the men to the Colony, the Italians did not, however, emigrate to Australia in numbers anything like the Ticinesi.[13]

Having signed the contracts and been informed of their date of departure, the emigrants had first to travel overland to the various ports where their ships awaited them, some going to Liverpool or London, some to Hamburg, Antwerp, Dieppe or le Harve (ref. figure 5). Though common debt (see The Emigrants) determined the

travelling companions of many emigrants, most left their villages in small groups comprising family members or friends, this cushioning the impact of the departure. While peasants had long understood the need to leave families in search of seasonal work, they had not experienced such long and distant separations and, for all their promises of return, there remained the possibility that someone (including themselves) could die during the absence. With the departures, therefore, began the loosening of village and family ties, the first stage in a process which would continue in the Colony. The inability to transport personal belongings reinforced this break as furniture, household ornaments, cooking utensils and familiar tools, which linked the emigrants with their cultural heritage, were left behind. Some Ticinesi, such as Carlo Traversi who was mentioned earlier, brought musical instruments and other items to Australia, these becoming precious material links with the past as well as symbolic markers for the future.

Despite the inevitable doubts and insecurities, these people were eager to reach their destinations and optimistic about the future. They arrived at their points of departure by a variety of means: some sections of the journey were made on foot, some sections with the use of a horse and cart and other sections by train. These arrangements were included in the terms of the travel contracts.[14] Travelling on foot, the emigrants walked over difficult and mountainous terrain, often suffering damage to their health. Giuseppe Strozzi from Biasca, with a letter received from his son in the Colony in 1855, cannot fail to have been moved by the following description of the journey:

> Il nostro picol viaggio che abbiamo fatto finora è statto un onorevole viaggio e siamo stati bene, forchè Rossetti Giuseppe di Pietro Sesante e Tatti Pietro questi due si trovano nella città Dover

> **un poco amalati, e il motivo è stato la salita al S Gotardo che
> l'anno tolta tropo in freta e anno sudato un momentino. E per
> conseguenza è scopiata una ponte. Noi l'abbiamo lasciati ancor
> nell' etto ma sembrava che cominciava guarire.**[15]

Letters such as this, which also advised on the whereabouts of friends' relatives, established important networks for the emigrants, opening channels of communication which would continue in Australia. The families remaining in Europe were thus made aware of the demands of the journey, learning of the contributions made by injury and illness.

The travellers encountered many other problems during their travels overland, one of the most alarming being their inability to communicate in their own language with the local populations. Feeling alienated and alone, many struggled to make themselves understood. Raimondo Pedroia, arriving in Liverpool from Ticino in 1856, explained:

> **Il nostro viaggio non è stato tuttalmente felice perchè non avendo
> né lingua tedesca, né francese, né inglese, da parlare abiamo
> allungato la strada più de 80 ore non solamente la lontananza della
> strada ma anche del denaro abbiamo speso di più.**[16]

It is less likely that the Italian speakers also had the same difficulty communicating with the other Italian and Ticinese travellers they met. Italians of that era spoke the dialect which was closely tied to their village of birth, and another which related to the region in which they lived. Since the area from which the Italian speakers had emigrated had been politically and administratively tied to the Dukedom of Milan until the end of the 1400s, the people shared a common Lombard dialect.[17] They also spoke a form of Italian which had been in emergence since the thirteenth century and was consolidated in the sixteenth century. Based on the Tuscan dialect, its use had been

disseminated chiefly by the efforts of the Catholic Church -- through the weekly sermon, the teachings in Christian Doctrine schools and in parish schools[18] -- aided by the migratory habits of the people.[19] A Tuscan model had been in evidence from as early as the 1500s in Biasca (Ticino).[20] In the 1800s, when politicians assumed control of public education and standardised the curriculum and teaching practices, literacy rates had further improved[21] (more so in Ticino than in Italy[22]) this despite the schools often being poorly run and resourced, parents keeping their children home to work the family farm and girls being excluded.[23] By the nineteenth century, most peasants had, at least, a 'passive' understanding of 'popular Italian' (the men more so than the women) and could speak using a crude form of the language with local expressions and write sufficiently well to make themselves understood.[24] Indeed the Italian used by Pedroia above is essentially Tuscan-based Italian -- limited in punctuation as 'popular Italian' did not always respect literary traditions[25] -- but, nevertheless, evidence of a national language. Despite the mix of dialects in common use among them, Italian speakers like Pedroia, in crossing to the ports, would have clung closely to their village companions for mutual support in face of the language barriers which they inevitably encountered. Later, in confronting similar barriers on the Victorian goldfields, the Italian speakers would similarly support each other -- a phenomenon which would find expression in the settlement patterns at Jim Crow.

Given their dependence on one another because of the language difficulties, an even stronger sense of comradeship emerged among the Italian speakers than had been the case 'at home'. As well as being 'stronger', the emerging bonds also, in many respects, went beyond what was traditionally sanctioned within their home villages.

Gioachimo Respini from Cevio, writing of his experiences during the journey (which also included the sea voyage), claimed:

> **Con piacere dobbiamo dirvi che il nostro viaggio fu felice, sebbene abbiamo avuto il mare ... in furiosa procella ... Vi parerà eroneo il chiamare il nostro viaggio felice, ma pure lo è giustamente, e perchè? perchè, primo abbiamo un'imagine della burrasca marina, secondo abbiamo già provato il vomito, e terzo, ciò che molto importa, abbiamo trovato sempre buona gente che ci aiutarono.[26]**

In a changing pattern of social relationships, Respini, and others like him, grew to rely more on the help of friends and travel companions than on the traditional support of family. In their new predominantly male world, the emigrants formed new bonds of dependency which would remain strong in the goldfields. Later, when family units were reunited or new families formed, the old social order would re-emerge, though (as documented throughout this thesis) never in precisely the same form.

It was not, however, during the journey to the European ports that the emigrants met with the greatest hardship. The travel agencies, in order to prevent the travellers from changing their minds and returning home to their villages, made sure that everyone had enough food and water and was reasonably comfortable. The Italian speakers were also, as first time 'tourists', absorbed by the many new sights which greeted them, writing home often about the things they saw: *'E chi non vede al di la del S. Gotardo non vede nulla e coloro che mojono senza vedere questi paesi è come nascere e morire'*.[27] Emerging from the sheltered village community, many travellers were surprised by the vastness of the countryside and the varied life-styles of its inhabitants: the journey thus became a preparation for the multicultural world of the Australian goldfields. It was only after the ships had departed from England and

Europe that the emigrants became aware of the degree to which their contracts had been unclear or deceptive (as the expectation of Australia itself would be for some).

The fastest route of most Australia bound ships in the mid 1850s swung far south of Cape Town, making use of the prevailing winds (ref. figure 5). Though considered quicker than previous routes, there were few if any stopovers and the passengers were exposed to a range of climatic conditions few could have anticipated. After leaving balmy seas, the ships would encounter the north-east trade winds which bowled them on towards Brazil. Crossing the equator, they entered the doldrums, sometimes drifting for weeks on end in oppressive heat. After this came the Tropic of Capricorn and the plunge south.[28] Many passengers were inadequately clad and often afraid. Not only were there huge waves and extremes of temperature, there was the threat of icebergs. The route, despite its advantages, left an indelible memory on the minds of the emigrants, dissuading many from ever returning home. In this way, the journey itself can be seen to have been instrumental in the decision of many to remain in the colonies.

Distressed by their experiences on the ships, the emigrants wrote numerous letters to their families describing the appalling conditions. Having paid the cheapest fares, they were berthed in the poorest ventilated and most uncomfortable sections of the ship, the only compensation being that they were allowed to remain in family and friendship groupings. While no strangers to overcrowded and squalid conditions, the Italian speakers were unprepared for the months which lay ahead: between bouts of seasickness, they became aware that a few square metres of space was to be their

home, a home that would seldom be still. They lived, slept, ate and amused themselves in close, stuffy quarters with no privacy, little light and sub-standard hygiene. Clothing could be washed only over the side of the ship, resulting in many things being lost during poor weather: numerous Italian speakers arrived in Australia owning little more than the clothes in which they stood up. They were dependent on the crew for all their material needs and received little sympathy for their sufferings.

Inadequate food and poor drinking water were major causes of ill-health among the travellers. The *H. Ludwina*, which has previously been mentioned, had a delayed departure from Antwerp while the passengers protested the inadequate food supplies. The protest, however, made little impact and during the voyage passengers were served mouldy biscuits and other rotted food. Complaining about the food supplies in a letter, Tranquilla Patà from Sonogno wrote:

> **il vito era pessimo che non potevamo gustarlo, era la matina lunedi caffe a mezzo giorno orbeglie con lacqua, e martedi fagioli con lacqua, mercoledi broda di farina, giovedì pome di terra e carne, venerdì fagioli neri come carbone, sabato broda di ongiadaa, e domenica carne e pasta cotta in un sacco, siche odonque io sono stato sino il giorno 19 senza nemeno gustarlo, in 19 giorni il mio vito è stato solamente che due lira di zucchero e 4 di formaggio che io lo tolto Amburgo, io ne meteva tre volte al giorno nella boca solamente per star vivo, io sono venuto a una debolezza che quasi non poteva più regermi in piedi, io non mi credeva più di guarire.[29]**

Leonardo Pozzi had also complained about the poor food aboard *the Agen Und Heinrich* but endeavoured to overcome the problem by making his own *suppa* and *pancotto* (soup and bread).[30] Passengers with a little money could bribe the crew for additional food or, like Leonardo Pozzi, trade their interpreting skills for extra rations. Since those who had paid more for their tickets were treated to better food and accommodation, it would not have escaped the travellers that life on board ship

mirrored the class structure of home -- the masses below deck representing the masses back home. This resulted in friction between the passengers and crew and occasional riots. Reflecting on the comparative richness of home-life, the shipboard experience would have reinforced the Italian speakers' resolve not to depend on others, especially for food. In this respect, their later concentration in farming, stores, hotels and wine bars in Australia may be seen to have mirrored their resolution.

Because the voyage to Australia could last four to five months (173 days for the *August* in 1855), another major difficulty for the emigrants lay in keeping themselves amused. Since many lived in fear of a pirate attack or, as mountain dwellers, experienced panic in the wide open expanses of the sea, diversions were important to their psychological well-being. The Italian speakers were accustomed to the demanding physical labours of a peasant farm with little leisure time and had trouble adjusting to the sedentary nature of shipboard life. Reading or keeping a diary were either impossible or difficult: many were illiterate and their living quarters were too poorly lit for such activities. There was little opportunity for physical exercise and few had brought games or crafts to occupy their time. The most popular activities were singing and dancing which revived the memory of happier times back home; on one voyage in 1855, 40 Swiss formed a singing group.[31] Some passengers enjoyed shooting, either at suspended bottles or at sea birds, while others sought escape in alcohol and frivolous amorous liaisons. Those Italian speakers who participated in these last activities -- normally frowned upon within the village community -- were, once again, responding to their predominantly male environment, which lacked the customary village constraints (as was also the case in Australia following settlement).

For the majority of the time, however, the Italian speakers were content just talking among themselves and laying plans for their future in the Colony.

A life of frugality and hardship within an alpine peasant environment had, however, helped equip the Italian speakers for the torments of the voyage. Mostly young, male and resilient, they were able to cope with the hunger, discomfort and self-denial. Despite this, a number died at sea and many arrived in an emaciated state at the ports of Melbourne and Sydney. Those arriving from Anversa, on 5 October 1855 for example, had been without bread, rice, or meat for much of their journey and, in the last days of their 150 day voyage, had received only a few rotten vegetables.[32] A moving description of the arrival in Melbourne in 1855 of passengers from the *H. Ludwina* is provided by Alessandro Brocchi and his companions from Montagnola in Ticino:

> **Il giorno 5 Ottobre la Società Rebora sbarcò nel Porto Sidney in Australia una compagnia di 176 passeggieri così magri e consunti dalla fame e dalla miseria, che noi altri ... non conoscevamo più i nostri cari compatrioti, e tutti ci siamo messi a piangere fortemente al vederli così tristi.[33]**

So appalled were the men on the dock by the sight of their compatriots that criticism was immediately made of the shipping companies -- *'immediatamente abbiamo fatto ricorso alla Polizia, onde far arrestare quel birbante di capitano; ed immediatamente si aprì un processo'[34]* -- followed by a recommendation that compatriots still remaining in Ticino read carefully their shipping contracts and not be fooled by the propaganda:

> **E prima di stringer contratto con qualsiasi Società, è necessario aprir ben gli occhi, perchè son diggià stati tanti e poi tanti i maltrattati e gl'ingannati da codesti trafficanti di carne umana.[35]**

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The experience of the journey fostered concern for the well-being of compatriots and a recognition of the need to establish support networks. These informal assistance groups became the basis for the more permanent clubs and societies which aided the Italian speakers in Australia.[36]

Like their fellow countrymen arriving at the ports of North and South America, the Italians and Ticinesi were initially dependent on assistance from official sources. Because the dominant attitude in the nineteenth century regarding social welfare was, however, that direct social provision by the State, especially in the form of cash benefits, undermined the reliance and initiative of the individual and encouraged pauperism, most help came in the form of charity. Such charitable organisations included the Melbourne Benevolent Society -- which aimed to 'relieve the aged, infirm, disabled or destitute poor of all creeds and nations'[37] -- and various hospitals, asylums and societies. A huge increase in population resulting from the gold rush had, however, strained the resources of the societies and many were poorly managed and inefficient: despite its aims, the Melbourne Benevolent Society could only provide temporary accommodation for people arriving from the United Kingdom. In 1853 concerned citizens met to form an Immigrants' Aid Society which offered accommodation and employment advice, medical aid and some temporary loans to those in need. The government, however, only offered welfare assistance through these charitable organisations, feeling that, 'recipients of relief would be more grateful and less willing to place continued demands for assistance upon privately organised and operated charities.'[38] This method of funding also avoided the need to introduce a Poor Law and increase the taxes on the wealthy -- despite the Colony of Victoria being

regarded as one of the richest places in the world at that time.[39] The Italian speakers, made aware of the rigid class structure which underlay Australian society (as presaged on the sea voyage), and resigned to never receiving fair and adequate welfare assistance, and having been strengthened in their resolve to eschew their dependency on others in the tradition of the peasant region from which they had come, would concentrate their resources on the care of their own families and compatriots.

Men such as Brocchi helped form committees to assist the travellers, greeting them on arrival and directing them to possible sources of work and accommodation. English speakers were also represented on the aid committees, Henry John Porter, one time Honourable Secretary, coming to the aid of passengers on the *Daniel Ross* on 26 April 1855. On the 3 May 1855, he stated that it had been 'necessary to give aid to some who yesterday and today were without food.'[40] In several cases the English speakers were sympathetic to the needs of the Swiss and offered them work in big companies engaged in road and rail construction. It was some time, however, before any assistance of an official nature arrived from Switzerland: Louis Chapalay, a businessman from the French speaking canton Vaud, was installed as Swiss diplomat on 19 March 1855. Making his home in Sydney, and thus ill placed to help those Ticinesi arriving in Melbourne, he was, nonetheless, sympathetic to their needs and wrote a letter to the *Gazette de Lausanne* in 1855 describing their plight:

> **trovar d'occupare 85 stranieri in un paese come questo, non era cosa troppo facile, tanto più per costoro che non avevano l'esperienza delle abitudini della colonia, né la pratica necessaria per mettersi al lavoro delle miniere.[41]**

Chapalay's detailing of the lack of work opportunities for Italian speakers gained

support when the following anonymous letter from a repatriated emigrant was

published in *Il Repubblicano della Svizzera Italiana* in July 1855:

> **Appena sbarcati, corsi le contrade di Melbourne cercando lavoro,
> ma invano, spesi alcuni giorni a bussare di porta in porta per poter
> mettere a profitto l'opera mia, ma dovunque mi veniva risposto
> non esservi lavoro di sorta.**[42]

In order to help his compatriots find work, Chapalay placed advertisements seeking

prospective employees in the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

> Swiss and Italian immigrants *H. Ludwina*. It being necessary to provide
> these immigrants with employment at once, persons who may have read
> of their services, will be kind enough to be on board vessel ... when
> their consuls and some other gentlemen ... will be in attendance. There
> are some of almost every trade, and a good many useful labourers.[43]

The Italian speakers unable to find work in their given trades -- as they had been

promised by the shipping companies -- were initially prepared (going by the evidence

of the extant letters) to work at anything and their first few weeks in the Colony were

characterised by a high degree of mobility:[44] some found work as shepherds, earning a

reputation as sober, able and very industrious. Language difficulties were, however,

their greatest barrier to employment, as well as their high rates of illiteracy. The

competition for jobs fostered friction between the ethnic groups and complaints that

English speakers too often gave work to their own. The most discriminated against

were the Chinese whose strange language and customs isolated them from the rest of

the community. As conflicts mounted, the authorities, revealing a bias which would

later find expression in the White Australia Policy, imposed their infamous immigration

tax to help reduce the Chinese numbers.[45] There was an interesting consequence of

this impost which historians have yet to note. The Italian speakers, even before their

settlement among the English at Jim Crow, learned in this way that they would be

more readily accepted into Anglo-Celtic Australia than some other immigrant groups --

a factor which may have been crucial to their subsequent success in accommodating to

prevailing Anglo-Celtic expectations -- while at the same time maintaining important

links with their past.

Despite the help of various people and the appointment of a Swiss diplomatic

representative in 1857, the Italian speakers in Melbourne eventually tired of the

continual hunt for work and decided to head for the goldfields. Giovan Scascighini

from Minusio in Ticino, for example, was advised that his lack of English skills would

prevent him ever finding work in Melbourne.[46] He was reminded of Brocchi's

warning:

> **non date poi ascolto a quei broglioni maledetti, che prometton 25 a 30 franchi al giorno a qualunque sorta d'operai: questo nol credete, perchè noi siamo partiti con quella fiducia di lavorare del nostro mestiere, ma invece ci tocca adoperare la zappa e il zappone, e lavorare alle miniere.[47]**

The immigrants departed for the goldfields in a weary, hungry and (after several

wasted weeks or months) impoverished state, their disappointment reinforcing the

disillusionment experienced during the voyage.

The men travelled to Jim Crow in much the same manner as they had travelled

to the ports -- in small groups comprising friends and family. Since most had little

money, they chose to walk, hoping to arrive within a few days. The Jim Crow

Diggings were located in both the Castlemaine and Bendigo districts which were

known collectively as the Mount Alexander Goldfields. The earliest known map of the

road to the area was a hand drawn one, published and circulated in the early days of

the gold rush (ref. figure 7). It did not feature any settlement at Daylesford, the only

place mentioned being the station of Edward Parker, the Protector of Aborigines, near

Mt Franklin. It is possible the Italian speakers felt sympathy for Australia's natives

who had been dispossessed of their land: like the aborigines, they too had been forced

to surrender the land to which they felt closely bonded. The route to the goldfields

took the travellers coming from Melbourne through the Black Forest from Gisborne to

(what later became) Glenlyon. On the Daylesford to Malmsbury road seventeen hotels

vied for the custom of the passerby. One English speaker, making the journey at the

same time as the Italians and Ticinesi, recorded the following in his diary in April 1857:

> The first night we stopped in Keilor and had the misfortune to put up at
> a house infested with bugs. My dear wife getting no rest that night.
> The next night stopped at Carlsruhe. We were more fortunate and got
> very good accommodation. Weather very cold frosty. On the
> following night camped out on the banks of the 'Loddon'. Rather
> rough country to travel. Next day my wife walked most of the time,
> being afraid to ride as we had some nasty side-lings.[48]

Also to be recalled is Stefano Pozzi's description of his tedious and uncomfortable

journey. Nearing the goldfields, the travellers were, however, hopeful that here, at

last, their dreams of wealth would be fulfilled.

The journey from their villages to the mines at Jim Crow had taken the Italian

speakers almost 200 days. Within that time they had suffered the pain of leaving their

villages, had felt alienated and afraid and had undergone enormous discomfort and

emotional strain. They had been forced to adapt to new languages and cultures and to

question their traditional values. In retrospect, the Italian speakers would view their

journey to Australia as a testing ground which had prepared them for a future life in

Australia. Though changed in many ways, the immigrants had not turned their backs

on traditional ways but, rather, found, in their adapted forms, a vehicle for survival and even prosperity. Understandably, these were important goals for the Italian-speaking families featured in the following chapter, whose pioneer members arrived in Australia during the peak year of 1854.

CHAPTER FOUR : FAMILIES 1854

Quanchi

Tomasetti

Lafranchi

Perini

Righetti

QUANCHI

Among the Italian-speaking settlers who made their way to Jim Crow in the peak year of 1854 was Vincenzo Quanchi, who paved the way for the subsequent emigration of other family members to the Daylesford area.

Vincenzo Gaudenzio Quanchi was born on 4 January 1809 in Maggia, a village lying at the heart of the Valle Maggia in Ticino (ref. figure 4). Watched over by his father Giovan Pietro Quanchi, he grew to manhood, took up employment as a tailor, married and produced a family. His wife Serafina Bonetti bore seven children: Maria in 1835, Alessandro in 1841, Maddalena in 1843, Cesare Geronimo in 1845, Giovanni Pietro in 1847, Filomena Benedetta in 1849 and Cesare Maurizio in 1852.[1] Like other villages in the valley, Maggia supported its people through its agriculture and seasonal work found in neighbouring regions: in 1850 over four per cent of the population worked outside Maggia.[2] During the years of devastating poverty in the 1850s, fathers and sons of struggling families sought escape in the goldfields of North America and Australia: the former destination had been popular since 1843 but the latter became so only after 1854.[3] In 1851, Giovanni Giovannini, a local stonemason, departed for the Colony of Victoria with his friend Giovanni Pala from Cevio (ref. figure 4). Unaware of the gold finds at the time of their departure, the men soon joined the waves of adventurers heading for the mines of Jim Crow where fortunes were reportedly being made. Their reports of the new land soon aroused the enthusiasm of the Maggesi (natives of Maggia), who eagerly purchased passages to Australia. Though more

people would eventually emigrate to America -- over 42 per cent of the population between 1843 and 1873 -- by 1869, 51 Maggesi, or eight per cent of the population, would come to Australia.[4] Vincenzo Quanchi, whose tailoring business had begun to fail in those years, decided to join the throng in 1854.

While peasant farmers were the greatest victims of the 1850s economic upheaval, tradespeople also found themselves in severe economic difficulty: a dwindling population resulting from the mass emigration had left shop owners without clientele or with customers too poor to pay their bills. Like the neglected and unproductive farms, many stores were closed and their owners declared bankrupt. Vincenzo Quanchi, facing financial ruin at 45 years of age, hoped that Australia would provide an outlet for his tailor skills -- as the shipping companies had promised it would. Since the majority of emigrating Maggesi were in their early teens[5] he was also, perhaps, confident that his age would prove an asset in the business world. In 1854, Vincenzo borrowed 1,000 francs from the Maggia council which, like the councils of Giumaglio and Someo, had agreed to sponsor the emigration as a means of solving its economic and social problems.[6] Thirty thousand francs were made available that year, enabling 28 travellers to Australia and California to make the journey.[7]

While it is not clear which ship Vincenzo travelled aboard to Australia in 1854, his journey was almost certainly one of extreme discomfort and boredom: German ships offering a cheaper but poorer standard of service were by this time attracting the bulk of Italian-speaking travellers. Arriving in Melbourne, Vincenzo possibly spent some time seeking a tailoring position but, having little success (perhaps due to

language difficulties), eventually decided to join his compatriots heading for the Jim Crow mines. His Maggesi travel companions, the majority of whom were farmers or stonecutters and stonemasons also seeking work in their trades,[8] faced similar difficulties and had become resigned to a future in mining. The disillusionment experienced during the voyage (see The Journey) thus became a reality of the early months of settlement and the newcomers felt the trap of poverty and debt closing tighter about them.

With their arrival on the goldfields came new hopes, however, and the men quickly established themselves in temporary accommodation and began their search for gold. Despite his lack of mining experience, Vincenzo may have had some early success, for only one year later his son Alessandro left Maggia to join him. Alessandro's departure from his home at only thirteen years reveals how quickly the cloak of adulthood fell upon peasant shoulders; it was not uncommon for children of four and five years to be responsible for younger family members and to work side-by-side with the adults. In giving up her son, however, Serafina may not have realised the permanency of this decision, for the emigrants of the past had almost always returned. Alessandro departed for Australia aboard the *Adele* in May 1855 accompanied by his two cousins Abbondio and Lorenzo Quanchi, young men of sixteen and seventeen years. Together they had contracted with German shipping agents to travel overland to Hamburg then on to Antwerp for their departure, this part of their journey being expected to last 66 days. Though they had paid only the comparatively low sum of 500 francs for their passages[9] (which was 50 francs more than they had originally

contracted to pay) the journey became one of much greater hardship than they had anticipated.

The chief complaint among passengers on the *Adele* was the poor standard of food, which fell far short of the terms of the travel agreements. For breakfast the passengers had expected to receive coffee, bread and sugar; for lunch, stew, bread, meat and vegetables and for dinner, bread, meat and soup. What they received instead was coffee and less than six ounces of bread, which was supposed to last all day; for lunch a tiny amount of stew and one and a half ounces of bread and for dinner putrid soup. On one occasion, they were served horse meat so inedible that it had to be thrown overboard. As the passengers grew thin and ill and began to riot, the captain threatened to take the most troublesome to Brazil to be hanged. This subdued the dispute but did not lessen the tension, which persisted throughout the journey.[10] The passengers were continually seasick as well as frightened by storms and by a fire in the galley. Together with another seven Maggesi -- Felise Cheda, Maurizio Stocchini, Tobia Bonetti, Antonio Negranti, Domenico Bonetti (the two Bonettis were possibly related to Vincenzo's wife Serafina Bonetti) and Giacomo and Martino Garzoli -- the Quanchis suffered 110 days of fear and torment. Finally, when it berthed at Melbourne on 1 November, the *Adele* released to the soil 176 Ticinesi, many of whom had become less trusting in their fellow man and of a successful life in Australia.

Prior to their departure, the Quanchi boys had each borrowed 660 francs from the Maggia council (Alessandro's youth apparently not being of concern to the government officials)[11] which, upon their arrival, left them with less than 160 francs

and an urgency to find employment. Lorenzo, whose brother Gioachino had emigrated to Australia two years earlier leaving behind a wife and four children, was a carpenter and keen to find work in his trade. Alessandro and Abbondio were both farmers and intent on securing labouring jobs in Melbourne. The cousins remained in Melbourne for nineteen days, arguing about where they should go and what they should do, but eventually decided to head for Jim Crow. The men who had accompanied them on the voyage each went their separate ways: the Bonettis spent some time mining but returned to Ticino by 1858; Stocchini went to Castlemaine; Negranti died in Victoria in 1868 and Martino Garzoli returned to Ticino by 1857.[12] The fate of the others has not been documented.

At the Jim Crow mines the Quanchis met up with Alessandro's father Vincenzo. Though little documentary evidence remains of Vincenzo's early activities in Australia a letter, written by Domenico Bonetti in 1855, indicates that he was living in the area of the Jim Crow mines: the day after his arrival in Australia, and prior to his departure for Jim Crow, Bonetti had requested that all mail be sent to him at *'La dressa di Vincenzo'* (The address of Vincenzo).[13] Bonetti's use of the word *dressa* suggests an early anglicisation of the Italian language[14] (the Italian word for address being *indirizzo*) in a process which thus introduced his family in Ticino to such changes. Revealing the whereabouts of his travel companions, the letter, like those of the Pozzis, served as a vehicle of information for families in Maggia, increasing the dependency of the illiterate settlers upon the literate and thereby possibly exacerbating existing social divisions between the Italian speakers. After meeting up with Vincenzo, the three Quanchis worked at various mining sites within a 60 kilometre radius south

of Daylesford: these centres included Linton, Piggoreet, Smythesdale, Happy Valley and Allendale (ref. figure 6). It would seem that Vincenzo was mining with less success by this stage since, on 30 January 1857, he was only able to send his wife the small sum of four pounds.[15] In another of the informal support networks established by the immigrants Pietro Leoni, who was returning to Ticino after three years in the Colony, carried money on behalf of his friends: arrangements such as this revealed the enormous trust which existed among the immigrants, reflecting not only the close bonds of the old village life but also the exigencies of the new colonial existence.

For Serafina Quanchi, whose husband had been three years in the Colony, four pounds offered little consolation for the dislocation of her family. Nor did it alleviate the misery of her existence since his departure: in 1859 the Quanchis' ten-year-old daughter Benedetta had died and, though the cause of her death has not been documented, the cause may have been malnourishment and poor sanitation in the villages of the Valle Maggia, which contributed to the spread of many childhood diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, convulsions, dysentery and diarrhoea. Smallpox, against which many doctors and parents neglected to vaccinate, was also common. The only hospital for the valley was located at Locarno, denying many of the peasants adequate medical care.[16] Already, in 1853, the Quanchis' six-year-old son Piero had also died. While poverty and hunger might have prompted Vincenzo's decision to emigrate to Australia, the continued suffering of his family perhaps hastened his return. By 1874 he was back in Maggia. His nephew Gioachino had also returned by 1861 but his son Alessandro remained in Australia.[17]

By 1862, Alessandro was mining at Lucky Womans, a small goldfield near Piggoreet. On 23 December of that year he married Helen Watson which, while not the first such outmarriage (the Irish usually being preferred) is a rare example of marrying outside the Catholic community. Helen Watson was an English woman then living in Buninyong (ref. figure 6). She had emigrated to Australia with her parents at four years of age, had grown up in the large port town of Geelong and married one Mr Samuel Boldner. Settling in Daylesford, where business dealings had narrowed the divide between English and Italian-speaking communities, Helen had left her husband for an Italian miner named Brambilla. Obtaining work at the Manchester Hotel in Daylesford (then owned by an Italian Joseph Basili) (ref. figure 9) as a barmaid, housemaid and dancing girl, she had later met and married Alessandro Quanchi. While Alessandro might not have been aware that his marriage was bigamous, he did know that his wife was non-Catholic, the couple marrying at the Buninyong Church of England. The traditional expectation that he would marry from within his own or a nearby village was not, therefore, met and (foreshadowing the later development of a multi-cultural nation) he became one of the few Italian speakers to marry across both ethnic and religious boundaries.

Following their (illegal) marriage, Alessandro and Helen settled at Springdallah, two kilometres south of Piggoreet, where Helen gave birth to a first child, whose arrival they did not register. On 21 September 1864, having never charged her with bigamy, Boldner obtained a decree which dissolved his marriage to Helen. Later Alessandro and Helen produced a second child, whom they named Serafina after her paternal grandmother, and whose birth they did register. The certificate described

Alessandro as a 24-year-old miner, he possibly having found employment on the Springdallah mine, one of the more successful then operating in the Piggoreet region. Originally settled in 1844 and named 'constant waters' by the aborigines, Piggoreet had increased in size and population after the gold boom and had been improved with bridges, roads and footpaths. Alessandro and Helen remained in the area all their lives, raising another five children, two of whom were given Italian names. Following the birth of Serafina came George Alexander, born in 1868, Valentino in 1871, Edward Vincent in 1873, Eliza Maddalena in 1877 and Elizabeth Emma in 1880 -- the mixture of their different ethnic backgrounds finding expression in the naming of their children.

Alessandro's mining activities remained the family's chief form of financial support. On 31 October 1870, together with a group of Italian speakers including his cousins Lorenzo and Abbondio, he leased an alluvial tenement of around three hectares from the Table Land Co-operative Company at Piggoreet.[18] The remaining partners -- Luigi Campigli, Antonio Bonetti, Maurizio Martinelli, and Fedele Lafranchi -- were all from Maggia or nearby villages and reflected the close village ties which had kept the group together after sixteen years in the Colony. One year later, on July 8, the group obtained water rights to sluice at Piggoreet, possibly working the diggings which they had mined eight months before. Apart from his co-operation with Alessandro in this venture, little is known of Abbondio Quanchi. He had joined the mining partnership (which then excluded Alessandro) in 1869 when it leased almost two hectares of a mining tenement from the William Tell General Mining company. (The name William Tell would point to Swiss owners and indicate that some Italian speakers grew sufficiently wealthy for such ventures.) This lease did not prove profitable, however,

and only permitted the men to buy into the 1870 venture. After some time Abbondio may have returned to Maggia or it is possible that he died in Australia. He may also have emigrated to the goldfields of California where other members of his family had gone. More is known of Lorenzo, who spent a lifetime as a miner. After his arrival at Jim Crow and his transfer to various mining sites, he eventually settled at Happy Valley. Like Alessandro, he married an English girl, who had emigrated from London with her parents. Jane Watson (apparently no relation to Helen Watson) gave birth to ten children, none of whom were given Italian names -- the decision to assign only Anglo-Celtic names perhaps pointing to a more conscious decision, on the part of Lorenzo, to assimilate than had been the case with Alessandro Quanchi.

At the same time, Alessandro and Lorenzo both anglicised their own names, making them more readable and pronounceable to the wider community. By the late 1860s Lorenzo's name had been changed to Lawrence and Alessandro to Alexander. Earlier, Alessandro's name had appeared as Alexandro on the German ship's passenger list and as Alexandre during his English wife's divorce proceedings. His surname was also wrongly spelt as Quancki -- which encouraged a correct pronunciation among English speakers.[19] By the end of the twentieth century, the spelling of the surname had been corrected at the expense of the pronunciation: Australians, including the family's descendants, pronounced the name Quanchi with a 'ch'. This reflected not only the lessening importance of the Italian language through the generations of the family but also the anglicisation of their Swiss-Italian identity with the passage of time.

Around the time of the mining partnership at Piggoreet, Alessandro's sister Maddalena, who had remained in Ticino, decided to emigrate to Australia.[20] She had endured many years of hardship since her father's and brother's departure, taking on the burden of extra work and responsibility. By the time her father may have returned to Maggia, in 1872, Maddalena was 29 years old and faced with the prospect of lifelong spinsterhood. The male population in her village had fallen dramatically during the years of mass emigration -- from an even gender balance of 318 women to 315 men in 1850, to an imbalanced one of 319 women to 153 men in 1870.[21] The social impact of the 1850s exodus was thus still being felt two decades on. While other factors may have prompted Maddalena's decision to leave her home, there is little doubt that she was seeking financial and emotional security. She departed from Switzerland in the company of two females: Venanzia Debernardi and Margherita Filippini. The three women boarded the *Somersetshire*, which departed from England and arrived at the Port of Melbourne two months later.[22]

Upon her arrival at Melbourne, Maddalena probably went first to live with her brother Alessandro, at Piggoreet. By 1874 she had found employment at the nearby Leoni property at Strangeways from where she was introduced to and courted by Giacomo Sartori, then a resident of Yandoit (ref. figure 8). Giacomo was one of nine children born to Carlo and Anna Maria Sartori in Giumaglio. His father had emigrated to Australia with his son Pietro in 1854 aboard the *Mentor*, while Giacomo and another son Nazzaro had emigrated in 1858 on the *Monsoon*.[23] The family had settled at Yandoit where Carlo became a farmer and vigneron. Maddalena and Giacomo were married on 22 July 1874 at St Mary's Catholic Church at Castlemaine, the certificate

describing each of them as general servants and Giacomo's father as a squatter.[24] Maddalena understated her age by six years, perhaps to keep the secret of her advancing years from her husband. The wedding service was celebrated by Fr Nicholas Bassetto, who had recently arrived in the Daylesford area; Bassetto's appointment, along with that of another Italian speaker, Fr Barsanti, was a recognition of the growing size and stability of the Swiss and Italian populations in the 1870s (see Tomasetti section).

In the same year as her marriage to Giacomo, Maddalena learned that her father, aged 65, had died. She and Giacomo were then living in Yandoit in a home Giacomo's brother Nazzaro had built in 1864 (ref. figure 12).[25] Named *Locarno*, after the Ticinese city near Maggia, it was a two-storey stone structure which Giacomo, a stonemason by trade, may also have helped build. Many Italian speakers, finding the area rich in good building stone, had constructed their homes in the traditional manner of the peasantry (see chapter Home and Family); well adapted to the alpine climate (which can be hot in summer), these homes were both cool in Yandoit's summer and, if properly heated, warm in its winter. The home was originally planned for a site opposite Carlo Sartori's land where a hole was dug for the cellar. When it was later decided to position the home a few metres away, the home left by the excavations was a reminder to later generations of their forebears' former presence.[26]

The two-storey home,[27] which was erected in sandstone in a style typically seen in Ticino, comprised a living area downstairs and bedrooms upstairs. The walls were made from rough and irregularly sized stones which were laid horizontally to give the

building strength, and cemented together with a mud and lime or clay mortar. (External rendering was a later addition, with carefully incised lines giving the impression of even sized blocks.) The house was also given a cantilever balcony which was later removed. The front door, like that of the Morganti home, (cf. earlier section) had a transom window to provide additional light and the interior walls were thickly constructed to help support the roof. The stone-lined cellar, where the family kept its food supplies and wine, was entered via an external staircase to the left of the house and lit by a small window; two 2,700-litre and several smaller wine barrels were stored on elevated sections to one side of the small room. The cellar floor sloped down to a central hole where rain water could collect and be pumped away. Also similar to the Morganti home, protruding building blocks at the rear of the house allowed for future extension work should the family grow, thus translating Lombard peasant building practice[28] (ref. figure 14). The cooking area was external to the house where, on an open fire, food was prepared and then carried inside; such kitchens were common in the nineteenth century and avoided the risk of damage to the house by fire. A dairy made from saplings and mud lay to the rear of the home in a style of building then common in Europe; it was similar to but stronger than the 'wattle-and-daub' constructions which had become popular among the early settlers. Striving to make the property self-sufficient, other buildings which served the family's needs included several timber workshops and a piggery.

Also important to their aim of self-sufficiency was a large and fit work-force which, in the tradition of their peasant ancestors, was provided by the children. Maddalena gave birth to her first child Mary the year after her marriage. A second

child James was born in 1878, in the same year that Giacomo's brother Nazzaro married Charlotte Rachinger of Hepburn, who would eventually bear him eight children.[29] Maddalena gave birth to a second daughter Doloretta in 1879, which may also have been about the time that the family decided to move from *Locarno* and build a home of their own. Land was purchased by one G. Sartori, possibly Giacomo, on 19 October 1880 on a site directly beside *Locarno* and therefore close to the Sartori clan.[30] The Sartoris produced a fourth child Celestino in 1881, followed by Genoveffa in 1883, Elvezia in 1884, Delfina in 1886 and Elena in 1889.

Despite the work required of them about the house and farm, the children would have had a good life among the large Italian-speaking community at Yandoit. Their grandfather Carlo lived close by (until he returned to Ticino in the 1880s) as did their uncle and many other Italian-speaking families who had moved into the district. Their neighbours included the Gervasonis, who had built a handsome two-storey house, the Tognolinis, the Milesis, the Giupponis, the Invernizzis, the Pedrinis and the Minottis. One of the best-known families was, however, the Righettis (not to be confused with the Righettis who lived in Hepburn and who appear again in a later chapter) who had established a large and prosperous dairying business in Yandoit. Battista Righetti had emigrated to Australia from Someo in 1855, and in 1866 had married Elisabetta Perinoni whose family had also emigrated from Someo. Indicative again of the early age at which peasant children accepted adulthood, Elisabetta had married at thirteen years of age and at fourteen produced the first of her fifteen children.

The Righettis had settled in Yandoit after Battista's early success in the mines.[31] At first they had been content to live in a small hut while stonemasons were hired to construct a barn -- the buildings for production being more important than those which made their lives comfortable. The barn was sited into the side of a sloping hill using dry-packed stones, a method of building common in Ticino where structures were often 'built of stone packed one above the other with no mortar or other building substance'.[32] The barn was built on three levels -- made easier by the placement into the hill -- the first housing the animals and including the milking sheds, the second storing the hay and, above this, a loft. Both the inner and outer walls were covered in a limestone stucco for added strength and the floors were supported by large wooden beams. A number of construction features served the purposes of the barn, including doors which could be opened and closed when drying hay. The 'cooked' hay, which had been heated on rods, was forked down elevator shutes to the animals. Some of the windows were covered by wooden shutters, a typically Italian adaptation. After they had built the barn, the Righettis constructed a stone dairy with a steep gable roof.[33] With the help of his wife and children, thirteen of whom were girls, Battista established a large dairy and steam-operated butter factory. In the days before hand-separators, much of the work was done by the eldest daughters but, at various times, the family also employed a number of Italian-speaking men (up to 60 or 70 over the years); often they were paid in food and lodging (where they all slept is anyone's guess) rather than money, such arrangements being common to pre-capitalist societies. Examples of similar cashless economies will emerge with later families.

As the business grew and it became necessary to acquire additional milk for processing, local farmers, like the Sartoris, contributed their produce to the Righetti farm. *Elvezia*, a butter named after a family member, won prizes in Melbourne and markets overseas.[34] Eventually the Righetti family moved into a new home built with stone from its own local quarry. This home was extended in the 1880s with the addition of a new two-storey section but, unlike the earlier house which had been constructed from irregularly shaped stones in a style similar to *Locarno*, this section comprised large, evenly sized sandstone blocks. It also incorporated decorative pillars, elegant pressed iron ceilings and wrought ironwork on the balcony, making a shift away from the purely functional peasant home to one more telling of the Righettis' greater financial security. The ground floor of the home comprised a three-roomed living and cooking area, while upstairs were five bedrooms. In another outward show of the family's increased wealth, land was endowed to the Yandoit community for the erection of a Catholic Church (which Battista is also believed to have helped design and build).[35] Several Italian-speaking families donated land for similar purposes, as will be seen in later chapters.

Despite the prosperity of their farm, the Righettis pursued a self-sufficient life-style similar to the Sartoris. Perhaps conscious of their recent escape from poverty, they planted crops and orchards and erected workshops for food preparation and building repairs. The similar life-style of the Italian speakers at Yandoit led to a sharing of interests and leisure patterns, one of the more popular relaxation activities being *bocce*, an Italian form of bowls traditionally played on a sand, clay or grass surface, with balls made from metal, wood or stone. Examples of hand crafted

wooden balls have survived to the present century,[36] indicating that the peasants adapted traditional wood carving skills to this purpose (see chapter Home and Family). Carved from local hard woods and rasped down until smooth, *bocce* balls became the property of many families as did a grass *bocce* pitch. Matches between families were regular occasions and an opportunity for Italian-speaking families to come together. Locarno Road, which these village dwellers had come to identify as the area of the Sartori home, was one popular venue.[37]

While all this contributed to Maddalena reportedly having a stable and happy life, things had not been so good for her brother Alessandro, who had experienced financial difficulty. In 1870 the mine shafts around Piggoreet had swamped with water causing him to leave the area and move to Derwent Jacks near Linton.[38] In 1880, he had been fined two shillings and sixpence for not sending one of his children to school,[39] apparently -- in the tradition of agrarian communities -- keeping him home to help with the family income. In 1885 the family had moved to Allendale following another big gold rush but, there too, wealth had eluded them. Alessandro possibly saw little of his sister Maddalena during these years except when occasions, such as the death of her husband Giacomo and eldest daughter in October 1891, brought them together. Mary succumbed to influenza at sixteen years of age, dying just four days before her father: while escaping the poverty of Ticino had meant greater financial security, the immigrants had remained the victims of nineteenth-century medical ignorance. After nearly 20 years in the Colony Maddalena was thus left a widow with seven children aged between two and thirteen to raise. Because their extended family encouraged its members to understand and be able to take over the roles and

responsibilities of one another, however, the house and farm were able to be maintained as before, this 'peasant' survival mechanism serving equally well in the Australian setting. Maddalena ran the farm with the assistance of her older children while the younger offspring cared for the toddlers. In many families of the time the number of offspring was so large that the children ranged in ages over 30 years -- the Righettis being one example -- with someone always free to lend a helping hand.

While the death of Giacomo had altered the pattern of Maddalena's life, times had changed in other respects for the Righettis. After prospering for many decades with their steam-operated butter factory, the arrival of milk separators from the United Kingdom in the 1890s forced a decision between extending the business or bringing about its closure.[40] Battista, who was then in his 50s and had just planted over a hectare of grape-vines as a new interest, decided on the latter course.[41] Like the Sartoris, the Righettis became reliant upon their own small farm, aiming at self-sufficiency through the production of cheese, bacon, sausages and other preservable food items. Sausages, made predominantly from pork with some beef or donkey meat, had long been a cheap and nutritious winter food source of the alpine dwellers and, despite a greater range and availability of fresh meats in Australia, continued to be produced by the immigrants. Adaptation came in the form of a new type of sausage comprising both pork and beef in near equal quantities and named a *bullboar*.[42] These sausages quickly gained popularity among the Italian speakers, each family devising its own special recipe by varying the quantities of meat, home-made wine, garlic and spices added. The name *bullboar* suggests either that the sausages were introduced at a time when most Italian speakers spoke some English, or that English speakers were

encouraged to try the new food and it was they who coined the name. In either case, food was evidently a bridging mechanism between the two communities.

Another mechanism which united the Italian and English speaking communities was the acquisition of British citizenship which, as a prerequisite for the old-age pension, was sought by most immigrants as they approached the end of their lives.[43] For many, applying to be naturalised represented a final break with the homeland and a resurfacing of emotions which had been suppressed at the time of departure: guilt and regret haunted the lives of many settlers in Australia, becoming a part of the immigrant experience. Alessandro Quanchi applied for British citizenship in 1897 when he was 58 years old and just one year before his mother Serafina died at 93.[44] Remaining in Maggia was possibly only one brother or sister, the last remaining link with his past. If Alessandro had experienced guilt at leaving his homeland, it would not have been alleviated by his failure to make a financial success of his life in Australia: in 1899 he was involved in a serious mining accident which left him still unable to find work after eighteen months. When he died, it was in poor financial circumstance.[45] On 13 September 1900 Maddalena also applied for British citizenship. Though her life had been more financially secure, a severe drought in the central highlands of Victoria in 1902 brought about the loss of much topsoil from farming lands (not aided by the intense deforestation which had taken place over the past 50 years) and a drop in the productivity of her farm: a descendent of the Righetti family, who died in 1956 at 90 years of age, recalled that 'fully a foot of dirt' was lost from some properties at Yandoit.[46] But Maddalena, unlike Alessandro, may not have felt guilt at her financial

difficulties, but rather pride in the farming skills inherited from her peasant ancestors which had helped her to survive the difficult times.

Neither Alessandro nor Maddalena lived to see Victoria's next major drought in 1914. By 1905 Alessandro had moved to Allendale where he died (after 50 years in Australia) at 64 years of age from 'miner's complaint', an illness caused by dust reaching the lungs: the search for gold had thus brought new hazards into the peasants' lives. Maddalena died two years later from what her doctor (A. M. Hill of Castlemaine) described as Bright's Disease and Syncope Indefinita, or fainting spells.[47] She was buried in the Roman Catholic section of the Franklinford cemetery while Alessandro was interred as a Methodist at Creswick; Alessandro's decision twice to change his religion perhaps reflected the young age at which he had arrived in Australia and his ability to divest himself more easily of maternal and cultural ties. Whatever the explanation, the result was that such decisions suggest an active process of accommodation into the broader (Anglo-Celtic) community.

A similar process can be seen to have been at work with Maddalena's children, all of whom settled within close proximity to Yandoit but only one of whom, Celestino, married an Italian speaker. None pursued professional careers though one grandchild became a doctor and another two economists. Alessandro's children (excluding three who had died) each moved away from the district, two becoming miners like their father and Maddalena's son James. They maintained regular contact with their aunt over the years, always returning home from their visits with a supply of home-made wine and a reminder of the traditions which their forebears had brought to

Australia. Of Lorenzo's ten children, one died at a young age, none married Italian speakers and they all moved away from the area of their birth.[48] Only one of the Righetti girls ever married, although intermarriage between the Italian-speaking families of Yandoit was relatively common, resulting in a pool of genetic traits which were passed from the Europeans to their Australian descendants (including a condition sometimes known as 'Mediterranean back' in which one of the spinal vertebrae is missing) and which, at the end of the twentieth century, a descendant of the Righettis believed still existed in the family.[49]

The Quanchi experience of coming to Australia had been different from that of the families featured earlier, members of whom had arrived in the early 1850s. Vincenzo, his son and his nephews had arrived during the peak years of Ticinese emigration to Australia and, in so doing, had entered a large and growing community of Italian speakers who were both looking for work in Melbourne and heading for the Jim Crow goldfields. They had found themselves part of a large support network which made their difficult and lonely lives a little easier: those going to the mines were able to join partnerships or travel from town to town where they knew other compatriots would be; friends could inform each other of new gold strikes, offer temporary accommodation or tell about families in Ticino. When Maddalena Quanchi arrived in Australia in the 1870s she settled into a large Italian-speaking community at Yandoit where her own language was spoken and traditional games like *bocce* were played. All about the Jim Crow district Italian speakers were forming communities, often dominated by members of their own villages or regions of the Valle Maggia. Integration into an Australian way of life had become evident in the choice of marriage

partners and in the naming of children but the immigrants, as this section has shown, had also maintained a Swiss-Italian culture from which they drew strength. This dual theme emerges again in the following section, which introduces the Tomasetti family.

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TOMASETTI

Like Vincenzo Quanchi, Gaetano Tomasetti was another of the pioneer Ticinesi who made his way to Australia in the peak year of 1854. Also from the Valle Maggia, Gaetano grew to adulthood in the village of Avegno, situated a few kilometres from Locarno. Like many other small villages of the region, Avegno, with just 399 inhabitants[1], was badly affected by the economic and political turmoil of the 1850s. Previously, it had been a relatively self-sufficient village with only three per cent of its men and women seeking seasonal work in nearby regions to supplement their incomes.[2] By the mid-1850s, however, the village had grown unable to sustain its population, famine threatened and the people began to look to the goldfields of America and Australia for solutions to their misery. Avegno's beauty -- 'with its church tower, narrow irregular street paved with cobble stones and its slate roofs covered with more'[3] -- belied the poverty and suffering of its people. Many families, including the Bianchis, Bizzinis, Bondiettis, Crispinis, Fantonis, Nicolas, Pedrottis, Ramazzinas, Storias and Tomasettis, lost sons and fathers to the goldfields in a period of emigration which had by 1860 reduced Avegno's population by nine per cent.[4] While Avegno would never suffer the losses of some villages (such as Vincenzo Quanchi's village of Maggia, which, it will be recalled, lost almost 50 per cent between 1843 and 1873), the impact of emigration, with its accompanying social upheaval, was nevertheless great. By the mid-1870s, more than fourteen per cent of the population had departed for Australia or America.[5] Most were men desperate to leave their homeland in search of better opportunities; others were lured by the persuasive

advertising campaigns of the travel agents. Gaetano Tomasetti and two other members of his family were among those who departed for Australia in the mid 1850s.

Gaetano Tomasetti was born on 7 January 1831,[6] his father Gaetano Antonio recording his arrival in a birthday book which became a treasured relic of the family's descendants in Australia. His two travel companions were Battista and Giovan Tomasetti, both of whom had also been named after their fathers, came from different branches of the family and may have been his cousins. At the time of their departure, the youngest, Battista was nineteen and a carpenter, Giovan was 20 and a stonecutter and Gaetano, also a stonecutter, was 23. Unable to make a living from their trades, the boys had applied for loans from the Avegno council and, being successful, made the final arrangements for their journey to Australia. Like most citizens, they had each borrowed 1,000 francs in council loans,[7] an indication of the extent of poverty within the village and the lack of wealthy citizens able to advance private loans. Those departing for Australia were mostly farmers aged between fifteen and 24 years, and all were male. Several were skilled stonecutters or stonemasons.[8] Gaetano's departure brought an end to his line of the Tomasetti name in the village, his father having died some time previously.

Though the three boys all departed from Avegno some time after July 1854, it is possible they did not sail together to Australia.[9] Gaetano was a passenger aboard the *Mindora* which departed from Liverpool and arrived in Melbourne on 23 October 1854; two more Ticinesi were recorded aboard this vessel but, as the ship's passenger list has since been lost or destroyed, it is impossible to know their identity.[10] A family

descendant has suggested that Battista and Giovan may have travelled to Australia aboard the *Singapore*, in which case they departed from Hamburg on 2 August 1854 and arrived on 22 October 1854, just one day before Gaetano.[11] No records remain of the boys' early years in Australia though it is likely they looked for skilled work in Melbourne within the booming building industry. Family history suggests that Gaetano may have found employment as a stonemason on Scots Church in Collins Street but, as the city's Presbyterian churches were mostly built in the 1840s and again in 1873, it is more likely that he was working on St Patrick's Cathedral which was built between 1850 and 1858.[12] The Italian speakers had quickly earned a reputation for their excellent stone working skills and were sought after on several major construction sites. Though language difficulties prevented some men securing work, for others the workplace allowed a recognition of their talents, reinforcing positive notions about their 'traditional' culture and laying the groundwork for future integration into an Australian setting.

Gaetano, Battista and Giovan possibly departed together from Melbourne and were in time for one of the biggest gold strikes which occurred in the Daylesford area: by March 1856, the finds at Deep Creek near Eganstown (beyond Egan's Run) were attracting many thousands of hopeful miners. Among those who arrived to mine the gold were staff from the Melbourne Botanical Gardens who downed their rakes and hoes to take up mining tools: many permanent settlers thus joined with the immigrants in abandoning jobs and risking their futures on the goldfields. Gaetano Tomasetti may have mined at Deep Creek or at other sites with the Sartori family (possibly a different family from that at Yandoit) and there is a strong likelihood that he and Sartori also

had an association with a Mr Tunzi from Lodano in Ticino.[13] By the end of the decade gold finds were still occurring in the Deep Creek area, however, the returns had grown weaker and he may have moved on to other fields or had begun to settle the land. Maurizio Morganti, whose life was described earlier, (see Morganti section) came to the area around 1862 and it was not long before he was also joined by Gaetano Tomasetti.

From 1863, Gaetano is known to have lived six to eight kilometres along the Daylesford to Hepburn road in an area which was becoming increasingly popular with permanent settlers.[14] Many had availed themselves of the recent government arrangements which made land available on more favourable terms to miners wishing to settle. By 1863, blocks averaging a half hectare were being taken up around Mt Prospect (opposite Egan's Corinella Station) in an area where Gaetano was eventually to settle. Gaetano had been earning extra income by working on various local building sites where the skills of Italian speakers were again sought. It is possible he worked on the Deep Creek Bridge in 1864, and on St Peter's Church in Daylesford which was completed in May 1865. He had also retained his mining interests and may have been working a block at Mt Prospect (ref. figure 13) with Giovanni Lafranchi from Coglio.[15] Lafranchi later split with Tomasetti and in June 1865 applied for a licence to occupy land measuring just over seven hectares one kilometre past the Eganstown Cemetery (on the left-hand side before reaching the Mt Prospect crossroads).[16] By September of that year, Gaetano had been in contact with the Department of Lands and Survey and was paying four pounds annual rent on Lafranchi's land. By then he had possibly repaid his debt to the Avegno council for, not long after, he also applied to the

Department of Lands and Survey in Melbourne to purchase the land.[17] Like many of his compatriots, who had sought security in land ownership, he was attracted by the cheaper land prices of the area. According to the Lands Department, however, his new land was not of good quality, described, as 'poor soil, scrubby'.[18] The Italian speakers, with their alpine farming skills, were not deterred by the infertile soils and settled the area in large numbers.

The next available documentation of Gaetano's life occurs with his marriage certificate, dated 10 April 1866, and registered at St Peter's Catholic Church in Daylesford. The bride Kate Clooney was Irish and, at 25 years of age, ten years Gaetano's junior. If Kate was typical of the Irish immigrants who had come to Australia during the gold rush, she was sympathetic towards the Italian speakers, not only because of the common religion but also having come from a similar situation of poverty and hunger. During the 1840s, as is well known, Ireland had lost half its potato crop due to disease. The starvation which followed wiped out enormous numbers of its population and, among the survivors, were many emigrants who left their homeland for Australia. Between 1841 and 1850 around 23,000 Irish were shipped to the Australian colonies,[19] many of whom were orphaned girls or single women escaping overcrowded workhouses or the risk of turning to prostitution. On arrival in Australia, they were housed in immigration depots and then sent to pre-arranged jobs or out to seek work. Kate, the daughter of a Kilkenny carpenter, appears to have arrived in Australia on 21 February 1855 aboard the *Marchioness of Salisbury,* which docked at Geelong.[20] Foreshadowing the closely-knit future lives of

the Irish and Italian speakers, the *Europa* from Hamburg docked in the Colony on the same day carrying 85 Ticinesi.[21]

There is no recorded evidence of where Kate was living when she first arrived in Australia though she may have found work as a servant with a Geelong family named Clark.[22] She was still a servant-girl at the time of her marriage and her husband a gold miner. Kate and Gaetano's marriage, which was celebrated at the Catholic chapel in Deep Creek (a building completed only one year earlier) was one of many which united Irish and the Italian-speaking settlers. It has already been noted in previous chapters that few Italian-speaking women seeking husbands arrived in Australia during the years of the gold rush, making it difficult for Italian-speaking men to find suitable wives. Village tradition directed that young people married from within the village or, where necessary, from a nearby village or valley. Endogamy was thought to preserve the patterns of village life and maintain the size and composition of the village population. Many of the settlers in Australia strove to uphold these traditions: Stefano Pozzi returned temporarily to Giumaglio to find a wife; Battista Righetti wed a girl from his village despite her mere thirteen years; and Maurizio Morganti married the daughter of settlers from his village. Not all men could do so, however, and instead turned to Irish girls who, though of a different ethnicity, shared a similar religious and socio-economic background. Gaetano Tomasetti's marriage to Kate Clooney is one among the many examples which follow.

If the Tomasettis' first home was a typical miner's dwelling, it would have comprised vertical wooden slabs with a bark or shingle roof and unglazed windows

with shutters or hessian covers. Cooking would have been performed on an open fireplace built out from one end of a single room, while clothes would have been boiled over an outside fire.[23] The exact location of the home is not known: however, the building existed when Lafranchi applied for a licence in 1865 and may have been back from the road on the south eastern rise of the block.[24] It was not an easy life for the goldfields women -- as Kate soon discovered with the birth of her first child -- childbirth being a difficult and often dangerous procedure with no antiseptic conditions and only neighbours or a midwife to assist at the birth. Some midwives would arrive one week before the birth and remain with the new mother the three weeks following but, more often than not, the mothers were returned to their families directly after the birth. The mother's bed would sometimes be a primitive piece of hessian nailed to a sapling frame and she often had to endure conditions of extreme heat or extreme cold.[25] Kate gave birth to a daughter on 2 February 1867 and named her Mary Kate after her Irish maternal grandmother and her mother. By the following day, however, the infant was dead and was a few days later buried in the Eganstown cemetery.

That same year, Gaetano's old travel companions Battista and Giovan Tomasetti decided to return to Avegno. Several of the village's emigrants had already returned by 1866, suggesting that they had achieved some of their financial goals or were hungry for the familiarity of village life. Since both Battista and Giovan (by then in their 30s) were married to local girls within weeks or months of their arrival, it might also be possible that they had returned to participate in pre-arranged marriages. In marrying Kate, Gaetano was committing himself to a family life in Australia. By 22 March 1869, Kate had produced a son, named James after his maternal grandfather.

This child survived the birth though he was to suffer ill health in later years. While --

as with his deceased infant sister Mary Kate -- James's naming signified his Anglo-

Celtic heritage, in keeping with his dual ethnic origins, the godparents at his christening

were Pietro Cerini from Giumaglio and a family friend Honora Egan.

One year later, on 13 February 1869, on account of his bad health and his

desire to leave the Colony, Giovanni Lafranchi applied to have his seven hectares of

land transferred to Gaetano -- land which Lafranchi claimed to have improved with

100 pounds worth of fencing, building and clearing. Gaetano was issued with the

licence on 15 June 1869.[26] Two months later, on 24 August, in recognition of the

region's growing Catholic population, Bishop Gould laid the foundation stone for St

Joseph's Church at Blampied. The construction of the church, to be built on the main

road near the Mt Prospect crossroads, provided Gaetano and many of his countrymen

with the opportunity for extra work (although a number may have donated their

labour). Those who had abandoned the now exhausted mines at Deep Creek resumed

their old trades as stonemasons and stonecutters and Gaetano became part of a

working team which included Celestino and Andrea Lafranchi, brothers about whom

more will be heard later.

Because the foundation stone for the church had been placed on land adjacent

to Gaetano's land, he found that he was able to divide his time between working on the

site and clearing his own land for farming. Under the Land Act of 1869, he was also

able to mine his own property, though it is unlikely he found any sizeable quantities of

gold. This mix of activities reflected his Ticinese background and the tendency to

avoid reliance on a single source income. In June 1870, Gaetano requested the Lands Department to send him the Certificate of Rent and Survey Fees Paid in order that he might finally purchase his land. Posting his Application to Purchase on 29 August, 1870, two months later, the following Report by the Inspector was forwarded from Daylesford to Melbourne:

> I have inspected the land applied to purchase by Gaetano Tomasetti. The improvements consist of house valued at 40 pound, stockyard at eight pound. Fencing -- post and rails at 25 pound. Grubbing and clearing at 30 pound. Total 103 pound.[27]

Gaetano was also, at this time, making use of an eight hectare block one to two kilometres from the main road near Eastern Hill. Licensed to Domenico Sertoris who had arrived from Cerentino in Ticino in 1854, Gaetano had paid rent on the land since 1868.[28] It was common practice that when a group of men worked a mine together only one would apply for the licence to occupy the surrounding land. As the mining petered out, many of the licence holders passed their licences on to old partners who would use the land for farming. The second block of land which Gaetano so acquired was officially recorded as Lot 153, Parish of Bullarook, County of Talbot, and was known to him as 'the block near Eastern Hill' (ref. figure 13) -- identified by its nearness to a geological landmark, the land reflected the village experience of its owner. With his two blocks of land Gaetano was well positioned to look after the needs of his family.

While most farmers in the Eastern Hill region had bought blocks measuring six to sixteen hectares, the Italian speakers, such as Maurizio Morganti, Antonio Caligari and Carlo Giorgi, were restricted to the poorer land on its north side. Gaetano

established a small dairy farm on his property buying 70 cows in common with local farmers Cerini, Righetti, Giorgi and Lafranchi,[29] this practice, like bartering, recognising the traditions of Europe. As the men built no fences, the cows roamed freely about the paddocks and were watched on a rotation basis. The men also worked co-operatively to clear the trees from their land and grub stumps. They laboured in the evening to dig out the stones and make the trenches in which to bury them. Afterwards the men would plough the land with a common plough and a borrowed horse. In this way, the co-operative spirit of the village may be seen to have been applied in the Australian setting.

The Tomasettis' life took on a regular pattern with Kate busy child-rearing and doing domestic chores and Gaetano farming his two blocks. While he axed, grubbed, sowed and weeded his vegetables, he also kept a steady watch for any gold specks, but was always disappointed. Walking the distance between the blocks each day he was able to call in on his friends Carlo Giorgi, Filippo Cerini and Maurizio Morganti and, from his land on the main road, watch the rising stone walls of St Joseph's Church. To the community each block represented the growth and stability of their small town. In April 1871 a census of the Daylesford area, which included the Mt Prospect district, revealed a population of 18,500. Included in the census was the Tomasettis' third child Elizabeth who had been born on 10 December 1870 and christened three months later. While Kate concentrated her attention on her new baby and the ailing James, Gaetano's concerns were of a different kind. He was still waiting for the Lands Department to issue permission to buy the block on the main road near St Joseph's Church, officially known as Lot 96a. He remained confident of successfully mining

this land but, had he seen the Secretary of Mines' note that the land was not of 'any special auriferous value',[30] he might not have been so hopeful. In July 1871, just at St Joseph's Church was nearing completion, he became the new owner of this block.

Although the Italian speakers had made a significant contribution to the building of St Joseph's and made up a large proportion of the community's Roman Catholic population, they were still without an Italian-speaking parish priest by the beginning of the 1870s. Served only by the Irish clergy, they were unable to speak with someone who fully understood their spiritual needs. This situation was partly rectified in 1871 when Fr Barry, who had replaced Fr Slattery as parish priest, was assisted for one year by Fr Ottavio Barsanti, a Franciscan Missionary from Pietrasanta in Tuscany.[31] The following year Fr Barsanti was replaced by Father Nicholas Bassetto, a monk of the order of St Augustine (who celebrated the marriage between Maddalena Quanchi and Giacomo Sartori). Fr Bassetto also taught Catechism to the local children in the chapel at Deep Creek every Saturday, providing a religious education which reflected a more Italian approach to Catholicism (see Home and Family). The differences between the Irish and Italian approaches to Catholicism eventually resulted in conflict between the parish priests.

Fr Barry was unable to accept, along with other practices, Fr Bassetto's Augustinian belief in mild mortifications such as approaching the altar in bare feet.[32] Tensions increased over the following two years finally reaching a climax in 1874 when the Vicar General wrote to Fr Bassetto describing him as a 'fish out of water' and informing him that the Archbishop wished him to return to his own country. In June

1874, his salary was stopped. Father Bassetto promptly wrote a letter of protest to the Archbishop appealing against his transfer to Castlemaine and claiming that, thanks to him, the Italian and French speaking Catholics had begun coming to Easter Communion. He said that he had been treated as an inferior and that, after the use he had been put to among the foreigners and all his hard labours, he deserved more than the 'reward of exile'.[33] For the Italian-speaking community he had served, his dismissal represented a disregard for their religious needs and a lack of understanding and tolerance for their Catholic traditions: they were made to feel strangers in a country where they lived for close to 20 years. Fr Bassetto became the last of the district's Italian-speaking priests, Fr Gough arriving as his replacement in February 1875.

Meanwhile, back in September 1872, Gaetano had paid the full purchase price in annual rents on Lot 153 near Eastern Hill and was waiting for a licence to be issued from the Lands Department. Two years later, on 17 February 1874, Kate gave birth to a son, christening him with the first Italian name in the family, Celestino Patrick. The infant had possibly been named after Celestino Lafranchi who stood male sponsor at his baptism on 15 March 1874. Kate was not present at the service due to an onset of mastitis which had resulted in her transfer to the Yarra Bend Lunatic Asylum at Kew, in suburban Melbourne.[34] Mastitis was an illness suffered by many women in the early years of the Colony and developed while the mothers were adjusting to breastfeeding. When infection occurred, the women would experience an increase in temperature, sometimes to the point of delirium or death. Kate was moved by police to the asylum from a house in Dover Road, Williamstown, on 11 March 1874: it is uncertain

whether her baby was born at Kew or if Kate had left Mt Prospect three weeks earlier already ill. It is perhaps significant that the baptism took place four days after Kate was taken away, and that she was in Williamstown, a western suburb of Melbourne, rather than in her own house.

At 37 years of age, Kate was registered in the Female Case Book at the Kew Hospital as suicidal and dangerous. Her treatment, as prescribed at the hospital, was 'extras and chloral draughts' -- extras including sago, beef-tea, brandy, ale or porter, all served to patients at 11.00 am.[35] Chloral was a mixture of chlorine and alcohol used as an anaesthetic and hypnotic but its prolonged use led to a morbid condition known as chloralism. While Kate's mental imbalance resulted from a physical illness and, to a certain extent, the side-effects of her treatment, it would seem not to have been uncommon for immigrants to have ended their days in asylums. The trauma of moving to a new country, the loss of family, the economic uncertainty and the harshness of the living conditions all conspired to weaken mental stability and to confine such men and women to institutions. Kate was too ill to mind her baby in the first three months of its life and, while it is uncertain who took over its care, this task was possibly taken on by other women in the Italian-speaking community: like the men, they understood the worth of co-operation and had strong support networks.

Kate gave birth to another child in November 1875, a son named Antonio who died in infancy. She was, however, enjoying a period of better physical health and had begun dressmaking to earn some extra money. She had also taken up singing at St Joseph's Church alongside other talented parishioners in the district. 1875 was,

however, the first of several bad seasons for the farmers of the district, with the Catholic Church reporting many families not sending their children to school but keeping them home to work. Assuming that at least some of these families were Italian-speaking, the traditional agrarian community reliance on family labour was apparently active in Australia and in part responsible for the apathetic attitude to institutionalised learning. While the Tomasettis were struggling to survive a difficult year, Gaetano was himself cheered to receive the licence to occupy Lot 153 near Eastern Hill.

From this stretch of eight hectares, family records suggest that, in order to give Kate a fresh start after her illness, Gaetano may have transferred a house to the roadside of his block near St Joseph's. Timber houses in the late 1800s were often moved and reset on brick or stone foundations. Soon known as 'Tomasettis' Place', it was a simple home built close to the road and painted a stony pink colour -- perhaps an attempt to recreate the appearance of Gaetano's home in Avegno. Its front door opened directly onto a main living area with bedrooms to the right and left and a kitchen and another bedroom housed in a detached building at the rear. It had a verandah and a picket fence, and a cellar dug into the hill behind the house to store the family's wine and various food-stuffs. The new home was not to be Kate's panacea, however, and by 24 July 1878, three years after the birth of Antonio, she was again ill. Certified in Daylesford as delusional, she was returned by police to the Kew asylum where she was found to be pregnant with twins.[36] During these bouts of illness, Gaetano experienced difficulty discussing her medical condition with the English-speaking doctors and, no doubt, felt further alienated by his dealings with an

impersonal hospital staff. This would not have been the custom in Avegno where the people who came to your aid were nearly always relatives or close friends. During her confinement at Kew, Kate gave birth to one twin prematurely while the other remained in her uterus. The surviving second child was born four months later and named Antonio John, after his deceased brother. Antonio was transferred to Mt Prospect after two weeks and put into foster care. On 4 October 1879, Kate, aged 39, suffered a cerebral haemorrhage and died about three weeks later. She was buried at the Melbourne General Cemetery.

Gaetano was by this stage 49 years old and left with four young children in his care: James aged twelve, Elizabeth aged nine, Celestino aged six and Antonio aged two. During Kate's confinement, he had applied to have Lot 153 dealt with under Section 31 of the 1869 Land Act,[37] which allowed holders of occupation and cultivation licences to revert to mining. Again facing language difficulties, he had found it necessary to employ agents to write his business letters, these informal assistants -- usually Italian-speaking friends with good English skills -- performing a role similar to the earlier letter-writers of the goldfields. Vincenzo Perini, whose story, follows in a later section of this chapter, found many of his less literate compatriots dependent on him for this reason. Besides farming and mining his land, Gaetano now also found it necessary to spend more time in the home completing the domestic chores: just as some widows in the previous stories had assumed the roles of their husbands, so too did Gaetano take over from Kate. Before her death, he had begun making clothes for the children: underwear -- 'Lizzie's drawers' -- and 'half-mast' pants for the boys. The shortness of the trousers reflected Gaetano's peasant

background and the practices which had allowed his Swiss ancestors to use the one piece of cloth over several generations. *Durevolezza, autoctonia, funzionalità nel lavoro, economicità*[38] (durability, autochthonicity, practicality, economy) were the fabric's most prized qualities. Like most peasant men, Gaetano could manage many tasks about the house including the making of furniture without the use of precious nails.

As a single father, Gaetano relied much on the support of his compatriots and encouraged his children to feel part of their community, using social occasions to strengthen the bonds with their cultural heritage (as once had been the role of *il filò* - see Home and Family p. 389). The family attended many social gatherings, one of the most popular being regular matches of *bocce*. After Sunday lunch it was also common for the area's Swiss to gather for a game at 'Tomasettis' Place',[39] playing on an outside court of hard earth with balls carved from the solid root mass of the gum-tree. The losers after each game were expected to buy the host's wine for the victors, tapping it from a barrel placed near the vine-shaped entrance to the cellar. While Gaetano watched over his children's social development, he found it more difficult to attend to their spiritual growth: there was little to inspire him in a Catholic Church ministered by Irish clergy. Fr Gough is believed to have once cracked a whip over Gaetano's face because he failed to go to church or to give a donation.[40] This approach to a religion, which was supposed to comfort and not punish its people, was alien to many Italian speakers and Gaetano was not alone in questioning his faith. His attitude also perhaps reflected the immigrants' traditional scepticism of an often hypocritical and weak church clergy; while not questioning the goodness and power of

God and the saints, their distrust of the church's administrators had found expression in such Bergamask (ref. figure 2: Bergamo) sayings as *'pretti e polli non sono mai satolli'*[41] (priests and poultry are never satiated).

Raising his children alone for two years, Gaetano eventually decided to remarry. He was by then 51 years old and had met an Irish girl Catherine Fitzpatrick, who was 22.[42] Catherine had been born to Irish parents in nearby Talbot on 8 August 1860 and brought up on a farm near Eastern Hill. As a child and a parishioner at St Joseph's Church, she had been acquainted with Gaetano, but it was not until she was working as a servant in Daylesford that the two developed a romantic interest. They married on 25 September 1882, by which time Gaetano owned around 16 hectares of land, a house, an established farm and was the father of three children (fourteen year old James having died not long before). Catherine and Gaetano produced their first child on 22 March 1885 and named him Edward John.

The south east corner of Mt Prospect where the Tomasettis lived was now dominated by several hotels, St Joseph's Church and school and their own home. Celestino attended the Mt Prospect school with several local Italo-Australian children including Olimpia Lafranchi and Jo Cerini.[43] The school was located one kilometre towards Newlyn (ref. figure 8) and had originally been established by the Presbyterian Church in 1862 and taken over by the Education Department in 1873. It had been built to accommodate 72 pupils -- a substantial number for the day and an indication of the area's population growth. Like most children of the time, Celestino Tomasetti (or Charlie as he was then known) left school at the age of fourteen to find full-time

employment. Within most households boys who brought money into the home gained prestige within the family and were placed on a more equal footing with their fathers: within the Tomasetti home, however, the earning of wage labour, which took the sons outside the home and gave them the possibility of financial independence, represented a departure from earlier cultural patterns. Celestino secured a six-day working week at Hannagan's Store in Vincent Street, Daylesford and resided in the town. Presumably with little of his income going towards the support of his family, this arrangement represented a transition towards the more individualistic capitalist work pattern.

After years as a stonemason and miner Gaetano began to concentrate solely on his farm which provided most of the family's needs. His land incorporated a large vegetable patch on one side of the house - Tomasettis' onions being renowned for their wonderful taste -- and on the other side Catherine grew flowers. The garden, therefore, was a reflection of both Gaetano's peasant roots and the family's increased leisure time and financial security. Around the property were milking sheds, a pigsty and a small orchard with pear trees. Towards the end of the 1880s better machinery and fertilisers had made it easier for farmers to manage their land, although the increased reliance on technological and scientific knowledge characterised a move away from traditional peasant farming methods. To boost their income -- necessitated by the family's expansion -- the Tomasettis sold wine, eggs and butter to the local community. On 26 March 1888, Catherine gave birth to a second child, named Bertram Gaetano in recognition of his dual ethnic origins. Twin boys named William Thomas and Ernest Henry arrived in March 1893 and, on 11 March 1901, the last of the Tomasetti children was born. Bringing Gaetano's total offspring to eleven, she

was named Catherine after her mother and Angelina after her father's sister in Switzerland. Gaetano had by now reached his 70th year and his children's ages spanned a period of over 30 years.

Four years earlier, Gaetano had sought naturalisation[44] as had many of his compatriots nearing retirement age and wishing to apply for a government pension (for which British citizenship was a prerequisite). He remained close to his Swiss roots, however, and encouraged his wife Catherine to participate in community gatherings. On 1 August of each year, they would assemble with other Swiss in the bar parlour of Lafranchis' Swiss Mountain Hotel to celebrate Swiss National Day (see following section). Accompanied by Gaetano on the piano-accordion and the Lafranchi girls on the piano, the festive group, according to family history,[45] would laugh, talk and sing Swiss songs. One of these songs was recalled by Gaetano's son Celestino many years later and recorded phonetically as follows:

Quon, Quill, Quor

Quon, Quill, Quor

Mona tilla Iaski

Quon, Quill, Quor

Dina la viski mai

Mai calla lasha ling

Mai calla lasha ling. [46]

Since Celestino had not learned Italian, he had never understood the meaning of the song nor been able to pass it on to his descendants. It may have recalled the immigrants' sadness and regret at leaving their homeland, *Quon, quill, Quor*, for example, translating as *con qui il cuore*, (with here the heart) referring to Ticino or Italy. *Mai calla lasha ling* might translate as *mai lasciare* (never leave). The song may even have been sung in dialect and hence part of an oral tradition only.[47] The National Day celebration was mostly a male affair reflecting the authority structure within the traditional home where, despite the equality of the work-place, men dominated, at least within the public sphere. Women would appear later in the evening carrying in plates of food to place on well-laden trestle tables. Catherine Tomasetti, who was considered a wonderful cook and presumably prepared several Swiss dishes, would also make her contribution. Some of the local residents claimed that, in regard to the Swiss eating habits, 'good sausages, wine, cheese and bread were Swiss and French contributions to the standard Australian tastes for mutton, potatoes, pudding, tea and beer'.[48] Eating and social occasions were, in this way, important in bringing Australia's ethnic groups together and, as such, were vehicles for cultural mixing and cohesion.

While Swiss National Day served to remind Gaetano of his traditional roots, so too did the death of his travel companion Giovan Tomasetti in 1901.[49] (It is not known when Battista died.) It may also have caused him to ponder, after nearly 50 years in the Colony, the wisdom of his decision to emigrate all those years ago. His older children were now grown up and the family had begun to fragment: Antonio (or Tony as he was then known) was employed as a storeman in Melbourne and the boys

were all married to English speakers. Celestino had even shocked the community with a non-Catholic wedding which many first generation Irish and Italian-speaking settlers would not have tolerated. As he grew older, Gaetano also found himself without the traditional support of his children to help run his farm. Despite whatever misgivings about leaving his homeland he may have had, however, he lived a more materially prosperous life in Australia and was continuing to run his property productively.[50] He was selling an increased variety of goods to the local community, keeping bees for honey and six or seven cows for dairy products: butter was sold at seven pence a pound to the grocers who also called to buy the family's eggs. Gaetano's cabbage plants and seedlings found a ready market.

In 1912, when Gaetano was 81 years old and his wife 52, he applied to the Lands Department for a clear title to his block at Eastern Hill.[51] He never ceased to concern himself with the financial security of his family, his earliest memories perhaps reminding him of the poverty which awaited the complacent. Growing older, he developed regular habits which his daughter Catherine Angelina (then known as Leena) later recalled:

> In the morning he had his sop. His was bread, black tea and a lump of butter and salt. It was set beside the fire until the bread went brown at the edges. He had it at about half past nine. At 4 o'clock he cooked his own meal. There was boiling water with salt in a big pot on the fire. We had a crane. He'd throw the macaroni in and when it was done, he'd put it in a bowl with about a quarter of a pound of butter ... he liked doughboys -- the dumplings boiled with meat. Dad wouldn't eat roast meat. Whatever it was it had to be boiled.[52]

Apart from his preference for boiled meat, which was a hangover from his mining days when everything was boiled for hours to ensure its safety, Gaetano continued to enjoy many elements of his Swiss diet, especially pasta and foods rich in fat.[53] Each day he

would labour on the farm, his pants tied beneath the knees with *bowyangs*: designed to keep out snakes and insects, these ties were an acknowledgment of the inappropriateness of the European dress and a small material pointer to an emerging Australian culture. In his old age, Gaetano went for walks in the morning and rested in the afternoon. He gave up his morning meal and ate only once a day. To some observers, his final years were perhaps seen as having regained the regularity and predicability of a 'peasant' existence.

The outbreak of war in 1914 however, interrupted the simplicity of Gaetano's life by creating ethnic tensions which, despite a British and Italian alliance and Swiss neutrality, were directed at the settlers of Daylesford. When Celestino's eldest son enlisted,[54] it was suggested that Celestino change his name from Tomasetti to avoid the threat of anti-foreign prejudice. Celestino, who was proud of his name, refused to do this but it was curious that, after 60 or more years in the Colony, the Italian speakers' identity and sympathies were so little understood in the general community -- at least at times of such xenophobic passion. Gaetano died of heart failure on 23 September 1916, after refusing to see a doctor until he was near death (possibly a reaction to the alienation of dealing with English-speaking doctors during his first wife's illness). He was 85 years of age.

Since his arrival in Australia, Gaetano had seen Victoria grow from a colony of gold miners and tent dwellers to a rich and industrialised state of a federated Australia. He had joined his compatriots in becoming part of that Australia without, at the same time, losing the sense of his own cultural identity. At the Swiss National Day

celebrations of the Swiss club in Victoria in 1900, members had called for three cheers for Switzerland and three cheers for Australia, their new home and the country of their children.[55] Gaetano's children, like those of many other Italian speakers, had not, however, learned to speak Italian -- his youngest daughter Catherine admitted many years later to only knowing the word *buongiorno* (good day) -- and there was no longer the continuity of generations of the Tomasetti family living on and working the same land.[56] After his burial in the Eganstown Cemetery, Catherine moved into a house (named Hillview) belonging to her son Ernest, which was situated directly opposite her old home. For the sum of merely eight pounds, she sold the block on which her house had stood to her neighbour Margherita Lafranchi, to whose family this history will now turn.

LAFRANCHI

The Lafranchis were another of the pioneering Italian-speaking families to settle near Daylesford during this period. Close to 30 members of the Lafranchi family emigrated to Australia between 1853 and 1864 from Coglio, a village which lies between Giumaglio and Maggia in the Valle Maggia,.[1] They made up one of the largest family groups to depart from Ticino at any one time and were almost the total of Coglio's contribution to the colony. The impact on a total village population of 195[2] was obviously enormous, but the move also revealed the deep desire of these people to remain together as a family unit. Departing from their village in small groups, the Lafranchis settled within close proximity to one another in the Daylesford region where they attempted to re-establish some form of village life. The transformative effects of emigration and of living in Australia soon, however, eased their assimilation into Australian society, making their small community less a defence against the outside world than an environment in which their cultural traditions could find expression. Through the stories of Celestino and Andrea Lafranchi it will be demonstrated that the accumulation of money and status altered the expectations of many Italian speakers but did not distance them entirely from their cultural heritage, elements of which continued to be drawn upon in the settlement process.

Celestino and Andrea Lafranchi were the only sons of Giovanni Battista Lafranchi to emigrate to the colony. Celestino, at 27 years of age and a stonecutter, was the first to depart, in 1854, after borrowing 800 francs from his village council.[3] It is not certain aboard which ship he travelled but it is possible he was with other family

members aboard the *Morning Star, Carpentaria,* or *Mobile,* all of which carried Lafranchis to Australia.[4] These ships were among the 25 or so which brought Ticinesi to the Colony in that peak period. Celestino's parents were relieved of their obligation to pay the military service tax resulting from his absence, such exemptions being common during the 1850s and evidence of the encouragement the government gave to its emigrating poor.[5] Little is known of Celestino's early years in Australia although some success in the mines is possible since within four years his brother Andrea had decided to join him.

Andrea was nineteen when he joined his brother, boarding the *Marco Polo* at Liverpool on 7 April 1858 and arriving in Melbourne three months later, on 14 July.[6] The vessel had carried several Ticinesi: three or four Lafranchis, two villagers from nearby Cevio and several whose names are illegible on the ship's passenger list. The majority of Coglio's emigrants were aged between fifteen and 30 years and were stonemasons, stonecutters or labourers.[7] Most had borrowed 1,000 francs privately or from the village council, or drawn upon their own savings.[8] Following his arrival in the Colony, Andrea spent the first twelve months mining with Celestino at Jim Crow, then travelled to Linton in 1860 where he mined for a further two years. The search for gold also took him to Mt Prospect and Ballan (ref. figure 6), then back to Deep Creek where he eventually settled.

By this time several members of the Lafranchi clan, including Celestino who was now in his mid 30s, had settled as farmers in the Mt Prospect and Deep Creek areas. Attracted by the presence of his family, Andrea took up land at Deep Creek

where he began dairy farming. The money for this venture appears to have come from his gold mining profits, as did a further purchase of land in the Bullarook Forest in 1865 -- possibly on the site where St Joseph's Church was later erected.[9] Gaetano Tomasetti (introduced in the previous section) was already living in the area, as were several other Italian-speaking and Irish families. In July 1871, Andrea purchased another small block at Blampied which backed onto land to be purchased by Gaetano Tomasetti a fortnight later (ref. figure 13). Continuing the traditional methods of increasing the efficiency of small land holdings, the two men acquired 70 cows in common and shared many of their farming duties -- thereby contributing to the prosperity of Blampied as a farming community.

No community populated by Italian speakers could be complete, however, without a Catholic church to give its people a social and spiritual focus, and the Lafranchis were soon pleased to see the laying of the foundation stone for St Joseph's Church in 1871. They were also happy to be included among the working party of stonemasons on the building site along with Gaetano Tomasetti and several other Italian speakers. Living, working and farming in the district, the immigrants developed a closely-knit community which provided opportunity for fuller expression of their language and cultural traditions. In matters of religion, however, the Irish immigrants dominated, the dismissal of Frs Barsanti and Bassetto (cf. above pp. 142-143) in the 1870s pointing to the intolerance shown towards Italian Catholic practices.

Farming, mining and working on St Joseph's Church, Andrea soon earned sufficient to buy a further block of land on the main road towards Eganstown (ref.

figure 13).[10] Situated a short distance from the recently established Manchester Hotel, this larger block provided Andrea with an increased sense of financial security and the means to support a wife. About the time that St Joseph's Church was nearing completion in 1872, the young woman who would eventually become his bride was making the journey to Australia from her village of Cevio, which -- given its close proximity to Andrea's home village of Coglio in the Valle Maggia -- may indicate that a marriage had been arranged by the two families.

Margherita Filippini, the 20-year-old daughter of a goat farmer, had faced the prospect of lifelong spinsterhood. During the peak years of emigration, Cevio had lost over fifteen per cent of its population to the Australian goldfields, resulting in a gender imbalance lasting through to the 1870s: in 1870 the village comprised 504 females and 320 males.[11] Mostly departing between 1854 and 1855, the Filippinis, like the Lafranchis, had emigrated to Australia in large numbers and settled in the area around Jim Crow. In 1872 Margherita, accompanied by two members of her extended family, also arrived in the Colony aboard the *Somersetshire*[12] and, though no members of her immediate family were in Australia, she was warmly received by the Filippini community. Within two years she had married the 34-year-old Andrea Lafranchi, the union reflecting -- and possibly reaffirming -- the strength of village endogamous traditions. In Ticino itself, despite the difficulties caused by the gender imbalance, the practice continued with 45 of the 58 marriages celebrated in Coglio between 1855 and 1875 occurring between citizens of the village.[13] Thus both in Europe and Australia, the Italian speakers struggled to uphold familiar ways.

Proud of the wealth he had accumulated during his time in Australia, Andrea presented his young bride with a ring, brooch and earrings fashioned from one of his gold nugget finds. The exchange of this type of folk art, which often included typically Australian motifs, was common between sweethearts at Ballarat, Kalgoorlie and other colonial goldfields.[14] It may be assumed that the folk art exchanged by the Italian speakers also reflected something of the social and cultural source of its makers. In the years following their marriage the Lafranchis produced nine children,[15] all of whom were given Italian names to signify their parents' close ties with their homeland. The first child Alfredo Andrea was born the year after their marriage in 1875, followed by a daughter Olimpia twelve months later. In 1878, the Lafranchis' third child Anchigi was born and became the favourite of his older sister Olimpia.[16] The fourth infant Victoria (Vittoria?) arrived in 1883, followed by Florida in1884 and Isolina in 1885. With a growing family and little likelihood of ever returning to his homeland, in 1884 Andrea had applied for British citizenship and one year later, on 21 December, purchased a block of land on the main road between Eganstown and Blampied with his brother Celestino[17] (ref. figure 13). However Andrea's application to be naturalised may have had more to do with his desire to apply for a liquor licence (for which British citizenship was a prerequisite) for, soon after, he took possession of a hotel at Blampied.

Named the Manchester Hotel when it was placed on the market by one George Hambrook in 1886, the Lafranchis became its proud purchasers and so began over 80 years of hotel ownership. An inventory of the goods handed over at the time of sale, dated 7 December 1886, recorded the sale price of the hotel at 50 pounds and the

goods at twelve pounds.[18] Judging by the price Catherine Tomasetti received for the land she sold to Mrs Lafranchi in 1916, hotels were considered far more lucrative than farming. Reasserting their ethnic heritage in a public manner Andrea and Margherita renamed their hotel the Swiss Mountain Hotel and Store (ref. figure 13). Written in English, the sign invited patronage from both the Italian-speaking and English-speaking communities, luring customers with the image of the fresh, clean alpine environment from which the owners had come. Though somewhat stereotyped, this representation of a Ticinese homeland served to encourage a positive attitude on the part of others toward their culture and, at the same time, provided the immigrants themselves with an image which they were happy to maintain. Hotels like the Swiss Mountain gave a public face to Italian-speaking communities, allowing outsiders, who might not have been invited into Ticinese or Italian homes, to become acquainted with their culture.

Along with their hotel, the Lafranchis acquired over eleven hectares of land (valued at around ten pounds per half hectare), giving them a total holding of 56 hectares.[19] Now among the district's more prosperous and prominent citizens, they developed a greater involvement in community activities and with it a new self-image: no longer identified solely with the peasantry -- with responsibilities centred on the family -- they had new civic duties and concerns. Empowered through money and status, people would have looked to them for help and advice. The Lafranchis continued, however, to live a 'peasant' life-style within the home, maintaining the tradition of self-subsistence which had enabled them to survive in Ticino. When they assumed ownership of the hotel in 1886 they modified its 25 year structure to suit their

family needs -- with an economy and ingenuity typical of their background.[20] They built a large cellar beneath the dairy, enabling them to make and store traditional foods and wines, and enlarged the living quarters of their home only minimally. They were accustomed to cramped and close living and drew no doubt a certain amount of comfort from continuing this life-style.

In the original home, the children's bedrooms were approached through a door leading from the public bar into a narrow outside lane. The main bedroom, where Andrea and Margherita slept, was behind the public dining-room and divided by a wall from the family's lounge. Typical of the close relationship which existed between the private and the public halves of peasant families, the Lafranchis did not alter this basic structure and continued to live close to the working areas of the hotel. The kitchen and laundry were housed along the external laneway with a bathroom at its end. A well-equipped kitchen with an almost two metre fireplace and a small wall oven for baking bread was perhaps the most vivid reminder of their homes in Ticino. Andrea and Margherita used a minimum of labour and resources to renovate their home, roofing the entire outside lane to make it a part of the interior. With its poorly constructed and uneven floors, it was not a particularly ornate home but one which served the practical needs of the family. A fifth bedroom was added later. Once these modifications had been completed, the Swiss Mountain Hotel remained in much the same condition for the next century -- presumbably because it continued to meet the emotional, physical and economic needs of the family.

The hotel itself was a weatherboard, elongated structure with separate doors leading into the dining-room, bar and store -- a design which allowed an easy movement of customers from one selling area to the other. The Lafranchis invited further custom by offering a number of additional services: a bootmaker leased an area at the end of the hotel as his workshop;[21] miners making the journey to Allendale were able to stable their horses overnight in the cobbled yard at a charge of sixpence and from the farm, locals could buy the family's unused hay. These complementary businesses attracted custom to the hotel and were an integral part of its success, allowing the Lafranchis to diversify their income in what might be seen as 'traditional peasant' manner.

With three hotels at the crossroads competition between the hoteliers was strong, the Shamrock over the road always threatening to steal the Irish customers and the Blampied Inn the English. Like the Swiss Mountain, their names were a clear declaration of their owners' ethnic heritage. At Lafranchis' hotel the locals were able to buy liquor imported from Ballarat and the much renowned red wines from Yandoit -- the popularity of the latter among Australians evident in its later christening as 'Yandoit plonk'.[22] The Lafranchis operated a small vineyard but made insufficient wine to sell on a commercial basis, though their involvement in this activity reveals their remarkable energy and preference for their own home-grown product.[23] In the store, which was located at one end of the bar and distinguished from the drinking area by the presence of a large set of scales for weighing out the produce, the Lafranchis sold a variety of grocery items as well as their own home-made cheese. This last product, which signified another contribution from the farm, also gained markets in

Melbourne and Sydney through a network of friends. Arrangements such as this, which took their produce beyond the local region, increased the dissemination of Swiss Italian culture into the broader Australian community.

The items thus produced, and their means of production, provide valuable insights into the material and social construction of a particular life-style among the Italian speakers at and near Daylesford. Consideration of such factors is particularly important for discussing the past of non-literate individuals, providing what Hobsbawm refers to as the 'view from below'.[24] Given its social importance to the Italian-speaking settlers of Daylesford, attention to food and food preparation illustrates key aspects of life not obvious in the usual literary sources of historical investigation.

Some details of the cheese-making process have been handed down through the generations of the Lafranchi family, becoming for the descendants a precious link with their past.[25] The milk was first boiled in a copper for sterilisation, rennet tablets were added as a curdling agent (in the early days rennet was possibly obtained directly from the calf's stomach lining) and the curdled milk strained in a cheese cloth. The curd was then placed into a cheese-press and the finished cheeses laid out in the cellar for curing. The cellar, which traditionally housed the foods consumed by peasant families, thus gained additional significance for the Lafranchis as part of their commercial enterprise. Easily understood processes such as cheese and butter-making involved the whole family since simple tasks, like setting out huge dishes of milk each night and skimming off the cream in the morning, could be performed by the children.

In this way they gained early experience in the productive activities of the family and actively participated in the maintenance of cultural traditions.

Child labour is essential to the success of subsistence economies, and in this cultural context the Lafranchis were happy to see their family grow. In 1887 the seventh child Margherita was born, followed by Giglia in 1890 and Giuseppina in 1893. Lacking a strict division of labour, the seven girls and two boys, who ranged in ages over eighteen years, provided a workplace of baby-sitters, farm-hands, household help and hotel staff.[26] Their farm now supplied a wide variety of fruit trees, nut trees, vegetables and vines. Chestnuts were grown as a nutritious food source and the basis for flour; chestnut gathering picnics in the surrounding bush were also a popular pastime recalling, for the parents, earlier times in their village. The farm's livestock of pigs, cattle and poultry provided a good supply of eggs, meat and dairy foods and all the family was involved in their preparation for the table. The children were encouraged to perform traditional tasks, such as sausage and bacon-making, which no longer occurred during the same months of the year as in Ticino. The slaughter of the animals in Europe, a November task coinciding with the onset of winter, took place in Australia at the end of May, the celebrations which had accompanied the completion of these tasks being also postponed to fit in with the immigrants' new working calendar. The transition was not always easy. Christmas, previously heralding a rest period and the certainty of a full cellar, was now a time of crop growth and work to be done. Like most northern hemisphere immigrants, the Italian speakers would have felt confused about which foods to eat at Christmas time, a hot and heavy lunch no longer seeming appropriate.

Food nevertheless continued to serve as a focus for the Lafranchis, who, similar to most Italian speakers, had a favourite family recipe for *bullboars*. Passed on to the (Scottish) family who took over their business, and still being used by a Newstead butcher at the end of the twentieth century, it revealed the power of food to link people of both different culture and generations:

Ingredients

60 lbs lean beef
40 lbs pork
3 lbs salt
½ lb cinnamon
½ lb ground spice
nutmeg -- small cloves
garlic
saltpetre
red wine

Boil wine, saltpetre and garlic. Cool and strain. Mix meat with other ingredients. Mix in wine. Add dry ingredients.[27]

Several locals complained years later that the bullboars produced on a commercial basis were not of the same quality as those from the homes of the early Italian and Swiss families.[28] This superior quality was achieved, however, by a traditional method of animal slaughter which few twentieth century butchers found practical or acceptable. A vein was cut at the side of the beast's neck causing it to bleed slowly to death, a practice which the Italian speakers claimed enhanced the flavour of the meat. While many locals abhorred this procedure, *bullboars* gained wide acceptance in the community and were included in many people's diets; many years later some Australian-born locals thought that *bullboar* was an Italian word and not one merely describing the sausage's ingredients.[29] Like most Italian-speaking families the

Lafranchis ate the sausages freshly boiled (after they had just been made) or dried and cut for sandwiches. When included in the children's school lunches, their strong aroma sent out messages of their owner's ethnicity. Meatless dishes which the family enjoyed, and which were also typical of a traditional diet, were *polenta* (traditionally cornmeal, made into porridge or bread) and macaroni with fried onions. Most of these foods were produced on the Lafranchis' farm.

Along with their work about the farm and in the home, the older children served in the bar and assisted in most other areas of the hotel.[30] The store was the domain of Mrs Lafranchi and her daughters. When not working on the family property, the children attended the local Mt Prospect school where Olimpia was a student with Celestino Tomasetti. Some of the younger children may have later attended the Catholic school along with the Morgantis. It was within these institutions that all immigrant children gained the English skills to assimilate into Australian society, in the process risking becoming distanced from their parents who struggled with the language in both its spoken and written forms. The advantage which children gained over their parents through their language skills helped reverse the traditional power structure, making children the possessors of knowledge and their parents the dependants. At the same time, children were able to act as go-betweens for their parents with the general community, thus smoothing their assimilation into Australian society. Within the Lafranchi home, the children also heard their parents' Italo-Swiss dialect through the songs which Margherita sang to them when young. The form, if not the meaning, of some of these songs has been preserved through the generations,

providing a link between the immigrant and modern-day family and highlighting the important role of women as cultural custodians.

At the end of the twentieth century, one of Margherita's grand-daughters could recall -- though not understand -- three songs passed down through the family, which she recorded phonetically:

Labin Sera
> **Labin gua de tric fou law or a**
> **Sempra stata lap pwe balla**
> **Sempra stata lap pwe balla**
> **Oh vuy yama sempra qualla**
> **Oh voy yama de lib a tah**
> **La lib a tah**
> **La lib a tah**

Trot Trot Cav a Lot
> **Trot trot cav a lot sup I play**
> **gip I mot tra ting tra ting cav**
> **a liug sup I play e gip I mating**
> **Sup a toot a munta zel ucka**
> **Valla ucka valla sup a toot a**
> **munta zel ucka valla larze a nell**

Um Bac Ching
> **Um bac ching a la ma mazel**
> **Um bac ching um ba ching**
> **Um bac ching um ba ching**
> **Um bac ching I toose em bay**[31]

The first song is one verse of the well-known '*La Bandiera Tricolore*' (The Tricolour Flag) which was proudly sung by Italians during the struggle for Italian unification:

> **La bandiera tricolore**
> **Sempre è stata la più bella**
> **Sempre è stata la più bella**
> **Noi vogliamo sempre quella**
> **Noi vogliamo sempre quella**
> **Per goder la libertà**
> **Per goder la libertà**

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This song became popular in 1848 after the expulsion of the Austrians from Milan and was repeated with variations and additions in 1859 and 1866.[32] Its familiarity in a Ticinese household expresses the support given by the Swiss to their Lombard neighbours during the time of the *Risorgimento*. The second song is from a series of verses which were repeated in many variations in all of Lombardy and presumably in Ticino. They were rhymes which accompanied a game in which a child would sit on the knees of an adult then 'fall' down between the legs when the song stopped.[33] Of antique origin, the version which was sung in the Lafranchi household appears to be the following which is still sung in Milan today:

Trott trott cavalott
su di pè giò di mòtt
trotta trotta cavallin
f à ballà e mè bel pinin.[34]

The meaning of the third song has been lost although individual words and phrases suggest that it is a lullaby, *'Um bac ching a la ma mazel'* possibly translating as: *un bacino alla mamma* (a small kiss for your mother). While the songs might have been sung within a variety of contexts, there were clearly times when the children were present. Singing was just one of the ways in which the Lafranchis expressed affection for their children. Andrea hated so much to be separated from them that once, when he was ill and staying at the Golden City Hotel in Ballarat from where he had access to medical treatment, he insisted that his little daughter Giuseppina be brought across regularly to visit him.[35]

This may have been the same illness from which Andrea died in 1897 at 58 years of age. A great loss to both his family and the Blampied community, his imposing headstone at the Eganstown Cemetery[36] was a monument to the affection,

status and wealth he had earned as a resident of Australia. In the form of a Celtic cross, the polished granite headstone revealed, however, the dominant influence of the Irish in tombstone design. At 45 years of age, Margherita was left a widow with nine children in her care, six of whom were under fourteen. By the time of his father's death the eldest son Alfredo was 22, married and living away from home. His brother Anchigi remained under the care of his mother and sister, having developed epilepsy for which he was possibly being treated with opium.[37] Margherita, who could often be seen by her neighbours ploughing the fields, ran the hotel and farm with the assistance of her daughters. She was known for her good business sense, buying a new block of land, such as that of Catherine Tomasetti in 1916, whenever she had saved sufficient money. Margherita was recognised for her courage, once attacking a snake which had crossed her path with the only 'weapon' in her possession -- a hat pin; its pinioned body was quickly beaten to death with a stick. Margherita had high aspirations for her children regarding their financial security and was once heard to comment that the landless sons of Irishmen were not nearly good enough for her daughters.[38] This may be interpreted more, however, as an understandable fear of poverty than an ethnic prejudice.

While Margherita possibly received support from the Filippini family at Blampied, the death of Andrea's brother Celestino in 1899 was cause for sadness. Seventy-two years of age and unmarried, the memory of his death was recorded on Andrea's monument at Eganstown Cemetery.[39] The death of Margherita's father in Cevio in 1902 resulted in further sadness for the Morgantis, as well as disruption to their family life. It was decided that Olimpia, then 26 years of age, would go to Ticino

to look after her grandmother.[40] (It had originally been intended that Margherita's mother would return to Australia with Olimpia but the elderly woman refused, stating that she hated the country which had taken away her sons.) Olimpia agreed to go to Ticino but only on the condition that she be accompanied by her younger sister Giuseppina, then nine years old. The arrangement revealed the strength of kinship relationships and the sense of responsibility which existed within the extended family. Margherita, left with five daughters aged between twelve and nineteen years to maintain the family property, was conscious, perhaps for the first time, of the sacrifices her own mother had made in allowing her to emigrate to Australia.

During the journey to Switzerland Olimpia kept a journal[41] which began with their departure on a German ship from Melbourne on 5 March 1902. Writing only in English, she recorded brief stops at Adelaide and Fremantle which permitted views of bustling city life: like her ancestors, who had ventured little beyond the area of their birth, these sights were new and exciting. Aboard ship the girls were treated to a diet far richer than their normal peasant fare. Breakfast offered a choice of steak and onions, boiled eggs, porridge, friend sausage meat, rice and cinnamon, or buns and cheese and dinner, roast beef, boiled beef or German stew with potatoes, carrots and cabbage. All of these details were recorded in the diary, perhaps revealing the important role food played in the lives -- or perhaps, simply reflecting that there was not much else to write about. Also recorded in the diary was the threat from disease the girls faced, the crew informing them that all dirty clothing would have to be burned on their arrival at Genoa. No doubt, Olimpia and Giuseppina no doubt kept their dresses as clean as possible. They had little money with which to buy the goods sold

on deck from the book, drapery, stationery, jewellery, fruit and fancy good stalls. As the ship continued its passage, it made stops at Colombo and Aden, sailed through the Suez Canal, passed Mt Vesuvius and the Bay of Naples, Capri, Sorrento, Corsica and Elba, finally docking at Genoa on 8 April. Like their parents, the girls had discovered the existence of a big and exciting world beyond their small-town experience.

When no one arrived at Genoa to meet the girls they were befriended by three Italian passengers who had accompanied them on the voyage. Olimpia and Giuseppina were not able to communicate easily in Italian, being more familiar with the dialect their parents would have spoken in the home. During the voyage they had experienced difficulty with the ship's notices (written in Italian, French and German) and suffered the same frustration and embarrassment as had the Italian-speaking emigrants years before. Like them, however, they delighted in their first walk about a foreign city, finding Genoa's narrow streets, electric trams, cabs, omnibuses and drays drawn by mule all exciting and new. Arriving at Locarno they were met and taken to Cevio where their journey ended. Here Olimpia was expected to help on her grandmother's farm and Giuseppina to attend the local school. (Like their parents years before in Australia, they were immersed in a foreign culture.) Giuseppina's school years from 1905 to 1909 were happy ones,[42] despite the fierce winter snows which prevented her reaching school on time. In the classroom students were encouraged to learn three languages -- Italian, French and German -- which challenged Giuseppina's experience of an Anglo-Celtic centred world. A copy of her report card, which was carried back to Australia as a treasured reminder of this period, listed other subjects as *religione, civica e morale, calligrafia, disegno, aritmetica, contabilità, geografia, storia,*

scienze naturali e igiene, canto, ginnastica, e lavori femminili e economia domestica.[43] Subjects within this comprehensive education were taught in Italian, forcing Giuseppina to gain an early mastery of the language but causing her to neglect her English studies: refusing to practise English with her sister, many words were soon forgotten. Giuseppina's youth allowed her to quickly adapt to her new environment and to enjoy living in a Swiss community.

Olimpia might have considered her life less pleasurable, having responsibility for her grandmother and much heavy work to do about the farm. Her grandmother lived in a traditional farmhouse with a cow stable adjoining one end. The goats, which were only stabled in the winter, were driven up to the mountains by Olimpia during the warmer months. Her other tasks included collecting grass for the livestock in a traditional *gerla* or hand-woven, cone-shaped basket worn on the back. Within the home she was expected to cook, preparing traditional dishes such as *polenta*. Meat, apart from roast kid, was a rarity and vegetables and dairy foods were the basis of their diet. Cakes were practically non-existent, except for the few which Olimpia introduced and which may have been learned from her Anglo-Celtic friends in Australia: shared with the villagers of Cevio, such recipes would have increased their knowledge of Australia's dietary habits. To help her mother with finances, Margherita sent money from Australia hidden in Victorian newspapers; the practice -- which also provided opportunity to read about Australia -- ceased when the paper arrived one day without the money.

When she was fifteen years old and had completed her schooling Giuseppina found work in a local watch factory, her job being to punch holes into watch cases for the insertion of jewels. Her grandmother and family did not approve of this factory job -- perhaps thinking she ought to contribute more to the farm -- but, as Giuseppina wanted to be with her school friends, nothing could be said to discourage her. The experience of growing up in Australia, and seeing other young people find work outside the home, had perhaps provided her with the courage to resist family pressure. At the same time, on the other side of the globe, many Italian-speaking immigrants were clinging to a view of their former society which no longer existed in quite the same form;[44] they lamented the loss of their children to an outside workforce, unaware that similar changes had also occurred in Ticino. This view of the homeland as unchanging caused many immigrants to complain about life in Australia and to long to return to their villages. Around 1910 a family relative suggested that it was time that the girls returned home and arrangements were made for their passage. Reluctantly they bid farewell to their friends, including one peasant Milla Moretti who presented them with a small wall plaque as a momento: a simple folk handcraft, it depicted a picture of the *Maria del Sasso* pasted on to a slice from a tree trunk. Symbolic of the townsfolk's devotion to the saints, it remained one of Giuseppina's most treasured relics of her years in Ticino. She was also given a fan decorated with the national dress of the Swiss cantons, Ticino's costume being a simple white shirt with blue trim, a green skirt trimmed in blue, a red apron, orange scarf and red hat. With these few precious items, the girls arrived back in Australia. Years later, Giuseppa's descendants would continue to draw from this artefact, with its romanticised portrayal of 'peasant' popular culture,[45] a sense of ethnic origin and cultural continuity.

Giuseppina's neglect of English was her biggest handicap in settling back into Australian life. Familiar with little more than the words 'yes' and 'no', she applied for re-entry to the Blampied school in order to learn English but was told that at seventeen she was too old. Instead she joined her mother and sisters workings in the hotel: Olimpia, who was now 34, and Florida and Margherita, both in the mid 20s. Victoria, Isolina and Giglia were apparently married by this stage, Victoria to a Mr Martin, Isolina to a Mr Blain and Giglia to a Mr Clohesy. None had married Italian speakers, the tradition of endogamy having lessened in importance with the second generation. The women remaining on the farm shared the chores, Olimpia (now known as Olie) tending the vegetable garden and all assisting with the milking. At one stage a yardman, Lawrence Soretti, was also employed.[46] As well as working in the bar and doing the baking, Florida, who was a talented pianist, gave music lessons at the local school and privately to students, such as Lena Tomasetti. With the independent spirit of her mother she rode side-saddle many kilometres around the district to her music students, sometimes staying overnight at her pupils' homes or at the Dean Hotel. She thought nothing of driving the horse and buggy to Daylesford or Ballarat, on occasions alighting from the buggy to enable the horse to scale Springmount Hill more easily. In their spare time the women worked on various handcrafts, Margherita dressmaking and knitting, and Olimpia making hats, embroidering and crocheting. Many decades after Olimpia's death, a niece continued to display her tablecloths -- a material reminder of treasured skills and techniques representing a venerable peasant tradition.[47]

In a similar way, family anecdotes would be passed down through the generations. One story which still survives concerns past clients of the hotel -- two cyclists who had become regular visitors while on route to Daylesford.[48] Though willing to chat with the other customers, the pair had always been secretive about their business dealings and only during a final visit had revealed that they had been buying 'stolen gold' -- small quantities which the miners pocketed. The Swiss Mountain Hotel had thus been a meeting place for dishonest dealings and the Lafranchi women were shocked to realise the contribution they had unknowingly been making to its success. The constant retelling of this story over the years suggests a continuing affront to the family with the implication of its honesty being in question.

Around the turn of the century, the Lafranchis took the unusual step of having their hotel sign-written. Not particularly bothered by the printed word in the early years of settlement, these steps were generally taken by the second generation of immigrants. Due to error, however, the sign which went up read Lafranchis' Swiss Mountains Hotel instead of Swiss Mountain Hotel, a mistake which was not rectified for many years.[49] The inclusion of the owners' name was, however, intended and further evidence of the family's pride in its foreign heritage. Beneath the sign, many family photographs were taken, including one of Florida with a new 1919 Italian Fiat: it was a symbol of the wealth and status the family had achieved (and of their loyalty to things Italian). In the 1950s, the hotel sign was rewritten with its original name, Swiss Mountain Hotel, which it still bears at the end of the twentieth century.

In 1916 the Licensing Court began re-assessing the number of liquor licences granted per head of population around Daylesford, closing some premises down. While the Lafranchis were able to afford the cost of a lawyer to help keep their hotel open, the closure of others revealed the area's diminishing population. When the Shamrock was finally closed, Lafranchis' was the only hotel at the crossroads. Its staff was reduced, however, with the marriage of Giuseppina in 1924 to farmer Michael Bourke. During their married life the couple lived on farms at Smeaton and Bungaree, raising four children: Olive, Leo, Mary and Innes. These children and their cousins often visited their grandmother, aunts and uncle at the Blampied Hotel, delighting in the foods which they fetched from their candle-lit cellar.[50] Their own parents also prepared traditional peasant foods, such as potatoes cooked directly over steaming macaroni -- a cooking method designed to save the power and a pot. Potatoes were also used as a thickener in pasta dishes to make the meal more filling. One dish, recalled years later by a grand-daughter as *bancott*, was a type of broth over which bread topped with cheese was steamed.[51] This was certainly the same dish *pancotto* (*pane cotto*, bread with soup) eaten by Leonardo Pozzi during his journey to Australia (see Pozzi section) and well known thoughout Italy as *zuppa di pane*. A recipe belonging to Giuseppina was similar, comprising bread fried in milk, covered in cheese, then floated in hot soup. These simple peasant dishes, and the names which identified them, were passed through several generations of the family -- linking cultures and time and again pointing to the central significance of food in the structuring of family life.

In 1929 Anchigi, the much loved son and brother of the Lafranchi family, died at 51 years of age. His death came at the end of a long and slow illness during which time he had continued to be nursed by his sister Olimpia. Just three years later, at the age of 80, his mother Margherita died and was buried with her husband at Eganstown. Along with Margherita's name, a memorial to Anchigi was inscribed into Andrea's headstone, symbolically reuniting four members of the Lafranchi family.[52] At some stage a photograph of Andrea was also included, this traditional Italian custom reasserting the patriarchal nature of society at that time despite Margherita's years of successful farm and hotel management. Margherita's will, which she had kept in a hat-box, instructed that all her money and property be left to the three daughters who had helped her run the hotel. Each of her children was thus left financially secure: her eldest son with an independent income and her remaining daughters the responsibility of their husbands. The three single women continued the hotel's operation into the 1960s. Olimpia died in 1964 aged 88 years and Florida in 1966 at 82. Margherita remained with the business until 1967, selling it ten years before she died at age 90.[53]

All the Lafranchi children (except Anchigi) lived to a good age. Giuseppina and her daughter Olive returned to Cevio in 1960 where old days and friendships were recalled. Ines Morretti, Giuseppina's best friend and namesake for her daughter, received them warmly as did a family descendant, lawyer Arturo Filippini.[54] Giuseppina and her daughter travelled to Coglio where they met Maria Lafranchi, Giuseppina's first cousin who, perhaps motivated by the success of her Australian relations, also ran a hotel. The old Lafranchi home in the main street of Coglio was still standing but had been modernised.

In her elderly years, Giuseppina longed for the foods (*polenta* and roast kid) which she had eaten as a girl in Switzerland. She was able to recall much of the Italian language she had learnt at school, despite having used it only rarely since. During visits to the old hotel at Blampied, she could not be persuaded to enter the dining-room, previously her parents' bedroom and the family's lounge, it recalling too vividly the happy days of her childhood which could not be recaptured.[55] Within the bar (once the family's dining-room), however, a copy of the 1886 inventory and several photographs of the family had been hung by the new owners, indicating that neither they nor their clients wished to lose the memory of the Ticinese family who had contributed so much, both economically and culturally, to their town for over 80 years. Not only had the Lafranchis gained financial security and status as citizens of Australia, but they had won the respect and admiration of future generations. This was also true of other Italian-speaking families, such as the Perini family of Spring Creek, whose story follows.

PERINI

Like most of the Italian-speaking families considered in this thesis, the Perinis came from a small-scale farming background. When Marie Butler, a descendant of the Perini family and resident of Hepburn Springs, travelled with her husband to Mergoscia in Ticino in the 1980s, she was amazed at the smallness and isolation of her ancestors' village. She had come to the birthplace of her great grandfather Vincenzo Perini born on 2 February 1836. Although close to the villages of Valle Maggia (homes of the earlier families), Mergoscia lies in a valley on the opposite side of a massive mountain range in Ticino's district of Locarno (ref. figure 4). The village had barely changed in appearance since the days of the 1850s, the original Perini home still occupied by members of the family and their name still evident on a wall of the Catholic church. The village's static appearance belied, however, the enormous turmoil of the 1850s when almost thirteen per cent of its population (76 individuals)[1] had emigrated to the Australian goldfields. The worst affected districts, Locarno and Valle Maggia, had each contributed over 850 people and, while this represented only four per cent of Locarno's population (compared with eleven per cent for the Valle Maggia), its impact was most strongly felt in only two regions -- Valle Verzasca and Navegna.[2] From Mergoscia, which lies within the region of Navegna, departed five members of the Perini family including three brothers whose story now unfolds.

The Perinis were a farming family living in one of Ticino's typical stone cottages designed for a self-sufficient life-style. Though it appears Giuseppe and Margherita Perini raised a large family, the number of offspring can only be estimated

through documentary evidence: from a letter, which Vincenzo (a son) received from his brother Pietro in 1870 referring to the boys' father but not their mother (presumably she was dead), a sister, a brother, plus other family, and an earlier letter which Vincenzo wrote in 1859 mentioning '*le mie sorelle Mariorsola e suvoi figli e l'Angiolina . . . fratello Giuseppe e sorella*'.[3] While Vincenzo and Pietro both emigrated to Australia with another brother, (Pietro) Giuseppe, there is evidence that some members of the family also went to the goldfields of California.[4] Some sons returned to their village in later years, though Vincenzo, who was the first to depart for Australia in 1854, made that land his home.

Vincenzo was 22 years of age when, on 18 September 1854, he boarded the vessel which would bring him to the Colony.[5] He left Mergoscia prior to the town council's decision to grant loans to emigrating citizens, apparently having sufficient funds of his own; only around 50 per cent of Mergoscia's citizens eventually availed themselves of council or private loans suggesting the shipping companies' effective advertising campaigns, aimed at increasing the numbers of travellers to the goldfields, may have been more significant in raising emigration levels than the poverty of the people.[6] Vincenzo's occupation at the time of his departure is not known, although he appears to have been an educated man with a good understanding of both Italian and English -- skills he was later to find useful in Australia. Judging by the date of his departure, he possibly travelled to Australia aboard the *Fulwood* which departed from Liverpool in September carrying thirteen emigrants from Mergoscia -- one of the largest groups to leave the village at one time.[7] As the only Ticinese on board the

Fulwood, it represented a movement of a single village culture to the Australian setting.

Though Vincenzo's experiences at sea are unlikely to have been pleasant, his language skills enabled him to earn extra food rations (like several of his compatriots) by acting as crew's interpreter. He learnt quickly that the survival skills of emigration could be different from those of subsistence life -- a challenge to the assumptions he had made about Australia. Arriving at Port Phillip, he headed directly for the goldfields of Bendigo but, having little luck there in the mines, travelled on to Avoca and later to Maryborough (towards Ararat) (ref. figure 6). Within one year he had arrived in Spring Creek where many Ticinesi had been mining for some time. The resemblance of the area to Mergoscia, with its lush green springtime valleys, together with the presence of the large Italian-speaking community, attracted him to settle permanently. Here Vincenzo began a small one-man prospector's mine, taking up a piece of land as was the miner's right. If they were successful, miners were able to apply for a residence area mine licence and erect a house. At first the plots of land were very small, approximately 33 metres by 33 metres, and sometimes even smaller when positioned on a creek bed. Though Vincenzo found little gold in his early mining days, he appears to have been more successful later and within two years was joined by his brothers Pietro and Giuseppe.

Pietro and Giuseppe arrived in the colony in 1856 aboard the *Montmorency* which had departed from Liverpool on 5 June.[8] Although Ticino's emigration rate had begun to ease by that stage, the vessel carried seventeen passengers from Mergoscia

suggesting the village was still in economic turmoil. (There would be an even larger shipment aboard the *Albion* in 1858 before Mergoscia's exodus would begin to decline.) At the time of their departure Pietro Perini was nineteen years old and his brother 27; both were labourers and, like Vincenzo, had not borrowed money for the journey.[9] The men possibly mined with Vincenzo for a time although only Pietro was present at a mining accident which occurred in 1859 involving Vincenzo and several compatriots. On 9 July of that year, Vincenzo wrote to his family in Mergoscia detailing the mishap which had claimed the life of one partner Battista Rusconi from Mergoscia.[10] Also working the mine had been (Giacomo) Canova, Gottardo Beretta and Vincenzo Pedroncini, all but Canova from Mergoscia. Writing to Rusconi's family (a large contingent of whom were also present in the Colony) Vincenzo described the circumstances of the accident. He also reassured the family that Battista had been given a proper burial and his debts settled; a large proportion of the letter in fact discussed monetary matters -- the settling of Battista's share in the mine and the reimbursement of funds to his family -- a concern with financial security characterising the Italian speakers' early years of settlement.

Because single events, such as flood or avalanche, had always threatened the existence of Europe's peasantry, many immigrants were resigned to the dangers of the goldfields; they considered that while they remained poor, the struggle to survive would always involve risk -- whether it was by trying new (and possibly poisonous) foods during famine or entering the unsafe mines of the goldfields. Vincenzo's comment, *'fino che lavoriamo in questo mestiere siamo tutti sogetti al pericolo della morte'* [11] epitomised their thoughts. His letter did, however, provide some cheer to its

readers, carrying messages from compatriots to their families; for Beretta, Pedroncini and others, the letter provided contact with their homeland and encouraged them to remain together with Vincenzo as a village unit. Through his language skills Vincenzo thus gained a power and a responsibility over his compatriots which may have precipitated his later emergence into public life. Writing in Italian, five years after his arrival, his language reflected the Anglo-Celtic influence, the word *tonella* (tunnel) being preferred over the Italian word *galleria*; presumably the men made contact with English speakers in the mines. Such hybridization of language (to be also recalled are the earlier examples in the Pozzi and Scounting sections) may be read as a reflection of the broader 'syncretisation' of life taking place among the Italian-speaking settlers. While Vincenzo may have written often to his family, he complained that he received few letters from his father.[12] Isolation from loved ones was among the principal reasons for the immigrants' return to their homelands and may have been why Pietro and Giuseppe were back in Mergoscia by 1864.

Vincenzo's decision to remain in Australia suggests some success in the mines or that he had other plans for increasing his income. Toward the end of the 1850s he had opened up the Commissioner's Reef gold mine in the hills east of the first police camp at Spring Creek.[13] The mine was first worked as an open-cut and, like most reef mines in this northern part of the goldfields, gave rich promise down to about 21 metres then petered out. Vincenzo's mine, though not greatly productive, was worked on and off for many years. Like many compatriots, however, Vincenzo was not content to rely solely on mining: while it had provided a means of access to the Jim Crow district, it was soon exchanged (or retained as a minor interest) for the more

culturally familiar occupations of farming or business. Some time in the 1850s or early 1860s Vincenzo opened a hotel on the main road at Spring Creek (ref. figure 10). His premises, which previous owners had operated as a bakery, were modified to become the Revival Hotel and store,[14] the name possibly referring to Italy's struggle for unification -- its so called *Risorgimento* (Revival) -- then taking place. Vincenzo would have followed these events with some interest, a symbol of the close emotional bonds which existed between the Ticinesi and Italians.[15]

Vincenzo transformed his hotel into a meeting place for miners, including the Chinese fossickers who came to exchange their gold for food and drink.[16] He also, like other Italian-speaking hoteliers previously mentioned, diversified the activities of the Revival Hotel as a means of protecting his livelihood. Similar to the Italian *bottega* (a general store in a country district catering more or less for the needs of the people in the area and serving as a wine shop and eating-house), it sold liquor, food and a range of grocery items. Like the *bottega*, it was sparsely furnished but provided a welcoming atmosphere to its largely peasant clientele. In 1864 Vincenzo incorporated a bakery into the business and planted around it an extensive vineyard. A painting of the Revival Hotel, which bears the date 1855 (possibly in reference to its original construction) has been passed down through the generations of the Perini family to become a treasured relic of one of the granddaughters.[17] The painting symbolises Vincenzo's financial achievements as well as the status which he gained within his community.

Many Italian speakers earned the respect of their community through their business achievements: at Spring Creek the (previously mentioned) Lucinis, operators of a large pasta factory; Fabrizio Crippa, owner of a quite substantial vineyard and Lombard-style home (*Parma House*)[18] and hoteliers Luigi Rolleri and Giuseppe Rossetti (who was also a doctor and had worked with the Righettis in Hepburn) became important town identities. Their increased wealth (which eased much of the burden of family responsibility) and leisure time allowed them to participate more fully in community activities. One of Vincenzo's earliest steps into public life concerned the naturally occurring mineral waters around Spring Creek which he, and several other Italian speakers, considered were being neglected. In the 1850s, Francesco Rossetti had raised the problem with the local community but it was not until some years later that the Italian speakers set up a committee to deal with the problem. Calling itself The Committee Established for the Mineral Springs of Hepburn, the original membership included Dr Severino Guscetti (whose story will be told in a later chapter), Fabrizio Crippa, one member of the Lucini family, Michele Bedolla, Francesco Rotanzi and Vincenzo Perini, all of whom were local townsfolk.[19] The group met on a regular basis at the Italian Society's reading room located at Michele Bedolla's Hotel in Spring Creek (ref. figure 10). Indicating a sizeable presence of educated immigrants, Bedolla, who had emigrated from Russo in Ticino in 1855, had set up the room to provide a venue for borrowing Italian books and newspapers; presumably members of the group contributed reading matter received from their families in Ticino and Italy. Bedolla later became a Justice of the Peace and a councillor in the Mt Franklin shire,[20] the experience of assisting his compatriots (as it had for Vincenzo) soon finding expression in a community concern.

More than any other group of settlers, the Italian speakers were concerned with the potential of the mineral springs and fought to have their value recognised. The early aim of the group was to have completed a quantitative analysis of the water by the government analytical chemist and an area around the springs declared a reserve. Among the names put forward by the Committee as trustees of the reserve were many Italian speakers including Vincenzo Perini who, though not always present at the committee meetings held regularly over many years, was active in the workings of the group. On 24 October 1864 he undertook, with other committee members, a visit to the springs to examine damage to the site and improvements which had been made to rectify them. Over the years, the committee worked long and hard writing letters and petitioning government and local bodies. The waters were analysed by the government chemist, doctors and other experts, and declared to be of great value both medicinally and for drinking purposes. They were compared with the spa waters of Europe and judged to be of an equal, if not higher, standard. The area was declared a reserve of approximately twelve and a half hectares (ref. figure 10) by January 1869 (although power was not vested with the committee to enable it to accept money for improvements). Through the efforts of the Mineral Springs Committee -- notably Rotanzi, Crippa, Lucini and Perini -- the springs had been declared to be potentially 'one of the future and probably most attractive spas of Victoria'.[21] Had it not been for the foresight of the Italian speakers, evidenced as early as the 1850s with the work of Dr Francesco Rossetti, the mineral springs may never have received the recognition which they have so clearly enjoyed throughout the twentieth century.

On 14 March 1865 Vincenzo purchased two blocks of land opposite his business in Spring Creek.[22] Five months later, on 16 August 1865, he applied for and was granted British Citizenship.[23] He was by now 28 years old and sufficiently financially secure to consider marriage; of the families included in this study, few men married before reaching their late 20s or early 30s, indicating the important role economic stability played in their decision. Through his friendship with Pietro Gaggioni, a local settler from Gordevio in Ticino (whose story is included in a later chapter), Vincenzo was introduced to a young Irish girl Anastasia Short;[24] the unofficial support networks of the mining years, which had assisted in the search for work and lodging, now existed to help the immigrants in other capacities (and were apparently less ethnically exclusive). Vincenzo and Anastasia were married on 27 April 1865 at St Peter's Catholic Church in Daylesford by the Rev. Fr Slattery.[25] Soon after, Anastasia gave birth to a girl Mary Ann, born 23 January 1866. A second child John Joseph arrived on 21 February 1867 followed on 25 September 1868 by another daughter Esther. As in many marriages between the English and Italian speakers, Anglo-Celtic names were chosen.

To support their growing family, the Perinis worked hard in their hotel and store. Vincenzo's original business ledger, which spans the years from 1865 to 1905 and was inherited by his granddaughter,[26] provides vivid detail of the business's activities. It is an historically interesting document, not only as a list of customers and items sold, but also as an indication of the degree to which the township -- largely made up of Italian speakers -- operated as a cashless economy. Within the small-scale subsistence communities of Ticino and northern Italy, farm produce and other items

including labour were commonly exchanged in a system of barter;[27] apart from possessing little currency, this arrangement protected the people from increased taxes, scarcities and price rises. Indeed it is arguable that, had the shipping companies not been so successful in encouraging emigration to the Colony in the 1850s, self-sufficiency and little traffic in money would have protected the peasants from famine (as it had done many times before). Despite the greater cash flow in the Australian community, and the immigrants' increased financial security, bartering was retained as a familiar and functional system of acquiring goods and services.

While several of Perinis' customers paid for their purchases in cash, many others, such as local farmers Giuseppe Gnesa and Andrea Tinetti, arrived at the store with cheese, fruit, honey or vegetables to trade for wine, bread or grocery items. Others who were also in business brought in larger quantities to exchange and goods which were not consumed by the Perini family were resold in their store to increase their range of merchandise. In some cases customers, such as Vincenzo Fasoli (before he moved to Melbourne to open a restaurant in Lonsdale Street) and Stefano Pozzi, obtained goods on 'contra account'. People, especially tradesmen, also swapped their labour for goods: local boot repairers mended the Perinis' shoes in exchange for items from the bakery. Those without trade skills sometimes worked for a day on Vincenzo's property picking grapes, digging the garden, carting wood or quarrying. Some women took in washing in order to pay for groceries, receiving the equivalent of a day's labour (three shillings) in goods. Vincenzo accepted this form of exchange, not only from his compatriots, but from most of the people with whom he conducted

business. Mrs Laughnan, a local school teacher, received bread from the bakery in return for educating some of the Perini children.[28]

Vincenzo himself also received payments many times through the barter system, exchanging both his goods and labour. In 1872, for example, he fixed fences for Fabrizio Crippa in return for wine received.[29] The barter system would appear to have been retained by the more financially secure citizens because of its link with tradition and its cooperative spirit. For those citizens in need of cash for business purposes, Vincenzo was able to offer interest bearing loans although this service was mainly limited to the Italian speakers and indicative of the low levels of currency within their community. Men who worked for Vincenzo often received their payment in goods from his store, a day's labour being the equivalent of five shillings worth of groceries: Girolamo Ronechi, Pietro Pedrotta and Martino Marinoya were all paid in this way.[30] As it was rare for such peasant families back in Europe to employ labour from outside the family, a wage system may not have been well developed. Though the practice of barter was widespread among the Italian speakers of Spring Creek, and continued into the early years of the twentieth century, it was eventually replaced by a fully cash economy. The earning of wages and the opening up of the community to outside forces, such as tourism, reduced both its efficiency and its appeal.

Besides the goods which Vincenzo provided through his hotel and store, his business ledger also reveals a number of services. Skilled in both English and Italian, he became the Italian speakers' legal representative and ran a lucrative business writing business letters and helping settle business affairs. Most Italian speakers needed (at

one time or another) to deal in legal matters and were handicapped both through their lack of education and their language skills. Messrs Minotti and Scheggia, among many others, were Vincenzo's clients. The appointment of informal legal assistants from within the immigrant community reflected traditional suspicion of government institutions, officialdom and the law (typified in another Bergamask saying: as *'soldi e amicizia rompono il collo alla guistizi'*, money and friends break the neck of justice).[31] It reinforced the power structure emerging within the immigrant community which gave those with education increased responsibility and status. Vincenzo took every opportunity to exercise his English skills, his business records containing only the occasional *'vedi'* as a 'see' reference.

As a businessman and town identity, Vincenzo also began to take on more responsibility within the general community. Standing for council in 1869, he was elected a member of the Central Division of the Yandoit and Franklin Road Board which then acted as the shire council.[32] His family remained, however, his chief concern, Anastasia giving birth to a fourth child Margaret Elizabeth on 22 April 1870. A daughter Anastasia, named after her mother, was born on 5 August 1871 followed by Arnold Vincent on 8 October 1872. Unfortunately, both he and his sister Anastasia were to die the following year. By that time Vincenzo had been elected a councillor on the Shire of Mount Franklin.[33] He had also increased his land holding, purchasing another block of land at Spring Creek opposite his business.[34] On 29 September 1873 a seventh child Emilia Louisa was born and was given the first Italian name in the family: coming after Vincenzo had been 20 years in the Colony, it symbolised the strong affection he retained for his homeland. Another daughter Sarah Martha Teresa

was born two years later on 26 October 1875, in the same year that Vincenzo retired from the Mt Franklin council. Focussing more on the interests of his own ethnic community he became an active member of the Swiss and Italian Association in Daylesford.[35]

Within the Perini home there was evidence of both Anglo-Celtic and Swiss cultures. The children were encouraged to speak English from an early age, going to the local primary school and later the Holy Cross Convent in Daylesford.[36] The eldest children Mary Ann and John received at least part of their education from the school teacher Mrs Loughnan at Hill Street, Daylesford. The family mixed socially with many in the large Italian-speaking population, regularly visiting the Rolleris in their nearby hotel, the Borsas (after whom Borsa Crescent (ref. figure 10) was later named) and the Righettis of Yandoit. It was not unusual for Vincenzo to walk ten or so kilometres to Yandoit to see his friend Battista. During these gatherings the children absorbed many aspects of the Swiss-Italian language and culture, the influence of which was also discernible in the family's self-sufficiency. Surrounding their comfortable home at Spring Creek was a large vineyard, which extended from the rear of the business, and a vegetable garden. The family kept a few cows, the milk from which they made butter and cheese, and stored all their produce in a large cellar beneath the house. Reflecting Ticinese tradition, Vincenzo insisted on keeping the cows under cover at night despite Australia's warmer climate. Like other families, cheese and vegetables formed the basis of the Perini diet, pasta served with fried onions and grated cheese being among their most popular dishes. Anastasia apparently included some traditional Ticinese recipes among the foods she cooked.

On 15 May 1877, the ninth Perini child was born and named Vincent James. In the same year Vincenzo was appointed Inspector of Weights and Measures for the Daylesford district, a position which he held until 1883; paid at the rate of 50 per cent of the revenue, he was one of few Italian-speaking immigrants to supplement his income with paid employment.[37] The family's chief source of income, as listed in *Wise's Post Office Directory* for the 1880s, came from their vineyard and hotel, although an interest in mining had also been retained through the Commissioner's Reef gold mine. In 1885 Vincenzo obtained another paid position as auditor of the Shire, a post which he held each successive year until 1899 when he was opposed.[38] His understanding of accounting and bookkeeping continued alongside his understanding of more ancient exchange systems, such as barter, which persisted as a feature of his life within the Swiss-Italian community. On 13 April 1879 the Perinis produced another son Battista Arnold, his name an expression of his dual ethnicity. Two years later, on 13 February 1881, a brother Franklin was born followed on 3 September 1882 by a sister Ellen Anastasia. This was another example of a child being named after one deceased: each family member would have been named 'baby Perini' until it had survived a year or so. On 28 May 1885 Violetta Pierina arrived and, on 1 April 1887, James Luigi, both of whom were given Italian names. The last child William Alfred was born on 12 August 1888. Anastasia Perini had given birth to thirteen children in a period ranging over 22 years.

Though he worked hard, Vincenzo was not a strong man and suffered many years from pain in his hip. In 1890, he underwent major surgery which may have been

related to this problem. The Swiss Society offered him financial help after the operation which (presumably combined with a government pension) enabled him to retire. The immigrants' informal support networks of the goldmining years had developed into more organised associations offering benefits such as financial aid.[39] That businessmen like Vincenzo, with a range of income sources, requested such help indicates how few Italian-speaking immigrants rose above a position of financial insecurity. On 1 August 1891, the Swiss community celebrated the sixth centenary of the foundation of the Swiss confederation giving recognition to their ethnic roots; a photograph of Violetta dressed in what appears to be national costume perhaps indicates the festivities which took place.[40] Holding on to such memories as the photograph (as was also the case with descendants of the Lafranchi family in the previous section), later generations of Perinis sought and established a link with their past through the romantic (if not scientific) representation of peasant life contained in the 'peasant' costume. While it enabled them to idealise a time when life was simple, wholesome and beautiful, theirs was not a banal misrepresentation of reality but an impression of the ideas, mental images and myths which, taken from a popular repertoire of cultural attributes, invested their own lives with meaning.

Vincenzo continued to seek paid work despite his retirement, becoming caretaker of the Hepburn springs and first custodian of the spa baths.[41] He was saddened during this time by the deaths of several family members: the first, that of his daughter Esther in 1893 at 25 years of age, and the second, that of his son Battista. Battista, whose sweet singing voice had entertained the family on many festive occasions, may have died from cancer, the cause of his death (which took place at his

home) being recorded as 'consumption of the bowel'. Vincenzo's wife Anastasia died four years later, leaving him with several small children for whom to care. Their guardianship was assumed by Mary Ann (then 31 years of age), continuing a role which she no doubt shared with her mother for many years. On 22 April 1898 Emilia Louisa, aged 25, left the family home to join St Joseph's Convent of the Sacred Heart in Mount Street, North Sydney. As she travelled the more than 600 kilometres to her destination, Vincenzo was reminded that the vastness of Australia could separate families almost as much as return to Ticino. Emilio later became Sister Mary Feddis but worked only a brief time as a nun, dying on 26 March 1903. By joining the convent she had, however, taken her different cultural and ethnic experiences into a new community, thereby increasing Australians' awareness of the nation's early white settlers.

War too, ironically, could be instrumental in bringing together groups of different ethnic background. During the Boer War, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, Franklin Perini fought in South Africa with the Scottish Horse. Upon his return to Daylesford he was met by a welcoming crowd of 500 to 600 people, including many town councillors and the mayor, who, at the official town hall welcome, expressed pride in Trooper Perini's defence of King and Empire. Vincenzo's speech, in which he declared 'that he was glad to see his son back again and proud to have such a son who went to fight for his adopted country and for the British Empire,'[42] reinforced the role his son had played. At the welcome home celebration, held a few days later in the Hepburn Assembly Hall, Trooper Perini was carried to the stage by another returned soldier Captain Righetti.[43] Both men were presented with medals and Trooper Perini a

gold watch and chain from the people of Daylesford; as well as rewards for service they symbolised acceptance into the Australian community. Sadly, only four years after his return from the war Franklin was killed in a railway accident at work: after having moved to Pukehou in New Zealand following the war and finding work as a railway guard, he died on 5 September 1906 at only 25 years of age. He left a small inheritance to his family, and to William his gold watch chain and some sleeve links.[44]

As well as the death of their son, the Perini family had earlier that year been through the trauma of bushfire. Bushfires are one of Australia's important natural phenomena due to the continent's fire-germinated species and hot, dry climate. Aboriginal fire-stick farming had maintained an ecological balance which was disrupted by white settlement. The Daylesford region had repeatedly fallen victim to the destructive power of bushfires once the area was heavily timbered. In 1851 a blaze had raged through Deep Creek Valley, followed by more fires in 1861 which prompted the creation of a fire brigade. Over the next 40 years bushfires destroyed parts of Musk Creek, Bullarto, the Wombat Forest and Glenlyon, but the most disastrous fire occurred on 23 January 1906, damaging huge areas around Daylesford and Hepburn.[45] The blaze, which had flared up after a local farmer failed to correctly extinguish a fire lit to smoke out a snake, was noticed by a young member of the Tinetti family from Shepherds Flat. The young man ran ahead of the advancing line of fire, urging people to evacuate their homes. Property destroyed included the Hepburn bakery of the Vanzettas (a family more will be heard about later) and the Borsa family's guest-house *Bellinzona* at Spring Creek (ref. figure 10). Among the Italian speakers who lost their lives were three Ticinesi: Domenico Giovannoni, Michael Tognini and John Lafranchi

(no direct relation to the Lafranchi family in this study). The immigrants had fled the perils of their own homelands to be confronted by another peculiar to hot and dry continents. Many vineyards around Hepburn were destroyed thereby accelerating the decline of the local wine industry afflicted by phylloxera during the previous decade.

Despite the loss of livelihood that the fire caused to many people, ironically it proved a bonus for the Perinis. Their hotel, which had suffered some fire damage but was fully operational soon after the event, attracted clients turned away from other destroyed businesses. Workmen employed to carry out repairs were also accommodated at Perinis'. When *Bellinzona*'s owner Battista Borsa redirected his clients and workmen to their hotel -- inspired perhaps by ties of friendship and ethnicity -- the Perinis were surprised by how well they coped with accommodation on a large scale and decided to continue in the guest-house business permanently. Battista Borsa had arrived in Australia in 1852, from the city of Bellinzona (hence the name of the guest-house) one of only five Ticinesi to arrive in those early years. He had mined for a time and then opened a butcher shop at Forest Creek, advertising his goods in the local newspaper in Italian.[46] He set up a brewery in Daylesford in the 1860s (ref. figure 9) -- the Italian speakers apparently influential in developing Australian's beer as well as wine tastes -- and later established his guest-house *Bellinzona* at Spring Creek which proved to be one of many then becoming popular in the Daylesford region.

Tourism had became Daylesford's major industry by the early years of the 1900s, creating a huge demand for accommodation. Thanks partly to the work of the Mineral Springs Committee, the spa waters of Hepburn Springs (which was the name

Spring Creek assumed after 1906) had begun to attract large numbers of visitors who arrived from Melbourne by train to spend a week or two bathing in and drinking the refreshing mineral waters. The Perinis made extensive renovations to their hotel, adding a wooden section at the back to house bedrooms, a lounge and dining area. The dining-room with its starched white tablecloths contrasted sharply with the eating area of the *bottega* and reflected the changing clientele of the Perinis from peasant to middle-class Anglo-Australian. A verandah was fixed to the front of the building to give a more homely appearance and soon proved a popular backdrop for guests' photographs.[47] Like the Borsas, Vincenzo gave the guest-house a name reminiscent of his homeland: *Locarno*, the major Ticinese city near Mergoscia. *Locarno* guests paid 30 shillings per week for board and lodging as well as access to the extensive gardens and leisure activities. Tourism increased Melburnians' awareness of Australia's Swiss-Italian settlers at Daylesford.

By this time, Vincenzo had passed his seventieth year and, despite earlier surgery, was increasingly incapacitated by the pain in his hip. Becoming bedridden, he died on 2 December 1915. His obituary which appeared in the local press fourteen days later described him as a kind and loving father. Surrounded by the family members still residing at home, he had been showered with love and attention. He was survived by five daughters and four sons, some of whom had left the family home to work in various trades but returned to help run *Locarno*. However, it was the four daughters Mary Ann, Margaret Elizabeth, Ellen Anastasia and Violetta who eventually took over its operation: like the Righetti and Lafranchi women (introduced in previous

chapters) they had been well prepared, through their upbringing, for such a role. William and James actually inherited the business and leased it back to their sisters.

The four sisters managed their guest-house capably, dividing the work between them (Violetta being especially fond of cooking).[48] They employed two young girls from the Swiss community, Clara and Leila Gaggioni, to clean the rooms and empty the chamber pots. Though paying outsiders a wage was at variance with earlier tradition, the giving of help to someone within the ethnic community was not: the Gaggionis had after all introduced the Perini girls' parents to one another. William, who lived in a house just behind Locarno was responsible for maintenance and repairs of the guest-house and also contributed to its musical evenings by playing the piano while his sisters sang. As was the case for many Italian speakers, music played an important part in their lives and they had all, at one time or another, sung in the local choir. The guest-house grew into a profitable business providing its operators with a comfortable life-style and the possibility to save. As an investment, the women bought a number of rental properties which, without the support the extended family to care for them in their old age, provided for their retirement.[49]

Of the children who did not run *Locarno*, John Joseph, the second eldest, took up a position with an ironmonger McKell in Daylesford. John Joseph later moved to Ballarat, where he became manager of Cohen's ironmongery business in Sturt Street. His sister Sarah, the only daughter to marry, remained all her life in Hepburn Springs. She became the wife of Percival Boff and raised three children. Vincent James Perini spent nineteen years as a blacksmith in Hepburn before moving to Collie in Western

Australia, where he found employment making wheels for buggies. He married Alice Warner in nearby Bunbury before settling permanently in Collie. James Luigi, who remained part-owner of *Locarno*, worked for a time at Hepburn Springs becoming one of the founding members of the Hepburn Progressive Association. When he later moved to Hamilton, his departure was much regretted by the membership who spoke of his generous help and tireless support he had given his community. Married to Frances Cleary in 1921 he finally settled in Melbourne where he opened a grocery shop as his father had done many years before at Spring Creek. Naming his home *Locarno*, he kept alive the memory of his Swiss heritage.[50]

William Perini, before he married in 1924, performed active service in the First World War. As had occurred during the Boer War, the comradeship which developed between the Australian fighters helped overcome barriers of ethnic diversity. Upon his return to Victoria, William became president of the Daylesford District Diggers, an association for the returned servicemen, and in 1928 was invited to perform at one of its evening 'smoke nights'.[51] With him on the stage was his friend Ernest Zelman, whose father Albert had emigrated from Trieste in 1870 -- long before the region became part of Italy in 1918. Albert had come to Australia as the conductor of an opera company. He raised four sons, one of whom became a violinist and later founder of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, and another who became a respected landscape artist, some of whose works are hung in the National Gallery of Victoria.[52] It would seem that those Italians (like Ticino, even before the war, Trieste's cultural traditions were strongly linked to Italy) whose works represented the antiquity and traditions of a glorious civilisation, were readily accepted into Australia's artistic and

upper classes. Ernest Zelman married into the Borsa family and eventually took over

management of *Bellinzona*. William became the post master at Hepburn Springs,

operating from a building which also housed a store, a branch of the Commonwealth

Savings Bank and a newsagency. He and his wife raised four children in a home which

they named *Villa Lugano* and around which they planted a beautiful garden. Like his

father, William became involved in a number of community activities, joining the Water

Board, the Returned Services League and the Tourist House Keepers' Association of

Victoria. He died in 1971 after a lifetime spent in the district.

In 1929 the Perini sisters decided to sell *Locarno* and move to a home in

Melbourne. The guest-house, advertised for sale in the local paper as 'a large roomy

house fitted with all modern conveniences',[53] was considered sufficiently newsworthy

for a somewhat more detailed article some days later:

SALE OF GUEST HOUSE

One of the largest sales that has ever taken place in the district was completed during the week, when *Locarno*, one of the best known guest-houses at Hepburn Springs, together with the freehold and furnishings, was sold on a walk-in-walk-out basis to Mr J. McGinnin and Mrs L. Kearney. The price had not been disclosed but it is understood that it ran into several thousand pounds. *Locarno* which was formerly owned by the late Mr V. Perini had been owned by the Perini family for over half a century and long before anyone thought that Hepburn Springs would be the spa centre of Australia. The Misses Perini never doubted that part of the district would one day be a popular health resort, and about a quarter of a century ago, founded the present guest-house. Today, the Misses Perini are known throughout Australia mainly through the growth of *Locarno*. Twenty-six years ago, the business was conducted in a small way, but today *Locarno* is fitted with every modern convenience.[54]

The new owners successfully ran *Locarno* for many years later adding another

dining-room and ballroom. In 1955, when under the management of a Mrs E. Adler,

the guest-house was again damaged by fire, this time to such an extent that it was closed down. Still operating under the name of *Locarno* it had, up to that time, retained its links with the Swiss family who had been its founders. By the 1950s, the Daylesford district had seen the decline of its guest-house industry, increased car ownership allowing people to make day trips to Daylesford and reducing the need for an extended stay. The four Perini women moved to a house in the Melbourne suburb of Caulfield which they again named *Locarno* as an expression to their neighbours of their cultural roots. It was a happy home with a continual coming and going of friends and relatives.

At the end of the twentieth century, little remains of the Perini family at Hepburn Springs, William's daughter Marie Butler being the only descendant still resident in the town. Recalling her childhood among the 'aunts and uncles' of the closely-knit Italian-speaking community, she retained many happy memories of her youth. Her father's home had eventually been sold and converted into a guest-house named *Perini*. It was among several guest-houses and tourist establishments given Swiss or Italian names as a link with the district's rich cultural heritage. The Perini family had contributed in many ways to the development of Hepburn Springs, not only through the round of picnics, sports events and fancy-dress balls offered at *Locarno*, but through the family's generous community involvement. This involvement, which has been evident throughout many of the case studies in this thesis, might suggest that, outside the peasant setting, the community became an extension of the immigrants' familiar model -- one which was more able to integrate outsiders. This is an idea

which will be pursued in the final family to be considered in this chapter, the Righetti

family.

RIGHETTI

Four brothers of the Righetti family emigrated to Australia in the middle of the nineteenth century. Their father, Giovanni Giacomo Righetti, was a farmer, born 7 January 1788 in the Ticinese village of Someo. He had married Maria Domenica Lafranchi in her home town of Coglio: an endogamous marriage, it united two families of similar geographical location and cultural heritage. Symbolic of the extensive kinship network which would later characterise the Italian-speaking population in Australia, Maria appears to have been related to the ancestors of Andrea and Celestini Lafranchi, introduced earlier. From their marriage six children were born, Anna Maria -- the first of two girls -- arriving eighteen years after her parents had wed. Her father had perhaps been one of the eight per cent or so of the village population forced to seek work for long periods outside the canton.[1] A son, Celestino, was born around 1832, followed in 1834 by the birth of Giuseppe. Addolorata arrived in1836 followed by Battista in 1837 and (Giuliano) Serafino in 1839. Raised in Someo, where their parents had made their home, the children all received a Roman Catholic upbringing and learned the skills of the peasant farmer. By the 1850s, when most of the Righetti children were nearing their twentieth year, villagers had begun emigrating overseas in large numbers in order to escape the poverty and hunger then consuming their village. (It may be recalled that some members of the Morganti family had already departed by 1853.) Soon swept up in the enthusiasm (as was their cousin Battista, who later settled at Yandoit in Australia), the Righetti boys made their plans to emigrate. While a large number of their clan would eventually depart for America between 1853 and 1863, thirty (at least) arrived in Australia.[2]

Giuseppe, the second eldest of the brothers, was the first to depart from his village in 1854 at the age of 20. Employed as a farmer on the family property (although he may have gone periodically into Italy in search of labouring work), he financed his journey with his own savings.[3] Travelling first to California, where he appears to have fared poorly in the mines, he transferred to Australia before the year's end. The only Ticinese passenger departing San Francisco aboard the *Nadir*,[4] he might have been hoping to meet up with his brother Serafino who was, at that same time, sailing to Australia. Fifteen years of age in 1854 (and one year older than his cousin Battista who would leave the following year), Serafino had financed his journey through private borrowings of 900 francs; it appears little was done to dissuade such young men from leaving the village. Travelling first by land and sea to the port of Liverpool, Serafino had boarded the *Ocean Chief* on 23 May 1854, arriving in Australia three months later.[5] The ship carried only six Ticinesi, many having departed one week earlier aboard the *Carpentaria* (which also carried Stefano Pozzi).[6] Serafino's travel companions included (among others) Giovan Battista Righetti, to whom he was probably related; Giovan Pedrina from Someo and Giovanni Filipponi and Michael Laloli from Gordevio. Possibly arriving in Australia before his brother Giuseppe, it was to these people that he first looked for help and advice. It was Stefano Pozzi, however, who became one of his earliest mining companions.

At 21, Stefano (who was still in Melbourne when the *Ocean Chief* docked) was a little older than Serafino but no more experienced as a miner. Arriving at Jim Crow with several other immigrants they soon set themselves up with some mining

equipment and began their search. News of Serafino's whereabouts reached his family through Stefano's letters: *'Dirette a Righetti di Someo che il suo figlio è sano ed è andato alla mina con Giacomo Sartori, Pezzoni e suo figlio and con il suo cognato Adamina'*.[7] As well as indicating contact between the villagers of Someo and Giumaglio, this letter also points to the continuing importance of extended familial and village networks into which the new settlers were enmeshed. At the same time, the networks operated within new contexts, and to that extent represented a broadening of conceptual horizons. Stefano and Serafino mined as partners for a time at an open claim in the Daylesford district using the sluice-race recovery method to extract what little they could from the soil. They were eventually joined by Giuseppe Righetti and, before long, also by his brothers Battista and Celestino.

Battista, who was eighteen years old and married, and the 23 year old Celestino, also married and the father of a child, had departed from Someo in 1855, one year later than their brothers. They had travelled overland to Antwerp, where they boarded the vessel *H. Ludwina*,[8] which (already noted through the experiences of Noè Tognazzi in the Morganti section) provided its passengers with one of the most horrendous sea voyages ever made to Australia. Departing on 16 May 1855, Celestino later wrote down his experiences in the hope that they would be read by future generations of his family: perhaps experiencing the guilt of many immigrants who had left their families, he wanted to document the hardships he had endured. With no description of the new (and one would expect interesting) places he was visiting, such as Paris, Havre, Dieppe, Basil, Prussia and Holland, he gave instead only details of his miserable voyage: *'Durante tutto questo viaggio di mare siamo stati trattati*

malissimo ... avessimo dovuto morire dalla fame e dalla miseria'.[9] Also lacking the punctuation skills which characterised many Italian speakers' writing,[10] Celestino expressed vividly the suffering of passengers: comparing their beds with those on which his pigs slept, the use of a familiar farming analogy served to highlight the sense of degradation. In contrast to his expectations, Celestino had arrived in Australia weak and hungry from the voyage and been left to wander the streets of Sydney chewing on a loaf of bread. His greatest comfort coming from his compatriots -- whom he referred to as *fratelli* (brothers) -- Celestino would have appreciated the strength of village and kinship ties.

Another member of the Righetti family who appears to have accompanied Celestino and Battista on the voyage to Australia was eighteen-year-old Aquilino Righetti who, like Celestino, also documented his experiences for future generations. Despite naming the vessel on which he travelled the *Il Saint. Liduine*, and claiming to have boarded in October and disembarked in April rather than (as Celestino claimed) to have boarded in April and disembarked in October, it was almost certainly the same vessel. The discrepancy may have arisen from Aquilino's belief that he would arrive in Australia's springtime which, coming from Europe, signified April. His statement, *'sbarcammo a Sydney nel mese di aprile, e credendo di giungere in primavera'*,[11] points to his sense of confusion and difference connected with such a global movement as travelling from the northern hemisphere to the south. Describing the voyage, Aquilino was no less critical than Celestino of the passengers' treatment.

While the food rations initially had been sufficient -- passengers were given quantities of rice, potatoes, beans or cereal which they secured into small sacks and lowered into an enormous pot of boiling water for cooking -- they eventually became smaller and smaller until the passengers received almost nothing. The Italian speakers, claimed Aquilino, had only been able to control their hunger through their experience with fasting during the period of Lent.[12] Other miseries included insect bites and the fear of pirate attack: though this was more a perceived than an actual threat, the men had at one stage armed themselves for battle. When the ship finally docked at Sydney, the authorities were so appalled by the travellers' state of ill health that they placed them in quarantine until they could be deemed fit to go among the Australian public. Like Celestino, Aquilino spoke well of his compatriots but criticised one *'supposto avvocato italiano'* (so called Italian lawyer)[13] who took his money promising to arrange a refund on his fare from the shipping company again, like other of his compatriots, revealing a traditional mistrust of the law. Disillusioned by the way he had been treated and too poor to go to the goldfields, he remained in Sydney where he eventually found work on a vineyard and tobacco plantation. Celestino, in contrast, had departed immediately for Jim Crow, possibly in the company of his fifteen year old cousin Battista who had also travelled aboard the infamous *H. Ludwina*.

Before leaving Ticino, Battista and Celestino had borrowed (respectively) 600 francs and 700 francs from their father; although this money had not been made available to the other brothers, the father appears to have had some savings for he later made a much larger loan to Celestino.[14] Arriving at Jim Crow the boys may have mined with their brothers, as another of Stefano Pozzi's letters suggests: *'Righetti*

B.ta ha finito un buco bono e subito ne ha trovato un altro',[15] but Battista soon decided to exchange this wearisome activity for the more culturally familiar occupation of store ownership. Though his skills lay chiefly in dairy farming, Battista used his savings, and perhaps some mining profits, to set up a small tent selling groceries in Hepburn (on a site which later became Vanzettas' bakery) (ref. figure 11).

In 1855 he had approached Stefano Pozzi's brother, Alessandro, suggesting they open a store together but, when he was refused on the grounds that there were no profits in such ventures, he had bought into the store with a member of the Padavani family.[16] Forming a second partnership a few months later with one Gioannini (Giovannini?) Bonetti, by February of the following year he was in competition with the Pozzis who had opened another store 20 to 30 paces away. The Pozzi store being more prosperous because of its home-made bread, Battista decided that he too would need to include a bakery on his premises. Angering Leonardo Pozzi, who claimed (applying a typically agrarian metaphor) that Battista was trying to *'farci la forca'* [17] (to play them false or put the pitchfork into them), he became more aware of the rivalry that existed within the immigrant population. Battista proved a more formidable competitor with his bread oven and was soon able to undercut Pozzis' bread prices. This brought about another angry outburst from the Pozzis who labelled Battista *'quella carogna di quel Righetti'* [18] (that carrion of a Righetti). When a local Italian baker also lowered his bread prices and was called *'maledetto ... piemontese'*[19] (an accursed ... Piedmontese), it was an indication of how goldfields tension could not only strain ethnic and cultural bonds but also give expression to existing ethnic and cultural differences.

Despite the conflicts with competitors, Battista appears to have prospered well for a time opening, like the Pozzis, a second store at Deep Creek; it may have been managed by his brothers Giuseppe and Serafino. Celestino was not involved in these ventures, having at some stage moved to Ballarat. The Deep Creek store was not a success, leading Alessandro Pozzi to boast:

> **il signor Righetti con tanta sua smania che aveva adesso fa meno di prima, la gente nel suo storo sono come le api in inverno; noi abbiamo travagliato di più e sempre travaglieremo di più di Righetti, anche in Deep Creek ha portato via lo storo e noi siamo ancora là.**[20]

Through their letters the Pozzis (and other literate immigrants) were able to relieve the frustrations of life on the goldfields and justify their business acumen vis-a-vis other Italian-speaking settlers. Just as the statements of the time expressed ethnic and cultural differences, these statements can be read as expressions of rivalry and competition within the same ethnic and cultural grouping. Though not always an accurate record of events, they are valuable for the way they expressed the emotions of their authors at the time of writing. Certainly the Righetti and Pozzi families were not in continual conflict, Battista often lending Alessandro the Ticinese newspapers which he received from Someo.[21] It is also hard to imagine that the Righettis were not present at *La Festa della Madonna* celebrations held each year at Pozzis' store in mid August. When Alessandro wrote in 1856 that business failure had aged Righetti, it seemed to contain a sympathetic note.[22]

By May 1856, Battista had grown more worried about his poor profits and expressed a desire to sell. Together with his brothers (who had continued to maintain

an interest in the mines) he sold his bread oven to the Pozzis for 30 pounds.[23]   Though

the Righettis had promised not to set up another oven within four kilometres of the

Pozzis -- an example of a spirit of accommodation as well as rivalry within the Italian-

speaking group -- Giuseppe entered into partnership with Dr Rossetti (see previous

sections) and reopened again next door.   Furious letters were again written by the

Pozzis to their family in Giumaglio, claiming:

> **Quando si ha a che fare con briganti sempre si resta traditi non dai**
> **nemici nostri no, sono i nostri veri vecchi amici signori Righetti, i**
> **quali (almeno il Giuseppe e il Serafino) hanno venduto a noi il loro**
> **forno per 30 lire, colla condizione che essi non mettessero più forno**
> **se non due miglia e mezza lontano dal nostro.[24]**

Alessandro drew comfort from the knowledge that the Righettis would be criticised by

the compatriots in Ticino, village morality continuing to assert its influence in the early

years of settlement.   The new bakery, which (according to Alessandro) belonged half

to Righetti and Rossetti and half to a company of six people from various nations, is

claimed to have only attracted custom due to the presence of Rossetti's good looking

sister-in-law and certainly not to the skill of its owners.[25]

By September, Battista had sold his share in the business and moved to

Bendigo, where he tried another venture popular with the Swiss, a sweet shop.   When

it too failed to make a profit, he decided to return to Someo, doing so before the year

had finished.   His wife, who had awaited his return in Ticino, had bought land on his

behalf, possibly paying for it with a loan of 5,105 francs from her father-in-law.[26]   With

little to show for the two years in Australia, Battista returned to the comfort and

support of his family.[27]   His brother Giuseppe continued as a store owner and baker in

Hepburn, offering to buy back Pozzis' bread oven for the sum of six pounds.   Two

years later he purchased the land on which his brothers' store had stood[28] (another instance of British citizenship following land purchase) and, operating under the name of the Union Store, continued in partnership with Rossetti.

Residing for a time in Spring Creek, where he may have been working in another branch store, hotel and bakery established by Rossetti (on the site of what later became Bedolla's Hotel) (ref. figure 10), in 1859 Giuseppe married an Irish girl, Mary O'Grady, then in her mid 20s. Their first child, Joseph Richard (given the anglicised form of his father's name plus an exclusively Anglo-Saxon name) died in infancy. In 1861 Giuseppe, by now resolved to remain in Australia, applied for British Citizenship on the grounds that he wished to purchase more land.[29] His brother Celestino, who had been living in Ballarat, decided instead to return to Someo, departing Melbourne aboard the *Marco Polo* on 6 February 1861.[30] It was another four years on, 2 August 1865, before Giuseppe made his land purchase, buying a block in Hepburn opposite his original land holding. Some time in the 1860s he also assumed management of the Old Racecourse Hotel (later the Hepburn Hotel) (ref. figure 11) where he remained for a number of years.[31]

His brother Serafino, who had also decided to settle permanently in Australia, by this time had moved to Creswick and taken up his old occupation of dairying.[32] On 7 February 1862 he had married Lucy McCord, a 21 year old Irish girl; though himself only 23, Serafino had apparently considered himself sufficiently financially secure for such a step. His wife, according to the family history,[33] had been born in County

Westmeath Ireland to an Irish mother and Scots father. The family had lived in a cottage on the estate of one Lord Longford where Lucy's father William was employed as a steward and her mother kept the gate. At age fourteen, Lucy, with her parents and sister Helen aged ten, had arrived in Melbourne aboard the *Samuel Locke* on 27 April 1857 after a 140 day voyage from Liverpool.[34] Seven years later Lucy met and married Serafino Righetti, the service taking place at St Alipius Church in Ballarat. Before her marriage, Lucy had been living with her mother in Daylesford and working as a servant at Buninyong. Her father was at the time working as an engineer at Kyneton.

Serafino and Lucy produced five children, the first, Edmund Edward, born in Hepburn in the final months of 1862. On 3 March 1865, at 28 years of age, Serafino was naturalised. Giving his occupation as publican at Hepburn, he may at that time have been assisting his brother Giuseppe at the Old Racecourse Hotel. In the late 1860s Serafino's family moved to Stony Creek (ref. figure 9), five kilometres south of Daylesford and near Sailors Falls, an area which had been heavily settled by Italian speakers and whose building styles reflected their traditional construction methods.[35] Here the Righettis produced another child Ernest Serafino on 22 January 1869, his name an acknowledgement of his British-Swiss heritage. Lucy Amelia was born 24 October 1872.[36] With the birth of Giuseppe's children -- a son Frank (for whom no birth certificate has been located), Theresa Catherine (who died in infancy) in 1865, Robert in 1869, Eveline Honora in 1871 and Mary Josephine in 1873 -- the Righetti clan was able to re-establish itself in Australia.

Unlike most Irish girls who married Italian speakers, Lucy was not a Roman Catholic, but a Protestant. She had agreed, however, to allow her children to be baptised in the Catholic faith, as happened with Edmund and Ernest. When it was Lucy's turn, and her mother took her along to the church on the appointed day accompanied by a Protestant woman who was to be the baby's godmother, the Irish Catholic priest refused to conduct the service, insisting that a Catholic woman should be the child's godmother. Mrs Righetti, taking umbrage, vowed that any future children would be baptised in a Protestant church.[37] While this might have disappointed Serafino, he might also have agreed that a church dominated by the strict Irish clergy did not accurately represent his own faith. The retelling of this story through each generation of the Righetti family -- with its construction of a mother who is both determined and courageous -- suggests a family identity in which women were encouraged to be independent and strong; descendants continue to feel ties with the qualities which enabled their ancestors to survive and prosper.

Following their marriage, Serafino and Lucy Righetti remained in the Daylesford district fifteen years, during which time Serafino continued to mine the local creeks for gold. When this activity took him away from his home at night, Lucy would keep a loaded gun hanging ready in case 'the Chinese should come to steal their gold'[38] -- this popular view of the Chinese continuing long after the days of the gold rush. By 1870 Serafino had begun paying rates on a hotel at Stony Creek, his dairying skills also possibly being used on a block of land purchased on 1 February 1872 at

Sailors Falls. While the exact location of his wine saloon or hotel has not been established, a granddaughter later suggested that it might have lain at the end of what eventually became Quarry Road:

> By word of mouth from Robert Righetti, (son of Giuseppe) in 1933, I learned that I may find the site of the first house of Serafino and Lucy. I subsequently visited an old house on the Melbourne side of Daylesford at Sailors' Springs, Muskvale, and was directed to the place where the house had been. All that remained on the site were signs where the house had been and remains of a garden including an English laurel shrub.[39]

Besides the garden created by Lucy the couple operated a small farm which, combined with the income from their hotel, made them self-sufficient. The family dined on many traditional Ticinese foods including pasta from Lucinis' macaroni factory and home-made salami. Serafino's salami recipe, which was kept hidden in his dairy, eventually passed on to a grandson who made it available to a local butcher in Daylesford.[40] As late as the 1990s, it was possible to buy salami prepared from this original recipe, food again linking people of different time periods and ethnic backgrounds.[41]

Serafino's Italian-speaking heritage was also evident in the people he invited to his home, his brother Giuseppe and other members of the Swiss-Italian community often calling to play cards and speak in their own language. Amusing the children with their foreign chatter (and reinforcing their sense of belonging to a European ethnic group), Giuseppe's son Frank later commented how his father's 'continental friends. . . would be jabbering in their own language'.[42] The second-generation Righettis apparently understood little of the Italian language, having attended the local schools and been raised by English-speaking mothers: unlike the Tomasetti and Lafranchi

children (see previous sections) Lucy Righetti's offspring only heard the old Irish or Scots songs and poetry which she loved. Other Italian-speaking friends or relatives who called to the Righetti house included Serafino's cousin Battista (now resident at Yandoit), Stefano Pozzi (their old business rivalry apparently forgotten), the Lucinis from Spring Creek and the Rotanzis. Some of them might have been delighted to see upon the wall of Serafino's house a beautifully decorated wooden clock which had been imported from Switzerland:[43] not merely a reminder of home, it was tangible evidence to the rest of the community of Swiss technical skill and artistic ability. It was also suggestive of the increased purchasing power of the Italian-speaking immigrants.

Being more financially secure with increased leisure time, Serafino, like many of his compatriots, offered his services to the community. In 1875, he became a member of Daylesford's Swiss and Italian Association, of which his friend Francesco Rotanzi had once been secretary. Later, he was elected to the Mount Franklin Shire Council[44] (along with his brother Giuseppe and cousin Battista), the desire for a greater say in local politics revealing a less suspicious attitude towards authority than that which would have typified a peasant outlook. Conscious of the advantages to a businessman of a greater community involvement (like Vincenzo Perini in the previous section), he had broadened the circle of his responsibilities beyond the family. Becoming at one time a member, correspondent and chairman of a Board of Advice for Education,[45] Stefano also revealed a high regard for institutionalised learning which again placed him at variance with typically peasant values. Though some of his

children completed only minimal schooling (Ernest to age twelve), others were later sent to colleges in South Melbourne and Hamilton.

Serafino's public role in the Daylesford district came to an end in 1878 when the Righettis decided to leave Stony Creek and move to Heywood, a small town near the busy port of Portland (ref. figure 6). Selling their property on 20 May 1878, Serafino retired from the Mount Franklin Shire Council two months later. Prior to his departure, a farewell dinner was held at Foletti's Jockey Club Hotel on the Ballan Road near Daylesford. Toasts were drunk 'To the Mining Interest' and 'The Commercial Interest' of Serafino, all of which were replied to in a short speech by another Italian-speaking councillor, Michael Bedolla. Serafino was also honoured with the following illuminated address by the chairman, Francesco Rotanzi, which highlighted many of the services both he and Lucy had performed for the community:

> Dear Sir, We the residents of the district in which you have lived for 13 years, can not permit your departure from amongst us without expressing to you our sentiments of the high esteem and respect you have earned from us all, both in your public and in your private capacity. As a member, correspondent, Chairman of the Board of Advice, No. 208, no one could have done more to promote the interests, and progress of education than you have, and the successful working of the Act and school accommodation we have secured, are mainly due to your untiring zeal and exertions. As councillor to the Shire of Mount Franklin, the general and local interests of ratepayers could not have had a readier, prompter and more energetic advocate. As a private citizen, quite as much as in all movements for the public weal, your good offices and disposition have always been alike foremost. And as we are proud of the opportunity to bear witness to the constant endeavours in, and happy results of, the many acts of Philanthropy and Benevolence performed by your worthy helpmate, Mrs Righetti, which have endeared her to, and secured the respect of everyone who has had the pleasure of knowing her. We exceedingly regret losing you, but we heartily rejoice in the hope of better and brighter prospects to you and your family, and our most sincere wishes

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for your future welfare will accompany you in your new sphere. We are dear Sir, yours truly (for the committee), F. Rotanzi, chairman.[46]

With this send-off, the family of five departed for Heywood.

One of the earliest settlers of the Heywood region, where he purchased and cleared land and built his home, Serafino's appearance as a 'landlord' in a local history symbolises the wealth and status he achieved as a resident of Australia.[47] The last of the Righetti children were born at Heywood: Walter William James, arriving some time in 1879, and Leonard Beyer Allan on 5 September 1883. The Righetti property, which again incorporated a farm for self-sufficiency and a pretty garden planted by Lucy, was named 'Rose Grange', its glass house for exotic plants providing another example of the family's prosperity. In 1888 Serafino purchased a general store and produce buyers outside Heywood, previously named 'Fletcher's'. Renaming it Righetti and Son -- an indication to all of its Italian-speaking owners -- it was operated with the help of Ernest. Like Serafino's shop at Hepburn, this store sold a variety of goods including animal skins, wattlebark or anything else for which there was a market. Serafino later bought into a sawmilling business which enabled him to survive the difficult times of the 1890s. When some people later claimed that 'In conjunction with his store trade, he managed to keep the township going',[48] it revealed how financially secure he had become. Still preferring a diversified income at the turn of the century, his success may be partly attributable to his peasant roots but also represents a rising above relatively humble peasant origins.

While Serafino had been earning the esteem of the Heywood community, his brother Giuseppe had remained in the Daylesford district. Continuing in the Old Racecourse Hotel for a number of years, by 1871 he had begun paying rates on a vineyard in the town: he had purchased a large block of land beside the Hepburn school on 10 July of that year where he planted around one and a half hectares of grape-vines. Serving some time on the council of the Mount Franklin Shire, he had also assisted in various fund-raising activities for the district.[49] In 1871 he had impersonated the Swiss legendary hero, William Tell, in a play for the Daylesford Hospital fete, reinforcing a somewhat stereotyped view of Swiss culture among the townsfolk. A subscriber to the Daylesford Hospital and Benevolent Asylum, his performance received praise in the local press:

> Shall we ever forget the first hospital fete in 1871, how nobly the Swiss and Italians with Joseph Righetti in the van representing William Tell, with bow and arrows, and his son Bob, as the son, marched up Vincent St, in front of 200 of his countrymen to help in assisting this institution.[50]

With a number of Italian speakers also helping in the fund-raising project for the hospital, it would appear that any traditional hostility there may have been to such institutions was apparently diminishing within the immigrant population by this time.

On 25 February 1873, Giuseppe had purchased another block of land along the main road of Hepburn and ten years later become licensee of its American Hotel (premises which another branch of the Righetti family were thought to have brought to Australia from America in kit form) (ref. figure 11).[51] He purchased more land in Hepburn on 22 February 1884 -- his total holdings by this time being quite substantial -

- before shifting to Daylesford and leaving his son Robert to take over the business. During this period, he was faced with the death of his wife Mary[52] who, like a number of immigrant women, had spent her final days in a lunatic asylum, after falling victim to the difficulties of life in a newly established colony. She was buried in the Daylesford Cemetery along with her two children who had died in infancy. Four years later, when he was apparently living back in Hepburn, Giuseppe also died. The following article which appeared in the local paper a few days after his death drew attention to the generosity he had shown to other Italian speakers throughout his life:

> He was a leading spirit, both as a business man and also among his countrymen, as an hotel keeper and baker, and I have often heard it remarked of the assistance he bestowed upon those that were tunnelling and doing dead work prospecting for gold; many times at a loss to himself.[53]

Giuseppe was buried along with his wife and children at Daylesford, in a grave which continues to be maintained by family descendants: it is evidence of the strong kinship bonds which continued to link the generations.

The only brother remaining in Australia, Serafino moved his plant in the early 1900s into the township of Heywood and ran bush mills consisting of eight logging teams. He employed a number of staff, which might be interpreted as removed from his 'peasant' traditions, though his employment of fellow immigrants from the Valle Maggia, like Joe Pedrazzi,[54] might be seen as reinforcing traditional connections and networks. Though the sons may have helped in the business, it was no longer possible for the Righettis to operate solely as a family concern. The sending of the younger children to a college in Hamilton also revealed the high regard the family held for their

education, simple farming skills being no longer seen as sufficient to prosper in Australia. As he grew older, Serafino withdrew from the timber trade and continued only in the store. During the laying of the railway line to Heywood, he ran a supply wagon with stores for the supply depots.[55]

As in Stony Creek, Serafino played an active role in Heywood's community affairs. Beginning with his membership on the board of the town's local creamery in 1893, he was later elected to the Portland Shire Council, serving as president from 1901 to 1902 and from 1914 to 1915. Here he was known for his flaring temper and determination to fight for the issues in which he believed. In 1906, as a goodwill gesture, he presented Heywood with its first two street lights, this symbol of progress being in sharp contrast to the peasant world from which he had departed. He resigned from the Portland Shire Council after thirteen years service, amid expressions of regret from the other members.[56]

Despite his wealth and status, Serafino retained many 'peasant' traditions within his home -- itself named *Ticino*. He continued to delight in making salami, involving several of the local townsfolk in the procedure. Under his supervision a farmer would fatten a pig, feeding it on wheat to harden its flesh and a butcher would make available his shop, chopping boards and equipment. When the process had been completed, the strings of salami would be hung on cup hooks from the vestibule ceiling of his old pine-lined house to dry and harden. Later they would be cut with a sharp

knife and eaten on toast or bread, or chopped finely and added to scrambled egg or other foods needing flavouring.[57] Serafino and Lucy also enjoyed blackberry picking along the river banks, teaching their grandchildren how to gather foods from the natural environment. Serafino was an excellent marksman, no doubt, bringing home rabbits and other wildlife for the table; a grandchild later attributed his shooting skills to his Swiss heritage, reinforcing the commonly-held stereotyped views.[58]

Serafino died on 21 December 1917, aged 78 years of age, willing all his property to his youngest son Leonard. His wife Lucy died the following year on 26 March 1918. The couple were buried in a family vault which Lucy had insisted Serafino build: costing 300 pounds,[59] it reflected the desire of both partners to be united with their family in death. As all their children eventually moved away from Heywood, however, no one else was buried there. Of their children, Edmund led a military career, like Franklin Perini enlisting in the Boer War. After rising to the rank of captain, he returned to Australia and became licensee of the Heywood Hotel, following in the steps of his father. He served his country again during the First World War, earning further honours as a major.[60] Moving to Queensland, one of his children became a journalist and later editor of the *Herald* newspaper in Melbourne -- roles far removed from the 'peasant' roots which the family continues to celebrate right up to the present.

Ernest Righetti married and eventually moved to Queenstown in Tasmania where (also following the example of his father) he ran a hardware store. He later returned to Heywood where he continued in the family store. The family lived for a time in Melbourne but later moved to nearby Cora Lyn where Ernest died in 1920. His sister Lucy married a Church of England minister who became one of Heywood's earliest clergymen. He rose the rank of canon and worked for many years as a navy chaplain. Walter became a commercial traveller for Penfolds Wines, married and settled in the Melbourne suburb of Malvern. He regularly won prizes for his beautiful flower garden, exercising a skill which he had inherited from his mother.[61]

Leonard Righetti remained in the store after his parents' deaths, married and produced a family. He too became involved in community affairs, like his father serving as president on the Portland Shire Council, from 1920 to 1921. Following the sale of his store, the family moved to Malvern where Leonard became councillor and later mayor of the Malvern City Council, serving from 1934 to 1935 and from 1938 to 1940.[62] Malvern was a prosperous middle-class suburb and the Righetti family were the first people of Italian-speaking descent to reach prominence there. A park in Malvern, alongside the South Eastern Arterial, carries the Righetti name. Leonard and his sons each served actively in the Second World War, entering in all branches of the forces. Developing the shooting skills of his father, Leonard twice represented Australia at the Olympic Games and his name has appeared in the biographical dictionary *Who's Who*. The Righetti family, with its roots in poverty, had earned a

place among Australia's noteworthy citizens although moving out of Daylesford was probably a necessary precondition for this achievement.

Though they lost many links with the family's European culture when their father died, Serafino's children remained aware of and continued to celebrate their 'peasant' heritage. Whenever Ernest visited Hepburn (which was as often as he could), he always came away with a string of salami sausages from one of the Italian-speaking families. When Battista Righetti, his father's cousin, died in 1915, he walked over ten kilometres from the train station to Eganstown Cemetery for the burial. In later years, Battista's daughters Decima and Regina would often visit Ernest's family in Malvern, as would Giuseppe's colourful son Frank. Sporting a waxed moustache and a flower in his button hole, Uncle Frank -- as he was known to Ernest's children -- was known as the 'aristocratic looking uncle',[63] a pleasing (and possibly ironic) image to a family of peasant origin. So too was the awarding of dux of school to one of Serafino's granddaughters in later years.[64]

The Righetti clan had prospered well in Australia. They had overcome financial insecurity and seen many of their members gain public recognition for service to the community, philanthropic deeds and personal achievements. Pride in their Swiss heritage had persisted through the generations -- Leonard Righetti visiting Someo in 1924 and two of Ernest's children writing family histories. The brothers, Celestino and Battista Righetti, had not known the same success in Australia and, like many of their countrymen, had returned to their homeland disappointed with their efforts on the

goldfields. Returning now to these early mining years will demonstrate that for the majority of Italian speakers, a rich and prosperous life was to remain an illusion.

CHAPTER FIVE : SCOUTING

SCOUTING

Many Italian-speaking emigrants had left Europe in a state of euphoria, thinking that in Australia they would be released from the prison of poverty. Though fearful and sad about leaving families, and often weighed down with a burden of debt, they were hopeful of a successful future on the goldfields and a quick return to their families. During the various stages of the journey -- from the village to the ports, the sea voyage and from the Australian ports to Jim Crow -- they encountered much which would characterise their lives in Australia: the language difficulties, the mistreatment by others, the appalling living conditions and the debilitating sense of disillusionment. At the same time, they drew upon resources of courage and comradeship and extended 'traditional' ties and networks which would serve them well in Australia. This chapter describes the early experiences of the Italian speakers at Jim Crow -- the 'scouts' as social historian Robert Pascoe[1] has labelled the first influx of immigrants to Australia: their attempts to find gold, their adaptation to what was often a harsh and alienating environment and their physical and emotional support of one another. It will reveal that only a minority fulfilled their financial ambitions, with the remainder left destitute and destined to building new lives in Australia -- a fate which hardly any would have imagined when they had set off from their home villages.

Italian settlement in Australia, suggests Pascoe, may be understood in three overlapping stages: the scouts, the farmers and the builders. The 'scouts', who comprised mainly labourers, timber cutters, fossickers, charcoal burners, farm hands,

cane cutters and railway navvies, were pioneers in a new country, prepared to take on any form of manual or professional work in order to survive. The Italian-speaking settlers of Jim Crow were part of this early group of immigrants, as most arrived in the goldfields interested only in the work which offered quick returns -- labouring jobs and mining. Highly mobile and transient, they were continually in search of employment and, where they found it, would send messages on to their compatriots informing them of the new job opportunities. In this sense they conform to Pascoe's 'reconnaissance scouts' -- venturing into new lands and establishing a network of communication to assist their fellow travellers.

As a group, they were also distinguished by their desire to return to their homelands as soon as circumstances allowed. The 'scouts' usually left their countries with a specific aim, such as the solving of financial problems, and repatriated when this had been achieved. They were seldom political refugees, who emigrated with their wives and children (although Dr Guscetti's case in a later section will provide one exception), but instead departed alone with promises to return. Repatriation was always uppermost in their minds, family reunions generally occurring in the emigrants' middle or latter years when the difficulties had been resolved. While it is clear that the Italian speakers possessed this 'scouting' quality, Pagliaro[2] suggests that the immigrants of the gold rush period harboured an almost universally felt 'illusion of return', an unrealistic belief, considering the poverty and distances travelled. His view is supported by Hoffman-Nowotny[3], who claims a 'return illusion' -- a defensive mechanism permitting the immigrant to reduce anxiety about the duration of his stay by convincing himself that he can return whenever he wishes -- is a feature of all

immigrant communities. The emigratory traditions of the Italian speakers, which had involved temporary excursions into nearby countries in search of work had fostered, however, the conviction that return was possible and that Australia presented no more permanent a destination than had others. At least one third of the Ticinesi[4] -- a high proportion considering the distance and travel difficulties -- did eventually repatriate and the majority of those who remained did so with regret.

It has already been noted that at least six Ticinesi arrived on the goldfields in the very early years of the 1850s. The stonemasons Giovanni Giovannini and Antonio Palla had emigrated in 1851, presumably in search of labouring jobs, and were already in Australia when the news of the Victorian discoveries broke. One year later, having only been informed of the gold finds after July 1851, the other four adventurers -- Tomaso Pozzi, Battista Borsa, Giacomo Bruni and Luigi Caporgni -- arrived in the Colony. Pozzi and Palla returned to Ticino as wealthy men in 1854, giving hope to their desperately poor compatriots of a better future on the goldfields. Further encouraged by the aggressive advertising campaigns mounted by the shipping companies, the Italian speakers had begun to emigrate in large numbers.

While some hoped to make a fortune seeking gold, a large number expected to find work in their various trades -- as the shipping companies had promised they would. Several were successful, such as Gaetano Tomasetti who appears to have found employment as a stonemason on a church building site and Stefano Pozzi who found work as a jeweller, but many more were unable to find work and roamed the streets of Melbourne in a fruitless search.[5] For those immigrants who arrived in the

earliest years of the 1850s, there was little of an official nature to assist their settlement, forcing them to become more and more dependent on the assistance of compatriots -- and on the informal support networks which had been established during the voyage. The Swiss government did not appoint its Australian consul, Chapalay, until 1855, and then based him in Sydney[6] where he was of little help to those arriving in Melbourne (see The Journey). Though advertisements were placed in the Sydney papers seeking work for Italian speakers, little was done for those compatriots further south. The few official and charity groups could not solve the immigrants' problems leaving many who, recalling the brutal conditions of the voyage, felt a renewed sense of despair and disillusion. Many were heartened, however, by the possibility of success on the goldfields and with renewed enthusiasm departed for Jim Crow.

By the time the immigrants had reached their destination many would have been physically and emotionally exhausted by the difficult overland trek. They had travelled over roadways which were often little more than a succession of muddy puddles up to half a metre deep and sometimes almost impassable. Closer to the goldfields the roads had been barely more than dirt tracks deeply rutted by bullock wagons.[7] In order to lighten their load many men had thrown away cooking implements and excess clothing. They had suffered extremes of heat or cold with little body covering and survived on very meagre food supplies for several days. Driving them on was the promise of work and the much desired reunion with compatriots. But while they were greeted with loving embraces from friends and family, the offers of work eluded them.

The sight which had met those arriving at Jim Crow at the beginning of the 1850s was very different from that of a few years later as gold had then only recently been discovered and the mining activity was intense. John Egan, it will be recalled, had found gold in the Daylesford district in August 1851 and the four Swiss who had arrived a few months later had encountered many thousands of diggers of different nationalities working the fields. Numbered among them were many Chinese and large numbers of Europeans who had come from the goldfields of California. The British authorities delayed the announcement of the gold discoveries, fearing that it would upset the order of the convict populations and jeopardise the squatters' ready labour supply: though gold had been uncovered in the Jim Crow region many years before 1851, the news was suppressed until the convict population had diminished and labourers had begun leaving Australia for the goldfields of California.[8] The opening of Australia's doors to a broad range of ethnic groups was, therefore, rooted more in social and economic conditions than liberal-minded government policy.

By 1854, the year when most Italian speakers began arriving in the Colony, the Daylesford area was more settled with permanent shops and houses. In June, Government Surveyor Fraser had laid out a township site (of 80 square chains) and named it Wombat.[9] This name was officially changed to Daylesford when it appeared in the *Government Gazette* of 23 August 1855 in connection with the application of the Wholesale Spirits Act. On 17 October 1854, a first land sale was held around Wombat, defined as the area within the town boundaries East, West, Raglan and a part of the lower areas of Vincent Street South (ref. figure 9). The selections for sale

numbered ten out of a possible 60 within the town. Among the first purchasers was Carlo Traversi, who had arrived from Cevio in Switzerland in that year and who later built a hotel and dance hall and ran a well-known orchestra in the town[10] (ref. figure 9). While the early stores, tents and shanties of the first gold mining days continued to surround the Wombat Hill area after the land sales of 1854, more permanent houses and businesses were soon erected in large numbers. When most Italian speakers arrived, they entered a town already bustling with well established activities of mining, building and trading enterprises.

Small townships had also grown up in the surrounding gold mining areas of Jim Crow. Centred at the junction of the Spring and Jim Crow Creeks was a 'tent city spreading over a large area and sheltering a huge population of not always helpful and honest fellow diggers'.[11] At Spring Creek and at Hepburn, stores and hotels were being built to provide for the large numbers working the shallow alluvial mines of Old Racecourse. To the north of Daylesford, at Yandoit, a major rush in 1855 increased the population to over 5,000 and tents, hotels, wine bars and stores lined the main street.[12] With similar growth occurring at other areas around Daylesford, the prospects of work at first appeared promising for the Italian speakers and they formed small communities to resume their 'reconnoitering activities'. Employment was not forthcoming for most, however, and they turned, with some reluctance, to mining.

Mining, in the 1850s in the Daylesford region, was done in one of three ways: by searching amongst the sands and alluvial soils alongside the streams; by following the quartz leads, bringing the quartz to the surface, crushing it and extracting the gold

or by sinking shafts through the lava flow and reaching the ancient river beds where gold nuggets were trapped in pockets or cracks in the rock.[13] The first method, which involved digging out sand, clay and gravel from the bed of a creek and washing it in a shallow pan, was by far the easiest as it required only a few simple tools and allowed the miners to work alone. To search for gold by the other methods, the miners needed to form companies to buy more sophisticated equipment and provide sufficient manpower. The Italian speakers, destitute and lacking mining skill, were generally limited to the first method which rendered them little: the superficial gold had all but been exhausted in the earliest years of the gold rush and successful miners were taking their search deeper into the soil.

In order to adopt slightly more sophisticated mining methods requiring picks and shovels, buckets, a wheelbarrow and the equipment for washing the 'pay dirt', some Italian speakers formed small partnerships of two to four men and pooled their resources.[14] Digging into the soil surrounding the creek and washing the dirt in a stream, some teams were able to find gold. Besides a dish, the simplest items for washing were a cradle, long-tom or sluice box, all machines which allowed larger amounts of pay dirt to be washed and a more efficient trapping of gold grains and nuggets. Before long, however, these methods and equipment were also replaced as miners relied less and less on alluvial mining. Wealthy English settlers began forming large companies employing teams of miners, some of whom included Italian speakers, to operate sophisticated equipment for the extraction of deeper gold. While some Italian speakers accepted this form of employment, which guaranteed an income, others were unwilling to surrender the independent life-style they had known as

peasant farmers. Along with those unsuccessful in securing wage labour, they were thrown back into alluvial mining with very little prospect of success.

Together with the poor returns from alluvial mining, the major handicap for the Italian speakers was their lack of mining experience. As Pascoe has noted, Italy was poor in minerals and, despite its fame in quarrying, had few of those mining communities so conspicuous in the social landscape of northern Europe.[15] While some mining had occurred in the sub-alpine region of Italy, along the Tyrrhenian coast and on the islands, Italians (and thus Ticinesi) did not have the extensive mining experience of the Welsh, Cornish or northern French. They were usually ignorant of the best areas to mine or the most appropriate equipment. Even in 1886 they continued to make poor decisions. Filippo Pasquilini from Ticino recounted how he wasted large amounts of money on equipment he could not operate:

> **Io o subito una grand perdita a Ballarat o fatto una macquina caro
> e un cavallo per lavare terra e tutto mi è andatto male ma non è
> cosa di stupirsi perché in questi paesi quando che si a 1000 o 2000
> franchi se gli spendi in grand lavori e da spesso si perde il lavoro
> ed il denari e non si può far meno in questi paesi.**[16]

As early as 1855 Daylesford had become the centre of deep lead mining and quartz crushing and Italian speakers found themselves further excluded from the mainstream mining activities.

The shanty towns imposed a harsh life on the diggers who worked from dawn to dusk with only liquor to brighten their spirits. Amid the excitement of searching for gold and the vibrance and colour of town life, was the back-breaking labour, the appalling discomfort and the fear of destitution. After shifts, sometimes fourteen hours

long, the men slept in make-shift huts or tents, usually on a mattress of straw or leaves covered by flea-ridden blankets. Poor sanitation, plagues of flies and polluted water helped spread diseases such as dysentery and typhoid fever, and sandy blight was a common eye infection.[17] Few Italian speakers possessed good protective clothing, such as strong moleskin or corduroy trousers, woollen jumpers, hats and waterproof boots, with many suffering rheumatism from working in water and sleeping in damp conditions. Food -- mostly mutton, damper and black tea -- was often unattainable, its cost, as well as that of other essential items on the goldfields, being inflated to equal the retail prices in Melbourne.[18] Added to the discomfort of miners was the risk of injury from sharp and heavy mining tools or from the need to descend deep into mine shafts (recall, for example, the incident involving Vincenzo Perini). Lacking goldfields experience, several Italian speakers also fell into mine shafts after dark, one Tranquillo Patà from Ticino breaking his leg on a ten metre drop.[19]

While many Italian speakers resigned themselves to the risks and the discomforts -- peasant life had always included both -- they suffered enormously the separation from families. In 1855, Ticinese immigrant Giacomo Ceresa wrote a letter home which typified the feeling of many compatriots:

> **Ci rincresce però di essere così lontani dalle nostre case senza potere avere alcuna notizia delle stesse in questi deserti ... io non manco di ricordarmi di lei [moglie] e del mio figlio e che presto speriamo di venire alla nostra casa, come ne ho desiderio.**[20]

The word *deserti* (deserts), suggests the hostility and isolation of the Australian landscape though the choice of word might also reflect hyperbole thought to gain the sympathy of those left back home. Other immigrants defended themselves against loneliness by writing as though they had never left home:

> **Racomando alla moglie e sorelle di amarsi l'una l'altra, e compatirsi a vicenda. Cercate di farvi ubidire subito dalle mie figlie, e di non allevarle viziose, e Giuglia che comincerà andare a scuola fatela studiare.**[21]

After five years in Australia Domenico Respini from Cevio continued to see himself as head of the family and in a position to give advice: the suggestion that his children should study might reflect a heightened respect for education gained during the time he had spent in Australia.

Though the majority of Italian speakers were destined to remain against their will in Australia, some did mine with success and either returned home wealthy or decided to settle permanently. Dispersed throughout the various mining districts in small village clusters -- large numbers of Giumagliesi, for example, settling at Stony Creek (see Pozzi section) -- they worked their mining claims. Around Eganstown Q. G. Merigo, Pietro Scozza, Vincent Fasoli (see earlier section) and Joseph Basoli, found sizeable qualities of gold and later opened hotels. A member of the Bianchi family reportedly operated a profitable race[22] -- a slanting wooden trough in which mineral-bearing sand and gravel were washed by fast flowing water to expose any gold -- in the district and a short distance away was the Doria Mine which, judging by its name, was run by Genoese.[23] At Dry Diggings, near Shepherds Flat, Italians Muschialli and Colmo mined the alluvial gold, Colmo later forming a partnership with two non-Italian speakers, Clark and Fairbairn. After marrying a Spanish girl (one of few such marriages between people of European origin) and making a reasonable living from the sluicing of the creek sands and surrounding deposits, he settled permanently in the district.[24] Around Daylesford, Pietro Pescia from Gerra Verzasca in Ticino worked as a miner and prospector before opening a hotel on Sailors Hill.[25]

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Some Italian speakers also formed minor companies trying all three of the mining methods. Michele Bedolla, who later owned the hotel in Spring Creek, became one of the first to crush the quartz to extract gold from his mine at Doctors Gully.[26] It was from tunnelling, however, that large numbers of Italian speakers reaped the greatest rewards.

The volcanic nature of Daylesford's terrain made it ideal for extensive tunnel mining. Thousands of years previously, gold-bearing creeks around the district had been covered by lava flows from Wombat Hill and, by following along these buried creek beds, miners were able to bring rich gold deposits to the surface. Skilled at this form of mining were Italian speakers (Antonio?) Togni, with his Mundic Tunnel at Boots Gully, and Giuseppe Guglielmoni, who worked with a team of six Ticinese co-nationals in the mid 1850s at Deep Creek, both making sizeable profits.[27] Long tunnels, worked at many levels hundreds of feet under the basalt layer at Deep Creek, gave the Italian speakers a reputation as expert tunnellers. When, for example, Guglielmoni's party once came up against a huge basalt plug while following a buried lead, they reportedly dug around it and continued the lead on the other side.[28] Another Italian speaker who tunnelled successfully in the area was Albino Paganetti, the friend and business associate of Stefano Pozzi. Two years after his arrival from San Nazzaro in Ticino in 1855 at age nineteen, Paganetti and Pozzi sluiced the alluvial sands down to bedrock at Italian Hill, driving through a tunnel about two and a half kilometres long.[29]

Operating larger mines which employed a number of workers, the Italian speakers adapted and extended their traditional farming skills. Using as their model the extended household which had once constituted their principal work-force, they managed to control, and be responsible for, large numbers of employees. Giacomo Casarotti, for example, whose mine the Federal was begun at Italian Hill in the 1860s, employed around 20 workers, many of whom were his countrymen. Reportedly a meticulous and tough employer, who paid his men the comparatively low rate of 30 shillings per week, his management style probably reflected the iron-fisted approach of his peasant father.[30] Under his direction, miners built a tunnel over 500 metres long, two metres high and very straight. Named the Federal in honour of the Swiss federation, like the Doria Mine it reflected the ethnic origin of its owner.

Similarly, other Italian speakers asserted their ethnic and cultural heritage. Also at Italian Hill was the Magenta Tunnel owned by Italian speakers and, along the south east end of Spring Creek, the Garibaldi Mine. This mine was presumably operated by Italians who supported soldier Giuseppe Garibaldi's push for unification of the Italian peninsula. At Kidds Gully, east of Spring Creek, a group of Italian speakers worked the Florence Mines for over twenty years and, at Sardines Reef mine, west of Yandoit, a native of Sardinia was the owner. Closer to Daylesford, Italian speakers mined the Spillaci Tunnel under present-day Queensbury Street and the nearby Roman Eagle Company was possibly run by Italians.[31] Along with mines, some localities were given Italian names to indicate the large numbers who mined there: examples include (the already mentioned) Italian Gully and Italian Hill. The multicultural nature of the goldfields was similarly revealed in names such as Jews Gully, the Chinese Tunnels and

Welshmans Gully, to name a few. The stories of people who occupied these sites, and the events which took place there, have passed (along with intriguing names like 'Bottle O'Porter Gully' and 'Don't Wake 'Em Gully') into Australian folk history.

Despite their widespread mining activities, and the successes of a few, the overwhelming experience of the Italian speakers was disappointment. Most drew barely a pittance from the mines, lived in conditions of abject misery and yearned to be back in their villages. Many letters, like one sent from Jim Crow in 1855, described their misery:

> **Toccai quella terra chiamata dell'oro: credevo di veder realizzati i miei sogni, credevo d'aver raggiunta la desiderata meta, credevo infine di trovare un compenso dei sostenuti sagrifizi e dei corsi pericolosi; ma vane illusioni. Dove pensava trovar oro rinvenni pietre, dove credevo trovar pane, trovo la fame e la miseria dell'occhio feroce, e con un lavoro quasi sproporzionato alle forze dell'uomo a stento m'è dato rinvenire un tozzo di pane.[32]**

This writer also exaggerates the numbers of Ticinesi on the goldfields to *cinquemila* (5,000), perhaps perceiving himself surrounded by only poverty and despair. Drawing upon the oral traditions of his culture with the words *'miseria dell' occhio feroce'* (grim-eyed misery), he further accentuates the suffering of his people. Tranquillo Patà (mentioned previously) wrote a similar letter to his brothers in 1856:

> **e l'oro si trova nel piato, qualche volta se ne trova della valuta di cento fino a due cento franchi in un sol piato ma tante e tante volte non si trova nemeno a tastare, sono rare e rarissime quelle volte che si trova tanto, qualche giorni si trova qualche cosa e qualche giorni non si trova niente nemeno la spesa.[33]**

Combined with the sense of failure came, for many Italian speakers, guilt at having deserted their families: after ignoring the protests of friends and family they had placed everyone, including themselves, in further peril. While some immigrants tried to justify

their actions through their letters (recall the Righettis in the previous section), others felt too ashamed to ever consider returning home. Instead they turned to the comfort of their immigrant compatriots but, while the goldfields encouraged cooperation and comradeship, its competitive and stressful atmosphere also led to tension.

Revealing the close emotional ties of the immigrants with their homelands in the early years of settlement, some of these conflicts were concerned with political events in Italy. The Magenta Tunnel, for example, was named after the site of a battle in Italy. At Magenta in Lombardy, the Franco-Piedmontese defeated the Austrian army in 1859 during the Second War of Independence.[34] Petty jealousies and arguments more often characterised the immigrants' behaviour, however, large gold finds causing resentment and gold losses accusations of wrongdoing. Many immigrants wrote home to criticise the behaviour of compatriots, comforted by the knowledge that, in this small way at least, their enemies were being punished: the Pozzi family, it will be recalled, brought discredit upon the Righettis in this way. The influence of the village was also evident in the handling of some conflicts, with accusations based more on superstition than evidence. When Serafino Bonetti, a native of Ticino, was accused of murdering a woman in 1864, many of his compatriots supported the view that he was guilty on the grounds that he possessed the '*malocchio*' (evil eye).[35] This belief, that people could cause harm just by looking at someone or something, was then common in some southern European communities and resurfaced among the Italian speakers in Australia. Bonetti was eventually released from police custody through lack of evidence, though this may not have halted the whisperings of his compatriots.

Where conflicts among Italian speakers drew in members of the broader community, and 'village law' could not be called upon to settle or sanction, matters were often resolved with police interference. Generally limited to minor litigations over mining rights, land, water or straying animals, the police often played a useful and necessary role.[36] Despite this, many Italian speakers retained a traditional hostility to the law, reinforced through what they perceived as an overly harsh British justice system. Unlike their Irish neighbours, none of the Italian families around Daylesford allowed their sons to become policemen. Gioachimo Respini, an immigrant from Cevio, summed up the feelings of many compatriots when he wrote:

> **In questa terra la giustizia, come già saprete, è esercitata dagli inglesi, è molto severa, e spedita; il loro codice dopo il giudizio del Commissario non permette altre appellazioni che ad un tribunale supremo. L'indole generale di questo popolo inglese è molto rozza, e vendicativa e guai a colui che non sa farsi temere, giurano il falso e vi cacciano via dal luogo ove fatte oro.[37]**

Many also resented the actions of the British settlers whom they perceived as capitalising on their misfortune; when (as often happened) water filled the mines and claims had to be abandoned, it was generally the English, with their pumps and horses, who were then able to take the mines over. Forsaking their claims, the Italian speakers were left to fall further into debt. While some historians have asserted that serious disputes were few at Jim Crow -- when the first newspaper reporter arrived at the mines in 1855 and asked for the Police Camp, he was reportedly told that no such place existed and that the diggers 'just tossed up to settle any disputes'[38] -- the large ethnic populations ensured a degree of conflict. Those most poorly treated were, without doubt, the Chinese, of whom up to 40,000 were working on the various mining sites of the colony by 1857.[39]

The antagonism shown towards the Chinese in part resulted from the mining methods which they had adopted. At first content to work claims or part of a field abandoned by white miners, sluicing dirt which had already been washed to glean a second harvest, the Chinese had begun to buy new claims and to win small fortunes by their mass-mining methods.[40] The white miners, jealous and resentful of their success, were further inflamed by their practice of sending the gold back to China. As well, the Chinese were viewed with suspicion and fear because of their appearance and odd cultural practices. Gangs of Chinese jogged about the diggings in single file clad in blue trousers and jackets. They wore wide-brimmed, high-pointed straw hats and wadded slippers and some had pig-tails hanging down their backs. Added to this, they lived in a special Chinese quarter on the diggings -- at Daylesford, the Chinese occupied the area known as Wombat Flat, later Lake Daylesford -- built temples and installed images of the Sacred Dragon.[41] According to popular prejudice, they smoked opium and practised strange vices. Among the Anglo-Celtic and European populations, their physical and cultural diversity created a sense of unease.

The Italian speakers, though isolated through their own language and cultural practices, were more accepted by the Anglo-Celtic community with whom they shared greater similarity of appearance and dress as well as a Christian faith. Forming mining partnerships, patronising one another's business establishments and socialising together, there was an exchange of cultural traditions, such at cooking methods (far more so than with the Chinese), and a growth of mutual respect. Despite some miners, including Italian speakers, venturing into the Chinese quarters in search of entertainment, the Chinese remained largely ostracised and abused. They became the

scapegoats for much that was bad on the goldfields -- the failure of some whites to find gold, the decline in moral standards[42] -- and, by so doing, set the scene for a more ready acceptance of Italian speakers and other Europeans into mainstream Australian society. To the extent that it strengthened European acceptance into Anglo-Celtic culture, the exclusion of the Chinese promoted multiculturalism and, ironically, a future (much later) where Asians themselves would be welcome settlers to Australia. The concerns about a moral decline were widespread.

This supposed decline in moral behaviour, in reality, touched all ethnic groups and was a product of the harsh and lonely life of the goldfields. Though accustomed to extreme deprivation and hard work, the Italian speakers were ill-prepared for the misery of this life. As the modern historian Giorgie Cheda comments:

> **Nei goldfields le giornate trascorrevano monotone e prive di quegli affetti familiari che nelle vallate ticinesi contribuivano a rendere almeno sopportabili anche la miseria più nera e il lavoro più faticoso.**[43]

The peasants had always come home to a warm fire, simple but nourishing foods, such as wine, cheese, freshly ground rye bread or roasted chestnuts, and an emotionally supportive family. On the goldfields there were no such comforts and the men pined for their homes and traditional foods: says Cheda, '*la minestra non aveva più il sapore del prezzemolo*'.[44] They even suffered days when no food at all could be provided:

> **il pane bisognava guadagnarselo sfaticando tutto il giorno nelle miniere dove, alcuni bogioni pagavano bene, ma altri assolutamente niente fuorchè sassi e ghiaia.**[45]

The greatest hardship, however, came from the absence of a normal village community of women, children and old people without whom they felt that no one cared, loved or appreciated them.

Away from the normal family environment many Italian speakers found their former sense of identity challenged and even rendered irrelevant in their new setting. Not being husbands, fathers or sons with recognised duties and responsibilities they were 'cast adrift' in an unstructured and unfamiliar world. Of those family members still living together on the goldfields, relationships were often changed, knowledge rather than age or family position attracting respect. Living in temporary surroundings, free of the expectations of parents, wives and children, many immigrants began to question their old values and adopt new, previously unaccepted, codes of behaviour. As Pagliaro notes, in the early years the Australian frontier could appear as a place where known values were overturned and a sense of chaos prevailed:

> Its inhabitants carry their houses on their backs, 'vagabond women triumph with their vices', its climate is disturbed by the extraordinary upturning of its soil by the diggers.[46]

Desperately seeking relief from the pressures of the goldfields, comfort was sometimes found in the company of prostitutes or through alcohol and gambling. Immigrants who disapproved of their compatriots' behaviour wrote critical letters home, 'village law' acting for a time as the basis for moral judgments but eventually also fading in importance. While Giovanna Filippini, one of the few Ticinese females on the early goldfields, sought village censorship for a compatriot who had (reportedly) killed himself through alcohol abuse,[47] other immigrants looked to the Australian population for moral direction and approval. Francesco Rossetti (see earlier sections), in once

boasting of the praise he had received from English speakers, revealed his distancing from village influence.

Along with this 'moral decline' came for many Italian speakers neglect of their religious duties. While family affection, awareness of mutual sufferings and a Christian faith continued to link the immigrants with their homelands, these things also lost intensity as time progressed. At first most emigrants had drawn upon their beliefs during the frightening months of the journey, placing themselves in God's hands, -- *'Ora che Iddio ci ha messi al nostro destino'* -- and thanking him for a safe arrival -- *'grazie a Dio ora siamo rinfrancati in salute e disposti, sperando meglio per l'avvenire'*.[48] Upon their arrival in Melbourne, they had also been reassured in their faith, seeing large numbers of Catholic priests and extensive church building programs:

> **Qui in Australia ha religione protestante ma i cattolici sono i più numerosi, chiese dappertutto o di legno o di sasso e una buona porzione di preti ed un vescovo dimorante e residente a Melbourne con gli altri preti.[49]**

It was very different on the goldfields, however, where the Italian speakers found few, if any, priests able to serve their needs, and little opportunity to attend a church service. Those determined to practise their faith had to go to Melbourne, spending time and money which few could afford. As Alessandro Pozzi stated:

> **Non so chi vorrebbe andare sino a Melbourne per confessarsi e perdere un 15 giorni, e spendere 15 o 18 lire, non è come a casa nostra che pagano niente per confessarsi, ma qui devono pagare una lira al confessore e ad un uomo bisognoso gli pensa sopra un poco prima di spendere tanto denaro che faticosamente guadagna se la sua famiglia che ne ha bisogno.[50]**

Many immigrants would also have been simply too weak and exhausted from working in the mines to be concerned about their faith: '*Si può quasi dire che l'Australia è per il corpo non per l'anima*', wrote Pozzi, summing up the thoughts of his compatriots.[51]

When significant numbers of priests did eventually reach the goldfields, the fact that they were predominantly Irish further alienated some Italian speakers. Rather than draw comfort from Church rituals and teachings, they feared the strict Irish clergy who dwelt on spiritual rather than human concerns -- perhaps confirming the immigrants' traditional scepticism of and hostility towards the Church's earthly ministers. (cf. above comment p. 148). Important too were the political views which the Italian speakers had brought with them from Europe and which had influenced their religious affiliations. Among the immigrants from Lombardy (and their Ticinese sympathisers) were those who had been involved in Italy's struggle for unification and who had joined Freemason societies as a cover for nationalist, revolutionary activity.[52] Though Giuseppe Garibaldi would at one time declare that it was only the peasants of Sicily and Calabria who had backed Italian patriotism,[53] the number of Italian speakers who became members of Freemason Lodges in Australia, suggests that among the immigrants were those whose beliefs remained those of the revolutionary leaders, Mazzini, Garibaldi and the politican Cavour, all of whom were Freemasons.[54] Despite this, many Italian speakers continued to place their faith in God, asking their families back home to pray for them. '*[P]regate Dio per me*', wrote Antonio Bronz to Ticino in 1860.[55] Some immigrants neglected their religious duties but still considered themselves practising Catholics, Giacomo Ceresa from Ticino writing: '*Non possiamo sentire la Messa alla festa perché non ce ne sono. Bisogna raccomandarci a Dio e*

alla Vergine Santissima'.[56] These immigrants remained concerned for the spiritual welfare of their children back home passing instructions, such as the following, on through their wives: '*ti raccomando di ... farli andare alla santa messa alla festa*'.[57] The pressures of the goldfields, and the temptations of 'vagabond women', alcohol abuse and other vices disapproved of by the Church, all drew the Italian speakers away from their faith: religion could not relieve the burden of overwork, debt and continual insecurity and many sought escape elsewhere. As Alessandro Pozzi (it may be recalled[58]) claimed: '*era meglio che non si fossero disturbati questi religiosi, perché non gli danno disturbo*'. Exposure to a range of religious practices, including those of the non-Christian Chinese, may have also challenged the beliefs of the Italian speakers so that, away from the village church with its regular calls to prayer and reminders of religious duty, it was easy to diverge from the traditional path. In other parts of colonial Australia, Italian missionaries and priests ministered to rural populations, but none worked in the Daylesford area.

Just as the beliefs and values of the Italian speakers were influenced by contact with a range of nationalities, so too was their language. The letters sent to their villages are a rich source of anglicisms and attempts to understand the (predominantly spoken) English language. Several Anglo-Celtic expressions assumed by the Italian speakers, such as *clem* (claim), *prospetto* (prospect), *ciansa* (chance/fortune), *roock* (rock) and *penovetti* (pennyweight), related to their experiences in the mines. Other words concerned their to day-to-day activities as settlers, such as buying necessities -- *pene* (penny) and *storo* (store), entertainments -- *pubblichouse* (public house), and people they encountered -- *polismann* (policeman). Apart from indicating common

usage, they also reflected a phonetic pronunciation, for example *Vombat Flat* (Wombat Flat), *Brek Nak* (Break Neck) and *DitperCrich* (Deep Creek), or the lack of an equivalent word or sound in Italian. Sometimes the immigrants used these words in Italian constructs, such as *ciansarla* (to chance it), which attached an object pronoun to an anglicised verb, and *gli stori* (the stores), the Italian method of forming plurals. Other times (as was also revealed in the Pozzi section), they adopted Anglo-Celtic constructions, pluralising, for example, *storo* as *stors*.[59] The early hybridisation of their language underlies the point that adaptation to the demands of the prevailing Anglo-Celtic community on the part of the Italian speakers commenced very soon after (if not before) settlement.

In sum, the 'scouting' period of the Italian-speaking immigrants was characterised by many elements: a continuing sense of disillusionment about Australia; an endless struggle to survive; by a constant need to adapt to new languages and cultures; a continued reliance on the good-will of compatriots; a questioning of village values and traditions and by an acceptance that Australia might forever be their home. Though this chapter has concentrated on the mining activities of the immigrants, many Italian speakers had also begun to diversify their income sources by farming, opening small businesses and, in other ways, marketing their traditional skills. As more reliance was placed on these activities which utilised and adapted skills, the immigrants began to emerge from the 'scouting' stage of settlement and enter another more 'committed' phase which shall be further examined in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER SIX : FAMILIES 1855 - 1857

Milesi

Guscetti

Vanina

MILESI

By 1855, emigration to Australia by Italian speakers was still at its peak, with over 1,000 arrivals from Ticino and a smaller but unknown number from the northern regions of Italy.[1] Like the Ticinesi, the Lombards of northern Italy (ref. figure 1) had suffered crop failures and the threat of famine and accordingly sought drastic solutions to their problems. Despite their differing political affiliations (Lombardy was then under Austrian rule), Italian speakers of the alpine regions (as noted earlier) shared a similar language and culture and hence felt a close bonding with one another. During the Lombard insurrection of 1848, it had been the smuggling of arms by Ticinesi to the insurgents which had prompted Austrian Field Marshall Radetzky to close the frontier with Switzerland and to expel all Ticinesi from Lombardy. His decision had created hardship for people on both sides of the border, the loss of work opportunities and separation from friends and family, causing many Italian speakers to face a similar destiny. Suffering the effects of both economic and political uncertainty, Ticinesi and northern Italians alike had looked eagerly to emigration to the American or Australian goldfields as a solution to their problems. Among the Italian travellers were several members of the Milesi family who, against a background of hardship and deprivation in Lombardy, sought relief in the Victorian colony.

The small Lombard village of San Giovanni Bianco, the home of the Milesi clan, lies nestled in the Brembana Valley at the foothills of the Swiss-Italian alps (ref. figure 2). Fifty kilometres from the Swiss border, it is 20 kilometres north of its closest town, Bergamo, and 60 kilometres from Milan, the nearest city. While political

upheavals had often disrupted the lives of town and city folk, village peasantry had known little of such conflicts, the pattern of daily life defined by the struggle for survival, the teachings of the Catholic Church and the weight of tradition. As a result of their own trials and tribulations the villagers had created a morality, civilisation, language and religion which served to defend and glorify them.[2] Of great pride to the people of San Giovanni Bianco was their possession of the religious relic *la Sacra Spina* (sacred thorn), part of the crown of thorns said to have been placed on the head of Jesus Christ during his crucifixion. Credited with the power to cause miracles and to form buds at various times, the relic was (and still is) an important source of inspiration to the village's population.

The Milesi family, one of the better known and respected families of San Giovanni Bianco, shared the village's pride in the relic. Early family records indicate that a certain Don Giovanni Battista Milesi, parish priest from 1709 to 1734, first documented the giving of *la Sacra Spina* to the village in 1764.[3] The people of San Giovanni Bianco participated in many religious festivals throughout the year and donated substantial sums to the Church's coffers. Even during the periods of greatest economic hardship, as occurred in the 1850s, village records indicate many parishioners, including the Milesis, contributing towards the construction of a Catholic church (a generosity which would find similar expression among Italian speakers in Australia).[4] The 1850s were, however, difficult times for the peasants of San Giovanni Bianco with many facing the prospect of financial ruin. Failed crops, the loss of work opportunities in Ticino and concern over political events then taking place on the Italian peninsula -- an unsuccessful uprising against the Austrian powers in 1848 had

brought social unrest and uncertainty -- had all combined to force many to consider emigration. Among those eager to depart for Australia were several members of the Milesi family.

Giovan Battista Milesi was born to a farming branch of the family at the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1825 he married Giacomina[5] from a nearby Lombard village Cantaldo,[6] their endogamous marriage uniting two families of similar cultural and linguistic heritage and preserving the continuity of peasant life. Following their wedding in San Giovan Bianco's Catholic church, the couple settled in the village where they raised five sons. [7] The tradition in this patriarchal culture was for the bride to go to live in the groom's village. It was also common to postpone the wedding to a time in the year's farming cycle after the harvest in order to economise on time, even if this meant the bride was already pregnant.[8] The eldest Milesi child, Angelo Maria, was born three years after the marriage on 14 December 1828 followed by Domenico Maria on 11 August 1832; a third child Giuseppe was born on 12 February 1839 and Sisto Gaetano on 24 July 1842. The youngest child Giovan Battista, who arrived on 5 March 1846, was named after his father. Despite the large workforce provided by these offspring, the Milesi family was unable to support itself during the disastrous years of the 1850s and Angelo, the eldest son, decided to emigrate to the Victorian colony.

As in Ticino, British and German shipping companies had established branch offices in Lombardy aimed at encouraging emigration to the American and Australian goldfields. Like Angelo, many northern Italians signed their travel contracts with these

companies while others, who had been living for long periods in Ticino, signed their contracts with the Swiss agents.[9] Many Lombards also became eligible for the same council loans as the Ticinese -- evidence of their close emotional and cultural ties. Some time in the summer of 1855 Angelo, who was then 27, travelled overland to the port of Antwerp where he boarded the *Adele* for Australia.[10] Departing on July 13, he arrived in Melbourne three months later. Fellow passengers were Alessandro, Lorenzo and Abbondio Quanchi (introduced earlier) and one of the largest contingents of Ticinesi ever to emigrate to the Colony. Other vessels carrying both Ticinesi and Italians that year included the *Europa, Lucie, August* and the infamous *H. Ludwina.*[11] Together the Italian speakers suffered the misery and ill-treatment of the voyage and pondered the wisdom of their decision to emigrate.

Since there is little known evidence of Angelo's earliest months in Australia, it may be assumed that he first looked for work and accommodation in Melbourne, seeking assistance through the informal support networks of the Italian speakers. As in Europe Italians and Ticinesi worked cooperatively, Giacomo Ceresa from Ticino writing in 1855:

> **Trovammo un italiano ed egli ci disse: venite al mio albergo che ho
> il libro di tutti li nomi dei nostri italiani e dove si trovano.**[12]

If this statement by Ceresa is accurate, it suggests that the Italian speakers' networks which greeted the new arrivals were organized to a point which could almost be described as formal. At some stage Angelo departed from Melbourne, with its apparently well-organised network of Italian speakers, and headed for Jim Crow and the goldfields of Yandoit where large amounts of gold had recently been found.

The lack of documentary evidence for this part of Angelo's life possibly relates to the low literacy rates among Italians of the 1850s and the inability of many to write to their families back home. Speaking only the dialect of their village or region, at the time of Italian unification, almost 98 per cent of the population experienced Italian as a foreign language and only one in 1,000 were literate.[13] In 1859, it had proven imposssible -- due to a lack of teachers -- to extend a law which would have specified two years of compulsory education for everyone.[14] This inability to communicate with their families back home may have forced some Italians to an increasing dependency upon the Ticinesi (many of whom were marginally more educated) and hence to a position of real or perceived inferiority: despite their apparent cohesiveness, transfer to Australia and the need for a wide range of skills previously irrelevant to the peasant, may have created new social divisions within the Italian-speaking population. For some Italians, immigration thus meant a loss of status both vis-à-vis the broader Anglo-Celtic community and with their own ethnic grouping.

Angelo may have mined with some success at Yandoit for he soon decided to settle in the area. Citing his reason for requesting British citizenship as the desire for permanent settlement, he was naturalised on 21 November 1863 at the age of 34.[15] This change of attitude to his permanent residence in Australia coincided with his increasing family responsibilities. That same year his youngest brother Giovanni Battista, who was then seventeen, also emigrated to Australia, political events in Italy having failed to ease the concerns of many people. Though Lombardy had gained its independence from the Austrians in 1859, the establishment of the kingdom of Italy had brought with it social upheaval and a burden of heavy debt. While a few relished

the gained unity, independence and political freedom, the vast majority felt oppressed by civil and military obligations manifested in increased taxes, high living costs and the threat of military conscription. Along with the peasants and workers emigrating from Italy were political activists and revolutionaries displaced and disenchanted by the failure of the 1848 revolutions.[16] Nine years old at the time of his brother's departure in 1855, Battista (the name by which he was better known) had waited eight years to join Angelo on the goldfields.

Arriving in Australia in March 1863 aboard an English vessel, Battista may have mined for a time before settling in the large Italian-speaking community of Hepburn. By this time Angelo had found extra work as a stonemason in Yandoit, applying the skills common to many Lombard peasants (see Morganti section). Several Italian families had begun settling in the area around Yandoit Hill (ref. figure 12) -- further evidence of the clustering of village populations -- erecting traditional Lombard peasant-style houses, cow barns and dairies made entirely from the local stone. Angelo may have assisted on the building sites of several of these properties including those of (among others) the Gervasoni, Invernizzi and Tognolini families (see Gervasoni section). Some members of the Milesi family, not directly related to Angelo and Battista, also settled in the area, possibly becoming owners of Milesis' Hotel.[17] Angelo himself was living in a wooden house by 1871 in nearby Smeaton Road, American Gully.[18] Rates books for 1882 record his address as Nuggety Gully but the close proximity of the two areas may indicate the one address.

Having remained in Hepburn as a miner, on 7 December 1878 Battista Milesi married Augusta Amelia Tuddin, the eldest daughter of Swedish couple Erich and Carlotta Tuddin then resident in Bryces Flat near Daylesford.[19] Born only three years before Battista had arrived in Australia, Augusta was eighteen years old at the time of her marriage to the 32 year old Battista. Their wedding at Castlemaine marked one of the few occasions in which Italian speakers married outside their own or the Anglo-Celtic national groups although a shared Roman Catholic background appears to have facilitated the union. The couple settled at Spring Creek where Battista was reminded of his homeland: only a short distance from San Giovanni Bianco along the Brembana Valley lies the village of San Pellegrino famed, like Spring Creek, for its mineral spas. The Milesis produced their first child Battista in 1879 and a second son Giuseppe one year later on 6 January. The witness to Giuseppe's birth was a Mrs Respini, Augusta apparently accepting the friendship of, and being accepted by, members of the Italian-speaking community. With few Swedes on the goldfields, Augusta perhaps enjoyed the warmth and protection of this large immigrant group.

The Milesis raised thirteen children, Giacomina arriving on 9 January 1881. The other offspring, in order of arrival, were Veronica, Antonio, Frank, Amelia Augustine, May Josephine, Elena Martha, John Hepburn, Margherita and Angelo. The preponderance of Italian names suggests Battista's determination to maintain strong emotional links with his homeland. Hepburn's name (also selected for one of the Perinis' sons) is possibly of locative derivation, suggesting the Milesi's contentment with their new homeland. Battista's application for British citizenship on 19 January 1898 [20] was, however, more likely prompted by his desire for a government pension

than his love of Australia: after 25 years in the Colony, and at 52 years of age, he had possibly abandoned all hope of return to Italy. Testifier to the naturalisation proceedings was Swiss settler Michael Bedolla (referred to several times previously), further evidence of the family's close links with the Italian-speaking community. By the late 1890s the family had returned to Hepburn where Battista continued to mine for gold. On 11 September 1903, the last of the Milesi children was born and named Karl Ferdinand, an acknowledgment of his mother's ethnic origins; along with Franklin, his name suggested a loosening of ties with Italy. Most of the seven boys and six girls eventually abbreviated their names which gave them a more anglicised form: Antonio becoming Tony, Giacomina Mina, Amelia Millie and Margherita Rita.

On 6 November 1907, only four years after the birth of Karl and leaving Augusta to raise their young family alone, Battista died at 61 years of age.[21] Angelo, too, might have been dead by this stage, after having remained in Yandoit all his life. In 1901 Augusta suffered the tragic death of her son John Hepburn at age eighteen in a farming accident;[22] despite his transfer to Australia, Battista Milesi had not removed danger from the workplace of his family. John was buried, along with his father, in the Daylesford Cemetery. The remaining children all grew to adulthood and married, two to members of the one Italian-speaking family: the Tinettis of Shepherds Flat.

Andrea and Aquilino Tinetti had emigrated to Australia during the 1860s from Biasca, a village in the Riviera region of Ticino (ref. figure 3). Making his home at Shepherds Flat (ref. figure 8), while his brother settled at Hepburn, Aquilino had returned to Ticino in 1870 in order to marry Maria Virgilia Capriroli.[23] Back in

Shepherds Flat the couple had built a traditional peasant-style house, dairy and cow barn from the local stone (described in Rodoni section) and farmed the land. Their thirteen children, raised in an environment strongly influenced by the Ticinese culture, learned to speak Italian, to observe the Roman Catholic faith and to respect the traditions of their parents.[24] Several children eventually married Italian speakers, the fourth eldest Ferdinand Andrew, born in 1877, marrying Veronica Milesi, and the tenth eldest Ellen Antonietta, born in 1887, marrying Giuseppe Milesi. It was not uncommon for marriages to occur between several members of the same Italian-speaking families (a further example occurring in the Rodoni section) since they helped preserve the immigrants' life-style and the values and traditions which they held dear.

The marriage between Giuseppe and Ellen Milesi was celebrated on 12 July 1911 in St Peter's Church, Daylesford.[25] Giving expression to their Roman Catholic faith were other Italian-speaking members of the congregation, including witnesses Ferdinand and Eugeni Tinetti, Ellen's brother and sister. In later generations, only one of Ferdinand and Veronica Tinetti's children would marry an Italian speaker, as would one of Giuseppe and Ellen's grandchildren. The practice of endogamy between Italian speakers (these marriages nearly all occurred between Italians or people from the district of Biasca) grew weaker with each generation as the language, culture and life-style of Anglo-Australia assumed supremacy.

Many years later, descendants of the Milesi family visited San Giovanni Bianco and Biasca, forging global links into the post-European period of Australian history. The peasant-style stone houses, which bore remarkable resemblance to the Tinetti

home at Shepherds Flat, and the street names, such as *Via Casa Tinc'ti*, were reminders of their cultural heritage. Sadly, the sight of the inhospitable and inaccessible hillside land (still known as *la montagna di Tinetti* -- Tinettis' Mountain) mortgaged by the Tinettis in order to come to Australia, recalled the suffering and hardship endured by these people, only overcome by their courage and determination to survive. Courage and determination also characterised the early years of the Guscetti family in Australia, strengths which -- as the following section reveals -- did not always emanate from a peasant background.

GUSCETTI

Not all the Italian speakers who came to the Australian goldfields during the 1850s were peasants seeking refuge from poverty and starvation. A small number of financially stable, professional people also fled political associations which threatened to destroy their future social and financial security. Among them were several teachers from the Valle Maggia, including Gioachimo Respini, whose father's involvement in 1841 political movements had jeopardised his working career, and medical practitioner Severino Guscetti from Quinto in Ticino.[1] As Alcorso has noted,

> The timing of the gold rushes was fortuitous for European radicals; in addition to impoverished peasants and workers, the Australian gold rush attracted political activists and revolutionaries, displaced and disillusioned by the failure of the 1848 revolutions.[2]

It was Dr Guscetti's position as a member of parliament, however, which led to his arrival on the Australian goldfields in 1855, one of only a handful of Quinto's citizens choosing to go to Australia. Leventina, the region of Ticino where Quinto is situated (ref. figure 3), suffered enormous population losses in the years between 1843 and 1873 -- over seventeen per cent and the highest rate after the Valle Maggia. The majority, as was true for most of north-eastern Ticino, chose North America as their destination,[3] and only 20 individuals (.04 per cent) including Guscetti, his wife and four children, departed for the Colony of Victoria.[4] Why they did so, and how professional families such as the Guscettis fared in Australia, will be examined in this section.

Severino Guscetti was born in 1816 in Quinto, a village, like most in Ticino, suffering high rates of poverty and unemployment. By the 1850s, living conditions had

so deteriorated that over 20 per cent of the population (the highest rate in the canton) was seeking work in nearby countries or overseas.[5] While economic pressures had prompted the majority of these departures, this is unlikely to have been the case for Severino Guscetti, whose education had ensured a secure working life. His father, Giovanni Antonio Guscetti, had held high aspirations for his son and, on the completion of his school years, sent him to the University of Pavia in Italy to continue his education. Arriving at what was one of the oldest universities in Europe in 1835 when he was nineteen years of age, Severino had suffered bouts of ill health before moving on to Padova then to the University of Vienna. With his health improved he had moved back to Pavia and in 1840 completed his medical doctorate. He had spent some time in Paris before returning to Switzerland where, in 1842, at 26 years of age, his interest turned to politics. Elected to the parliament for the canton of Ticino in 1849, he was selected as a member of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation and two years later became a member of the government of Ticino.[6]

As a politician, Severino held liberal principles and worked tirelessly to promote the welfare of the state. Making rapid political advancement, he became Comptroller and Minister of Education at only 35 years of age, in the role effecting several valuable reforms. Among the most important was his contribution to the development of a compulsory education system. A high regard for institutionalised learning, as much as his socio-economic position, distanced Severino from the peasant classes. So too did the considerable literary skill which allowed him to compile a widely circulated history of Switzerland and a treatise on grammar which was adopted in the common schools. In 1844 Severino married Giuditta Marini, the daughter of

one Dr Marini of Besans, a nobleman of the city of Milan. Not restricted to the endogamous marriages of peasant society but, rather, seeking to maintain his socio-economic status, Severino had searched beyond Quinto for a wife. In the years which followed their marriage, Giuditta gave birth to three sons and one daughter: Virgilio born in 1846, Sofia in 1847, Federico in 1848 and Emilio in 1853.[7]

The year after the birth of their last child, the Guscetti family decided to emigrate to Australia. During the 1850s there were many disagreements between the liberal and conservative Catholic parties regarding liberal support of Italian refugees implicated in the struggle for Italy's political unity. It was at this time that the Austrians, the then-reigning power, imposed their economic blockade on Ticino. Severino, as a member of the liberal party had participated in the arguments, eventually disagreeing with some members of his own party. In 1848 he had also lost the support of good friend and well-known politician, Stefano Franscini, who had left the Ticinese government to join the federal government at Berne. By November 1854, Severino had argued with the leaders of his party and resigned from his official duties.[8] That same month, the Guscetti family boarded a vessel for Australia. There is also the possibility that Severino's extended family had met with financial difficulty as, in the years following their arrival in Australia, the Guscettis sent back many thousands of lire to their relatives in Switzerland.[9]

It is difficult to understand precisely why the Guscettis chose the Colony of Victoria as their future home. In 1852, two of Quinto's citizens, Antonio and Attilio Gobbi, had arrived in Australia (after having first searched for gold in America) to be

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among the first Ticinese settlers to reach the Victorian goldfields. Their reports of the colony's attractions, together with the shipping companies' encouraging advertising (which had eventually filtered through to all parts of Ticino) may have been sufficient to convince the Guscettis of Australia's advantages. The family might also have anticipated the enormous need for medical practitioners in a newly established colony. Intending their move as permanent, the Guscettis bid farewell to home and loved ones and prepared themselves for re-settlement in a remote British outpost.

The Guscetti family -- mother, father and four children -- departed from Liverpool on 7 November 1854 aboard the *Gypsy Bride* bound for Australia.[10] Only another ten Italian speakers accompanied them on their voyage, most being restricted to transport aboard the cheaper, and hence less comfortable, German vessels. Though this slightly easier journey may have shielded the Guscettis from the enormously hard life which awaited many immigrants on the goldfields, it was, nevertheless, long and tedious and burdened with the responsibility of tending four young children under nine. It would have been with a sense of relief that the family finally disembarked at Melbourne on the 12 February 1855. The Guscettis may have intended to remain in Melbourne -- both Severino and his wife were accustomed to life in a large city -- however, their impression of 'Port-Philips' as a city in a state of grave commercial crisis, suggested they move quickly on to Jim Crow.[11]

The four-day overland journey to Jim Crow -- travelling over appalling roads and under the intense summer sun -- provided perhaps the first real glimpse of the harsh Australian landscape. Despite this, Severino expressed optimism in a letter to a

friend in Milan a few days later. Relaying this news to Severino's father, the friend wrote:

> **Da 3 giorni ho finalmente avuto lettera da Severino, che mi scrive da Jim Crow Diggins portando la data del 6 marzo. -- Mi dà i dettagli del suo viaggio, che in complesso fu felice, essendosi esso e la famiglia trovati sempre bene.**[12]

At Jim Crow, the Guscettis set up a large tent where Severino again expressed contentment and hope:

> **Meniamo una vita silvestre, ma siamo in pace senza dipendenza, senza paura essendo qui maggior sicurezza, che altrove. Spero se non di raccogliere tosto grandi ricchezze, di provvedere senza difficoltà al mantenimento della famiglia e intanto mi guarderò sempre più d'attorno per acquistare una posizione più stabile e conveniente.**[13]

Severino, realising his ability to work through the authorities to establish a business and arrange his personal affairs, is confident of a happy and peaceful future away from the political pressures of Ticino. This sense of security, despite his recent arrival in a foreign country, is typical of the more educated and financially secure immigrants -- who, nonetheless, share with their less-educated compatriots an overriding commitment to the central role of the family.

Two more Italian-speaking doctors who had arrived in the Colony with similar outlooks were Francesco Rossetti and Giovanni Pagnamenta from Ticino. Unlike Severino they were not political refugees but professional men hoping to exploit the opportunities offered by a goldfields community. It has been suggested that some members of the professional classes, lawyers, doctors and the like, were parasites in the colony, earning a living off those finding gold.[14] While it may be true that some professionals prospered from the wealthy and sometimes prodigal gold-diggers by overcharging for their services, Dr Rossetti, who had arrived from Biasca in 1853, did

not establish a medical practice but instead set up a store and bakery (as noted previously). Dr Pagnamenta from Ticino's Sonogno, who had arrived only one week after Severino, joined the hundreds of Italian-speaking immigrants in the hunt for gold. The arrival of these representatives of the professional classes nevertheless aroused the suspicion and resentment of many of their 'peasant' compatriots, who feared being exploited. Aquilino Righetti (whose family featured earlier) expressed the view in 1855 that:

> **Fra gli avventurieri di lucro figuravano non solo gli agricoltori e pastori, ma una schiera di avvocati, dottori, ingegneri e poeta, tutti si recavano in Australia, non già col proposito di scavare l'oro, ma coll' intenzione di pelare in altro modo quei pochi forturati che l'avrebbero trovato.[15]**

Similar hostility greeted Dr Guscetti when he arrived on the goldfields because his political involvement was widely recognised.

> **[I]eri arrivarono parecchi dei nostri ticinesi con Guscetti ... Di questo Guscetti cosa diavolo vuol fare qui, non si potrebbe mai dire, il meno di cavagna può essere il più fortunato, ma generalmente questo succede a coloro che usano badile e zappone.[16]**

wrote Alessandro Pozzi, (see earlier section), still tormented by his own decision to leave his homeland and suspicious of the doctor's intentions.

The hostility towards the professional classes was sometimes expressed as criticism that they were physically and psychologically ill-equipped to survive Australia's harsh conditions. When Pagnamenta gave up mining for dairy farming, for example, he was labelled by Alessandro Pozzi *'il signor dottore delle zucche'* (the doctor of marrows).[17] Though the comment followed a personal argument, it ridiculed the doctor's attempts to master peasant skills. Similarly, Dr Rossetti was labelled

'dottor dei pomi di terra' (doctor of potatoes).[18]   When Pagnamenta shifted to

Bendigo in 1856, Pozzi's further comment that:

> **Il dottor Pagnamenta è andato al Bendigo ma mi sembra ciola ciola; credo che abbia leggere le scarsele e credo che non farà lunga vita in Australia**[19]

re-emphasised peasant doubt in the ability of the professionals to succeed. Severino

too was criticised for some early gold mining attempts, despite his apparent success.

Far from praising his results Alessandro Pozzi wrote:

> **Il dottor Guscetti credo che se la passi discretamente, ma il grosso pezzo d'oro che si parla nel Canton Ticino che abbia, sarebbe buono per lui se lo avesse.**[20]

As an ex-member of the government, one of the institutions most distrusted by

many of the Italian speakers who left their homeland, Severino attracted further

criticism. In the early years of settlement a number of Italian speakers followed closely

the events of their homelands and gathered for political discussions in the various wine

bars and hotels of their compatriots. During one heated debate at Pozzi's *osteria* in

Hepburn (see Pozzi section), Stefano Pozzi asked of Guscetti:

> **chi è quella testa di legno che viene da Melbourne? oh è il signor Guscetti, è qui in Australia? ma sicuro; che abbia già finito di spogliare i poveri fratti e capuccini? ora si crede forse di venire qui in Australia a spogliare i minieroli?**[21]

Targetting Severino as a common enemy, immigrants like Pozzi were not only 'looking

backwards' in venting their anger against past injustices and the conditions which had

forced them to emigrate, but were also 'looking forwards' in the sense of creating a

degree of unity and power among their Italian-speaking compatriots.

The rumblings of discontent directed towards Severino Guscetti did not, however, appear to have taken an overt form -- for he was soon able set up a medical practice with Italian speakers as his patients. While mining had been an exciting and lucrative occupation, like most of the more educated immigrants who had abandoned it for a cleaner, easier and more financially rewarding career, Severino soon returned to medicine. Within a year of his arrival he had established a medical practice in Spring Creek, announcing his new premises in the *Bendigo Advertiser* on 6 December 1856 with, 'S. Guscetti, M.D. adjoining the Switzerland Store[22] near the camp'. Positioning his premises to take advantage of the large Italian-speaking population, he had attracted those settlers eager to discuss their ailments in their own language (recall Gaetano Tomasetti's difficulties with the English speaking doctors) and receive a sympathetic hearing from someone who shared their ethnic and cultural background. Severino soon earned the respect and esteem of his patients, including Stefano Pozzi who was cured after a long illness in 1855.[23]

One of only a small number of doctors practising on the Jim Crow goldfields, Severino found his time fully occupied with mining accidents and common illnesses. Pneumonia, consumption and miners' complaint were among the most frequently occurring diseases, aggravated by the harsh living conditions on the goldfield. In an age of limited medical knowledge and few effective drug treatments, the most common causes of death among children were typhoid and diphtheria (the high infant and child mortality rates among the Italian speakers having already been noted). The death of the Guscettis' fifth child Fausto Amerigo, born one year after the family's arrival in Australia, may have resulted from one of these childhood illnesses.

In 1857, Severino and Giuditta produced a sixth child, whom they named Severinus, and in the same year moved their place of residence to Bendigo. Relating their comings and goings to a seemingly interested family in Ticino, Alessandro Pozzi wrote on 14 April 1857: '*La più parte degli svizzeri sono qui, una buona quantità sono al Bendigo dove si trova il dottore Guscetti con uno storo*'.[24] The large numbers of Italian speakers then moving to Bendigo had apparently attracted Severino to set up new medical premises (or '*lo storo*' as Pozzi described it in Anglo-Italian terms). Re-emphasising his compatriots' mistrust in (or possibly their resentment of) the professional classes' ability to prosper in Australia, Alessandro's brother Stefano also wrote: '*Il Guscetti va a mettere storo in Bendigo ma farà cattiva speculazione*'.[25] While living in Bendigo, Giuditta Guscetti gave birth to another son, whom she named Fausto Amerigo after his brother who had died. Other Italian speakers, it will be recalled, observed this naming practice. The Guscettis produced their last child Charles in 1859 but he died that same year. When, in 1861, Fausto also died, it meant that not one of the offspring Giuditta produced in Australia had survived childhood.

Some time between 1858 and 1860, Severino and his family moved to the Tarnagulla Dunolly region of Victoria where Severino was honorary surgeon of the Dunolly Hospital[26] (ref. figure 6). As honorary surgeons, doctors volunteered their services free of charge to the hospital but in exchange were permitted to charge a fee to any private patients visiting them on the premises. Under this arrangement doctors could thus tend the patients at the hospital while, at the same time, operate their own consulting rooms. The Guscetti family was very mobile during this period and by 1861

had moved to Stawell (ref. figure 6) where Severino once again became honorary surgeon.[27] Unlike other immigrants who found difficulty obtaining work, his medical qualifications guaranteed employment without recourse to the Italian speakers' informal support networks (but instead to a professionals' network). As a resident of Stawell Severino assumed various public duties, at one stage contributing to the erection of the town's Pleasant Creek Hospital. His political experiences and previous desire to win the goodwill and respect of the electorate had perhaps instilled a desire to serve the community -- and, like his socio-economic background, it further distanced him from his compatriots. Severino's desire to 'nation-build' also reflected his long-term intentions for life in Australia, as did his request for British citizenship in May 1861.[28]

After a few years, the Guscetti family moved back to Spring Creek where, by 1865, they had settled in a property on the left-hand side of the main road towards Franklinford near Shepherds Flat. A second property which he owned a few door away may have housed Severino's new consulting rooms.[29] Italian speakers continued to number among his patients, Giuseppe Pozzi seeking help after severing two fingers in a milling accident in 1867.[30] It is possible the doctor favoured his compatriots with reduced medical fees, Alessandro Pozzi noting in a letter to his family: '*io ho pagato un dottore inglese per una sol visita £5:5, il Guscetti credo che ne prenderà intorno £15 o £20*'.[31] Though Severino was isolated from the majority of Italian speakers by his socio-economic position and professional standing a shared ethnicity continued to encourage strong emotional bonds.

Severino may have selected his friends from among the professional classes, one of his closest associates being Francesco Rotanzi who had emigrated from Ticino in 1855; perhaps not a professional, Rotanzi was certainly an educated man willing to perform various secretarial duties for associations in Daylesford.[32] So too may he have mixed with Ticinese doctors Rossetti (as later financial arrangements would suggest) and Pagnamenta. Rossetti had been declared officially bankrupt when price wars and intense business rivalry had forced him to abandon his commercial interests at Hepburn. Falling back upon his medical skill, in 1864 he had been appointed honorary surgeon at the Daylesford Hospital -- erected in that year to symbolise the government's commitment to Daylesford's future (ref. figure 9) -- a position which he held for one year.[33]

Dr Pagnamenta had also returned to medicine discovering, to his dismay, that during his time as a miner and then as a dairyman he had allowed his skills to deteriorate. Among several patients dissatisfied with his treatment was Tranquillo Patà who, after one intervention to repair a broken leg in 1859, complained that one leg had been left shorter than the other. Unburdening his anger in a letter to his brother, he wrote: *'la mia gamba è restata curta e sempre sarà nel medesimo stato fino alla morte per mezzo di quello infamatore Dottore Pagnamenta'.*[34] The loss of Pagnamenta's medical skills did, however, vindicate his compatriots' belief that the goldfields was no place for the professionals, that doctors and the like lacked the adaptability and wit needed to survive. Dr Pagnamenta had eventually returned to Ticino where he died in 1861.

By 1869, the Guscettis had moved to Daylesford taking up residence in a home in North Vincent Street.[35] Now young adults, their children -- the eldest Virgilio 23, Sofia 22, Federico 21 and Emilio sixteen -- were almost all living away from the family home. In 1866 Sofia had married Italian speaker Carlo Bravo who had arrived from the small farming community of Cugnasco in Ticino in 1855. Considering their different socio-economic backgrounds, the immigrant experience had possibly been a uniting force. The couple eventually moved to Newbridge near Maryborough (ref. figure 6) where Carlo found work as a labourer.[36] Confirming their cultural heritage, most of their eleven children were given Italian names. Sadly, and again indicative of the colony's high childhood mortality rate, only six survived to adulthood. While little is known of Virgilio's life, the second son Federico married Margaret Josephine McPherson on 21 October 1871 in St Peter's Catholic Church in Daylesford. Also moving to Newbridge, on 2 July 1869 he took over the Old Newbridge Hotel, where he remained for several years.[37] Despite the high value which Severino had placed on education during his time as a government minister, for whatever reasons, his own children did not pursue professional careers.

Following his transfer to Daylesford, Severino, like Francesco Rossetti, was appointed honorary surgeon at the Daylesford Hospital. Unlike many of their compatriots, whose ethnicity often hindered employment by English speakers, a professional status appears to have guaranteed employment. On 14 January 1869, at the Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the Daylesford Hospital,[38] one Dr Manipole had moved that Dr Guscetti be appointed the third honorary surgeon. One week later, and along with resident doctors McNicoll and McIntyre, Severino had been re-elected

honorary medical officer receiving a salary of 175 pounds per annum and the use of gas, fuel and water in his rooms. A proposal to convert the hospital's store room to a kitchen for the use of the resident surgeons suggests, however, the poor working conditions of the doctors -- on 14 March, it was suggested that the 'dead house', or morgue, be converted to the hospital store while a colonial oven and fireplace be installed in the doctors' working areas.[39] Despite retaining his socio-economic status, Severino may, therefore, have found his working conditions reduced in Australia. In November of that year, he wrote to the Hospital Board requesting to be re-elected honorary medical officer but, when the Board decided that 'it was not in the power of the Committee to re-elect or appoint another honorary surgeon', Severino's employment at the hospital was terminated.[40]

While working at the hospital, Severino once again became involved in community service. On 18 August 1870 he received thanks from the secretary of the Ladies Benevolent Society, via the *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, for consenting to act as its honorary medical officer. The following month the society again thanked him for a donation of wine which he had provided for the consumption of the sick and infirm, adding:

> The Society also acknowledges with gratitude, similar instances of
> generosity in which Dr. Guscetti had personally supplied wine to poor
> 30 people, whose cases required it.[41]

Like many of his compatriots, and cutting across socio-economic differences, Severino valued food and produce from the home as a means of social exchange, the wine coming from a vineyard which he shared with his son at Newbridge. Pr?ctising their traditional vigneron skills, the Guscettis were able to pass aspects of their heritage on

to their children and to the wider community. Besides his contribution to the Benevolent Society, Severino was honorary medical officer for a time at Blanket Flat (Eganstown). He was also a member of the St Patrick's Society[42] and the Swiss and Italian Association, his religious beliefs and ethnicity linking him to other members of the community.

Having to cope with a demanding work schedule and various public duties, Severino's poor health brought him to an early death on 20 April 1871 at 55 years of age. The previous November he had been involved in a road accident which, although minor, would have weakened him physically. The incident, because of the doctor's high public profile, had received lengthy reporting in the local press, beginning with the words, 'Early yesterday morning, two of our medical men [also involved was one Dr Massey] had a narrow escape from a severe, if not fatal accident'.[43] Even before the accident, however, Severino had been suffering nervous instability which many had attributed to an over-concern with political events then taking place in Europe.[44] As an ex-member of parliament, he was reported to have been unable to disassociate himself from the affairs of his homeland, and had become increasingly troubled. By Christmas of that year, his son Federico had been forced to take over his normal round of gift giving, making presentations of his best colonial wine to the Daylesford Hospital and the Benevolent Society. When Severino's condition further deteriorated, he was taken to an asylum in Cremorne (Melbourne) and then, with his recovery pronounced hopeless, to a hospital in Yarra Bend (Melbourne). In January 1871, the Daylesford Hospital Committee sent a letter of support to Giuditta Guscetti but her husband died just a few months later (the official cause being cited as 'softening of the brain and

disease of the liver'[45]). Despite many years in Australia, Severino's 'naturally fervent and active mind' had not permitted him to lose his love and concern for the people of Ticino, and had given him no peace.[46] In 1888, his friends in Biasca wrote upon a memorial plaque placed in the town hall: *'signor dottore Guscetti consunto in Australia da malore nostalgico'.*[47]

A description of his well attended funeral which appeared in the local press on 25 April 1871 began:

> The last tribute of respect was paid on Sunday afternoon to the remains of Dr. S. Guscetti, the funeral cortege being one of the largest yet seen in Daylesford.[48]

Present were members of the Guildford Brass Band and the Swiss and Italian Association, carrying the Italian flag draped in mourning.[49] Despite heavy rain, up to 600 citizens stood by the grave-site for the Catholic service and a eulogy read by Severino's long-time friend Rotanzi. Severino had won the respect and esteem of not only his compatriots and the Italians but of the community at large. Recalling his private as well as public charities, his obituary concluded with the words: 'we are sure the premature decease of a warm hearted and genial man will be regretted by all who knew him'.[50]

At the time of Severino's death, the Guscettis had been renting a house from Dr Rossetti in Raglan Street, Daylesford. (Their son Federico, then managing a wine shop also owned by Rossetti in the same street, would suggest that the Italian-speaking professionals had their own support networks.) Giuditta eventually moved to Newbridge where, on 6 December 1872, her son transferred his hotel licence into her

name. She lived until around her 79th year, dying at Kyabram (ref. figure 6) in 1898.[51]

Like doctors Rossetti and Pagnamenta, Severino Guscetti had not come to Australia to escape poverty and the threat of starvation. Notwithstanding political conflicts which had prompted his decision to emigrate, he had chosen the Colony of Victoria as his future home -- and, like other members of the professional classes, had been able to re-establish with his family the comfortable life-style formerly enjoyed in Ticino. The Guscettis (like countless Italian-speaking settlers) discovered, however, that financial security was only one part of the immigrant experience and that it was always accompanied by painful memories of distant homelands and loved ones. This theme re-emerges in the case study of the Vanina family which concludes this chapter .

VANINA

Unlike the Guscettis, who arrived in Australia as a family, emigration separated Carlo Vanina from his wife and children for many years until they were reunited in the Colony. Immigration for them came to mean adaptation to, not only a new physical environment and way of life, but also the changes which long separation brought to personal relationships and family roles. For the Vanina children, who had grown up in Ticino, it also meant the arrival of siblings who would be socialised in a culture different from their own. The Vaninas emigrated to Australia from the village of Biasca in the Ticinese region of Riviera (ref. figure 3). While the region itself suffered relatively little disruption between 1850 and 1860 due to emigration (60 individuals or 1.3 per cent), nearly all of the departures which did take place were from the village of Biasca.[1] In 1854, Carlo Vanina joined several members of his extended family and (previously introduced) fellow Biascans, Giuseppe Rossetti, Andrea and Aquilino Tinetti, in the journey to Australia. Later reunited with his wife and family, he reconstituted his own stable family unit and a way of life familiar to him in Ticino. Based on cooperation and strong kinship links, as demonstrated in this section, the Vanina life-style helped reinforce positive attitudes towards Italian speakers as they became permanent citizens of Australia.

Carlo Vanina was born to a farming family in Biasca in 1826, his parents Marta and Carlo Antonio Vanina producing four more offspring: Caterina in 1818, Giuseppe Antonio in 1821, Anna Maria in 1823 and Maria Antonia Luigia in 1825.[2] Constantly plagued by poverty, life became even more intolerable in 1851 when Giuseppe's

untimely death at age 31 left his young wife and four children in the care of his extended family. By 1854 Carlo, who was also married with young children, decided to seek a better future in Australia. Aware of the Colony's rich gold resources -- the news having by then reached all parts of Ticino -- he booked his passage to Melbourne with an agency of the Rebora shipping company then operating from Biasca.[3] Financial aid not forthcoming from the village council -- the villagers' petitions for travel assistance only being heeded one year later -- Carlo presumably drew upon his personal savings.[4] Bidding farewell to his wife Giuseppa (Detmise), four year old son Giuseppe Isidoro and two year old daughter Maria Luigia, Carlo teamed up with nine travel companions for the overland journey to the port. While -- like most Italian speakers -- he is almost certain to have pledged return to Biasca, he was never to see his homeland again and would only be reunited with his family in the Colony.

With his nine companions, the only Ticinese travellers, Carlo boarded the *Carl Ross* at Hamburg on 12 November 1854.[5] After almost four months at sea, the group disembarked at Melbourne on 3 March 1855 and Carlo transferred to Jim Crow. He worked on various goldfields, probably, like most Italian speakers, searching with a few compatriots for alluvial gold. He appears to have been moderately successful for, within a few years, he had selected, cleared and fenced land in Hepburn and was living in a small hut.[6] Judging by reports which flowed back to government officials in Ticino by 1855, other Biascans had also fared reasonably well -- the Commissioner of Riviera, according to Cheda, affirming that: '*Gli emigranti di Biasca -- stando almeno alle affermazioni del commissario di Riviera -- avrebbero fatto pervenire dall 'Australia' notizie "piuttosto consolanti"'.[7] Within seven years of his arrival in

Australia, Carlo had decided to settle permanently and requested his wife and children to join him. Though presumably content to leave Biasca where economic hardship persisted,[8] Giuseppa may have feared this reunion where, not only personal attachments might have waned, but also traditional family roles been reversed. She was possibly not the first wife of an emigrant to have grown accustomed to independent decision-making in Ticino only to face the prospect of being reassigned a traditionally submissive role as wife in Australia. Her children too might have feared the reunion, their father now being little more than a stranger. The family boarded the *Elizabeth Bright* for Australia in 1861 (on the same vessel which also carried Giuseppe Pozzi).[9] Luigia (the name by which she was better known) was then nine years old and passed the time by sewing a baby's christening robe, a symbol of the skills and religious beliefs which had been passed on by her family.

Whatever their misgivings, Giuseppa and her children could have anticipated a more secure and comfortable life in Australia. If, however, Carlo was still living in his hut at Hepburn, their disappointment and sense of disillusionment might have equalled those of their immigrant male counterparts on their first arrival. Many women who arrived to join to their husbands in the Colony were met with conditions little better, if not worse, than those they had left behind -- perhaps a one-roomed make-shift hut containing a few chairs, a table and a bed -- and their bitterness would have been all the more intense because it was their own families, and not strangers, who had encouraged them to leave their homes. Carlo Vanina, however, had plans for a better home for his family and was soon able to make them more comfortable. Profits from the sale of wine from a large vineyard he had planted at Hepburn, together with a small income

from mining, had provided the means to purchase a new home. Reportedly a hotel acquired from a fellow Biascan named Monighetti (possibly the same who had earlier purchased Leonardo Pozzi's billiard saloon), the sale highlighted the strength of village networks.[10]

Originally a hotel (the *Licensing Register 1861 - 1872* records that, on 24 March 1865, a licence was removed from Carlo Vanina's property at Old Racecourse), the rectangular weatherboard structure in the main street of Hepburn[11] (ref. figure 11) featured two front doors, possibly used as entrances to a bar and dining-room. Five front windows looked on to the main street and were shaded by a verandah. A picket fence extended out either side of the building to enclose a back yard. Rearranging some of the home's interior to suit their personal needs, the main entrance led into a living area to the left of which were three bedrooms. Opposite the living area, and comprising walls 50 centimetres thick, six metres high and four metres wide, was a kitchen. These walls, together with the economically built less than two metre high doors, suggest Monighetti, or another person with traditional stone construction skills, may have been the original builder (see Home and Family). So too does the large two metre open fireplace: typical of most peasant homes, its opening was sufficiently deep to take one to two metre lengths of wood and for a person to enter to do the stoking. At its north end was a stone seat where a person could sit and be warmed. The Vaninas named their new home *Biasca*, flagging their Swiss heritage within the community of Hepburn.

Another traditional feature of the building which, no doubt, appealed to the Vaninas was its large cellar. Entered through an outside trapdoor, it extended almost the entire length of the home's living area and comprised large and small storage areas. Handmade stone shelves and a good drainage system were further evidence of traditional building methods. Within the cellar the Vaninas stored several wine barrels, one so large that it must have been in place prior to the cellars construction and another, a stomping barrel (both further evidence of Italian-speaking builders). The cellar (which was said to have been connected to a tunnel leading down to the creek near Liberty Spring) enabled the family to manufacture and store traditional foods, thereby expressing an element of its cultural heritage.

It was perhaps while settled in this new house that, one year after her arrival in Australia, Giuseppa gave birth to a son Carlo: named after his father, he subsequently became known as Charlie in the local community.[12] The cultural shift implied by Carlo's renaming was mirrored in the decision by Carlo (snr) in the same year to become naturalised.[13] The act recalled his intention to remain in Australia. The family's vines had proven productive and the wine yield increased with the application of a large wine-press which Carlo had made by hand. Despite the press's comparative efficiency -- the locals claimed none better existed in the district[14] -- its operation required a great deal of physical effort on the part of the family. The family's role as a productive unit was by no means novel in Australia, although it is likely that the custom continued longer with groups like the Italian speakers than it did with Anglo-Celtic groups. Performing all the work by hand, the fruit was placed on a large slab which was weighted down by heavy logs, some going one way and some the other to

achieve three or four layers. When the press was in operation, the logs were jammed tightly down to squeeze the juice from the grapes. Loaned out to members of the community, its efficiency symbolised the skill and ingenuity of the Italian speakers.

By 1864 Giuseppa was again pregnant. However, the child, named Fortunato, died in infancy. Her last child Frederick (Federico?) arrived in 1866, giving to the older Vanina children, who were by now fourteen and sixteen, two younger brothers with whom they shared no common experience of Ticino. Charlie and Fred were raised within the dual culture of their Italian-speaking family and their Anglo-Celtic community. Though Luigia and Giuseppe had mixed with English speakers at the local Hepburn school, the family was almost certain to have communicated in its Swiss dialect and to have performed many of the rituals associated with its ethnic and peasant heritage. Typically, both Giuseppe and Luigia were taken from school at age fourteen to contribute their labour to the family's productivity,[15] Carlo by this time drawing income from a variety of sources. During the 1870s, he was described in the Shire of Mount Franklin rates books as a farmer, vineyard owner/vigneron, miner and storekeeper; granted a liquor licence in 1871,[16] this last venture was possibly an outlet for home-made wine. In the 1870s, the Vaninas also increased their land holdings with a further half hectare block opposite their home in Hepburn.[17] Together with the income from the hire of their wine press, the family was relatively financially secure.

At some stage the Vaninas made extensions to their home to allow them to take in boarders. Mostly Italian speakers, who had recently arrived in the Colony, according to family tradition, they were welcomed into a warm and generous

household where, at the end of the working day, men would gather in the kitchen -- the natural focal point of the house -- to relax, tell stories, play cards and talk[18] (similar to the *filò* of their Ticinese villages[19]). Nutured in this atmosphere of hard work and conviviality, the Vanina children drew strength from their family and ethnic ties. In 1872, when Luigia decided to marry, her husband was chosen from among the Italian-speaking community. Andrea Ferrari had arrived in Australia in 1858 from Semione, a village only a short distance from Biasca in Ticino (ref. figure 4). The close proximity of the two villages suggests that a marriage may have been arranged by the Vanina and Ferrari families or that both had, at least, given their full support. Andrea was then 36 and presumably sufficiently financially secure to support his young wife of 20. Twelve months before their wedding, and evidence of other endogamous marriages taking place in the district, they were witnesses to a marriage between Giovanni Scheggia and Margherita Delmue;[20] Giovanni also being from Semione, and one of Andrea's ex-travel companions, it reflected the strength and durability of village ties. So too did the fact that Andrea was then living with a branch of the Sartori family.[21] The marriage ceremony was celebrated by Italian-speaking Fr Nicholas Bassetto (see Tomasetti section) at St Peter's Catholic Church in Daylestord. Witnessed by Giovanni Togni (who had also travelled to Australia with Andrea) and Giuditta Guscetti (see previous section), it was another of the ritual occasions by which the Italian speakers expressed and reaffirmed their ethnic heritage.

Only two years after her marriage, Luigia was faced with the death of her brother Giuseppe in a ploughing accident;[22] it was a death which deprived her the opportunity to share memories of a childhood in Biasca and severed one of the links

with her homeland. Her parents, apart from their personal loss, were forced to manage the farm alone and to depend more on the help of the younger children, Charlie aged eleven and Fred eight. The boys were both students at the Hepburn school, Charlie having first enrolled there around 1868. A new school building had been erected around 1870,[23] a symbol of the town's growing size and stability (and with each new building in the Daylesford region, the Italian speakers were reminded of the contrast between their new home and their ageing villages). While at school, the Vaninas had mixed with many other Italian-speaking children then living in the district, among them being members of the Borsa and Tinetti families.

Apart from his sons, Carlo may have been assisted on his property by his son-in-law Andrea who, in the early years of his marriage to Luigia, appears to have resided in the Vanina household. This economical and practical arrangement, together with the later parcelling out of Carlo's land to his children, gave expression to the European patriarchal tradition of clustering round the eldest male to form a large family estate. Luigia may have given birth to her first child in her parent's home, naming him Giuseppe after her recently deceased brother. Though this child was to die in infancy, Luigia would give birth to sixteen children, fourteen of whom survived to adulthood. Her second child Andrew arrived in 1875, followed by Frederick in 1877.[24] These, and later offspring, were sure to have been christened in the baptismal robe which Luigia, as a child of nine, had made on her journey to Australia.

Carlo Vanina did not live long enough to enjoy his grandchildren and see the growth of the Vanina clan at Hepburn, dying in the same year that Frederick was born.

Giuseppa, with a farm to manage and two young sons to raise, was again reliant on the personal courage and resourcefulness which had supported her during the seven years alone in Ticino. Charlie, who was by then fourteen, was taken from school to work full-time on the property, among other chores, milking the cows and tending the vineyard. Like his father, who had made the wine-press, he was clever with his hands and passed his spare time in a tool shed at the back of the house.[25] By 1879, Luigia and Andrea had moved out of the Vanina home and were living in Deep Creek.[26] Despite a growing family -- in 1878 she had given birth to a fourth child, Mary, and in 1889 a son, Peter -- she continued to support her mother by visiting her whenever she could.

As well as her family, Giuseppa relied on the support of Hepburn's Italian-speaking community, some of her closest friends being the Gaggionis who lived directly opposite (see later section). The two families shared many farming activities,[27] particularly the processing of Vaninas' grapes at harvest time. Working together to complete the task, after picking, the family members would climb one by one up a ladder to tip the fruit into a large barrel. Pushing it down with prongs, several adults would also climb into the barrel to compress the fruit down further, joined by the children who made this simple and enjoyable contribution to the working day. Later the fruit would be transported by wheelbarrow to Carlo's old wine-press at the back of the house where the processing continued. Once the wine was finished and bottled, the produce would be divided for storage between the two family cellars. Similarly, at *bullboar*-making time[28] one family would supply the pork and the other the beef to

produce a large batch of sausages. Presumably rewarded for their efforts with a share in the produce, both families prospered by these cooperative arrangements.

Often, at the conclusion of these working days, the families would celebrate with a party, or 'pot night', when the fresh sausages would be boiled and eaten hot. Sometimes other Italian-speaking families would be invited, each bringing a contribution of their own cheese or bread, which allowed a variety and abundance of foods to be eaten without depleting any family's personal supplies. At various times throughout the year, the Vanina home was cheered with the sound of music and laughter and people learning to dance on its floors, these social and working occasions serving to consolidate ethnic ties and provide practical and emotional support. Though Giuseppa operated her property successfully for many years after her husband's death, her listing as only a housewife in the district rates books was a common omission which left the contribution of many working women overlooked in the official records. On 13 June 1881 she became owner of around nine hectares of land beside the Hepburn school -- land, which would eventually be endowed to her children as they married, ensuring the close proximity of the Vanina clan at Hepburn.[29]

After a time, since beginning an apprenticeship as a carpenter and cabinet-maker in Daylesford, Charlie was able to contribute fewer hours to the family farm; different from his father, who had gained his knowledge from village elders, he, along with other local boys, learned his trade outside the family home. Eventually employed by one Mr Elyah Parkinson, constructing and renovating local buildings, he was based in Daylesford, where his sister had also taken up residence in Leggatt Street

(ref. figure 9).[30] Luigia had given birth to a sixth child Josephine in 1881, a daughter Eliza in 1882 and son Albert in 1884, children who were taken often to visit their grandmother and uncles in Hepburn. It was ritual events, such as Charlie's marriage in 1885,[31] however, which the young Ferraris most enjoyed and which brought the family together with their friends in the Italian-speaking community.

Unlike his sister, who had been raised in Ticino and hence attracted to an Italian-speaking partner, Charlie Vanina married 'the girl next door', Ann Hewatt, whose parents ran a hotel and general store. Though not strictly an endogamous marriage, it reflected the almost universal desire to retain familiar aspects of one's social environment. The couple lived for a time with Giuseppa,[32] in an arrangement conducive to cultural exchange and ethnic toleration. Ann produced her first child in the year following her marriage, naming her Josephine after her mother-in-law. Within a year or two, Giuseppina had endowed a piece of land to the young couple, where they built their first home; it became one of several future Vanina establishments clustered around *Biasca*. Here Ann bore a further nine children: Martha on 5 October 1887, Joseph on 16 May 1889, Annie on 21 April 1891 (the same year that Charlie was registered as the owner of a half hectare vineyard at Hepburn),[33] Helen on 21 December 1892, Charles on 12 March 1895 (who died a year later), Mary on 9 April 1897, Florence on 15 March 1899, Charles Bruce on 15 August 1900 and Robert on 3 July 1902. Together with Luigia's family in Daylesford, the Vaninas were now a prominent presence in the Jim Crow region.

Luigia gave birth in 1886 to her ninth child Charles, who was followed by Stephen in 1887 and twins Luigia and Julia in 1888. Unwilling to neglect her duties to her mother,[34] and continuing to make regular visits to Hepburn, on one sad occasion she unwittingly exposed her baby Luigia to the icy winds from which the infant developed pneumonia and later died. It was another four years before Luigia gave birth to a thirteenth child, whom she also named Luigia in memory of her dead sister. Annie was born in 1893, Hilda in 1895 and the last child David in 1897. Encouraged to look after their grandmother, at one stage Julia went to live with her in Hepburn, transferring to the local school. By her regular weekly chores, such as cleaning with ashes the brass candlesticks, she maintained a tangible link with her family's past. Also still living in the house was her uncle Fred, by this stage, married to an English-speaking woman, Elizabeth Olver.

Like Charlie, Fred had brought his young wife to live with Giuseppa, again blending the Anglo-Celtic and Italian-speaking cultures in a domestic environment. Elizabeth produced no children and Fred, who presumably continued to attend the family property, also worked as a blacksmith at various mines before setting up his own business opposite his home in Hepburn (ref. figure 11). Also operating a water battery on Spring Creek with fellow Biascans Ferdinando and Osvaldo Vanzetta, Luigi Rolleri and Jim Scheggia,[35] he maintained links with his ethnic community. These links were further strengthened when, towards the end of the nineteenth century, he agreed to act as godfather to his neighbours' child Leila Gaggioni (see Gaggioni section). Growing up, Leila became a close friend of the Vaninas, often talking to Fred in his blacksmith's shop from her bedroom window and visiting their house. Delighting in

its lovely big kitchen, and the stone floor which Mrs Vanina washed down every morning until it was wet and cool, she would sit by the large old fireplace with its simmering kettle hanging from a chain.[36] Unable to speak Italian (her father having died when she was very young) she was, nonetheless, surrounded by significant reminders of her Italian-speaking heritage.

At school, children like Leila Gaggioni, the young Vaninas and Ferraris formed friendships which reinforced awareness of their cultural and ethnic heritage. Attending the Hepburn school with Mary and Florey Vanina, Leila often played at their home, noting its lovely fruit and flower garden (the later being a symbol of the family's prosperity) and way of life which resembled her own. While the Vanina girls did not speak Italian, and bore little of their Swiss heritage in their dress, the ethnic links were sufficient for the three girls to develop an empathy and friendship which would last many decades.[37] When their elder sister Martha won dux of Daylesford Primary School in 1901, it symbolised the emergence of new values among the Italian speakers. Also close friends of Leila Gaggioni were the Ferrari children in Daylesford, at whose home she would often play. Luigia Ferrari was to her a lovely 'Italian looking' lady whose children bore the same dark features. Both mother and several of the children had pierced ears for the decorative jewellery traditionally worn in some European cultures.

With the responsibility of his large family, Charlie Vanina eventually branched out of building into the mining trade, finding work as a winding driver and a battery manager. He was employed for many years at the Ajax Mine, one of the most

successful gold mines then operating in the Daylesford area. Still considered an excellent handyman by the local people of Hepburn, who brought him lawn mowers to fix, saws to sharpen, scissors to grind, clocks to mend and dozens of other items, this may have provided an additional source of income. Charlie was generous to his extended family, giving assistance to his sister Luigia after her husband died in 1903. The circumstances of Andrea's death were somewhat tragic, resulting from a failed appendectomy performed on the kitchen table of his home by two (reportedly drunk) doctors.[38] Even if inaccurate, the claim of drunkedness suggests an ongoing suspician within the family that reliance on outsiders and strangers risks disaster. According to family tradition, and testimony to the strength of patriarchal family identity, Stephen (the eldest son living at home) promised at his father's bedside to assume leadership of the Vanina household.[39] It was, of course, Luigia who bore the chief responsibility, like her mother, left a widow with several young children in her care.

Six Ferrari children remained at home at the time of their father's death: Stephen who was then sixteen years old, Julia fifteen, Luigi eleven, Annie ten, Hilda eight and David six. The only child on a wage, Stephen was employed as a groom and driver for a local doctor. Julia, who had also left school, was active in the care of the home and younger family members. With no government welfare payments, Luigia earned extra income by taking in laundry and sewing, receiving one shilling for every dozen men's collars she sewed. A reportedly beautiful seamstress,[40] she had passed her skills onto her daughters, especially Hilda, who later won prizes at various parish fetes. Unfortunately for Luigia, her mother was of little practical or emotional help during these years, having developed, in the last years of her life (what later came to be

known as) Alzheimer's Disease. Nursed by Fred and Elizabeth, in her more lucid moments, when she sometimes mourned the loss of the Italian language in the younger generation, she revealed the close emotional attachment which she had retained for her homeland.[41]

Throughout her lifetime, Giuseppa had remained generous to her compatriots, in 1889 accommodating fellow Biascans Ferdinando and Osvaldo Vanzetta and Isidoro Rodoni newly arrived in the Colony (cf. below pp. 394 & 410). She died in 1904 at 79 years of age, having become one of Hepburn's most highly respected citizens. Her large funeral, which was attended by the president and councillors of the Mount Franklin Shire who had adjourned especially the business of a council meeting, included two mourning coaches, nine vehicles and several equestrians. The coffin was carried by Giuseppa's grandsons, Andrew, Frederick, Peter and Albert Ferrari, and cord-bearers were members of both the Swiss and English-speaking communities.[42]

Giuseppa's death did not weaken the bonds of the Vanina family. Though some in the third generation moved away from the district over the years in search of work, others remained near to *Biasca* and in close contact with the family. They nearly all assumed occupations already familiar to the Italian-speaking immigrants: in mining, blacksmithing, retailing, the hotel trade or the public utilities. One exception was Annie Vanina who, remaining at home to look after her family after her mother died, became a school teacher. Marriages and other ritual occasions continued to attract large family gatherings and, despite only Joseph Vanina and Julia Ferrari marrying Italian speakers, to reinforce links with the Italian-speaking community. At

the wedding of Charlie's eldest daughter Josephine, Violetta Perini was among several

Swiss friends who helped to decorate the church with floral arches and wedding bells.

Josephine's three sisters were her bridesmaids and a neighbour, Mrs Scheggia,

provided the music.[43] Performing the role of family 'patriarch', when Josephine and

her husband settled in Hepburn after first spending time in Western Australia, Charlie

provided them with a house; also building homes for some of his other children --

completing most of the physical work himself [44] -- the network of kin he established

near *Biasca* reinforced community attitudes about the close family relationships of the

Italian speakers.

Other positive attitudes were revealed in 1928 when, at Florence Vanina's

send-off interstate, she was extolled by Councillor Zelman for her high qualities of

character and generous charity contributions. Likewise, Charles Ferrari, who rose to

the rank of sergeant during World War One and won a bravery medal, earned the

community's esteem. A tribute to Hilda Ferrari, which appeared in a St Peter's Church

newsletter, claimed:

> Hilda is the youngest of the large family of Mr. and Mrs. A. Ferrari,
> early Swiss settlers in this district, who together with the Vanina family,
> close relatives, brought to Australia all the best virtues of the Swiss --
> firm family ties, industry, love of beauty and forthrightness of
> character.[45]

The additional remark, that 'Swiss women are skilled needlecraft workers and Hilda's

skill is seen at every fete held in the parish', revealed support for another commonly

held stereotype. As staunch members of the Roman Catholic community the Vaninas

earned further respect, especially after the tragic bushfires in 1906, when Charlie

donated a piece of land on to which St Bernard's Church from Franklinford was

transferred.[46] His daughter Mary became its first caretaker and Josephine its first sacristan (keeper of sacred vessels and vestments). Josephine also gained recognition for her participation on various school and church committees.

Though representative of the Italian-speaking community in Australia, the Vanina family was most tangibly linked with Ticino through the language and memories of Luigia. Luigia's death in 1930 at 79 years of age thus cut the final bonds uniting the European and immigrant families. At her funeral she was fondly remembered as a kind and generous family member and, in her obituary, as 'one of its [Daylesford's] oldest and best known residents'.[47] The church service again provided opportunity to reaffirm kinship links and strengthen ethnic community ties. After her death, the Vanina clan remained centred in Hepburn, Fred and his wife occupying *Biasca* and other family members clustering nearby. Fred renovated *Biasca* to suit his personal needs, adding an attic, another bedroom, a porch and a bathroom. A 200 litre drum converted to a laundry trough was a symbol of the 'peasant' attributes of ingenuity and thrift he had inherited from his parents. In one room of the house Fred regularly invited his friends over to smoke their pipes and drink a glass of his home-made wine. Sold for threepence a bottle, the wine was transferred from the cellar through a round hole cut out from the floor, this arrangement being subsequently celebrated within the family as typifying peasant pragmatism.[48]

Fred retained his good health into old age, at a school reunion in 1929 winning the 'veterans' race' over 54 metres. Among other events in which he and Charlie participated was a theatrical performance highlighting the past contribution of the

Italian speakers, 'Professor Macaroni Spaghetti The Organ Grinder' winning the 'Best Sustained Character'.[49] Fred's second placing in an 'Old School-day Story' competition revealed the vivid memories he had retained of those years. Fred lived to 84 years, dying in 1950. The year before his brother's death, Charlie had celebrated his 86th birthday with a party attended by four generations of the Vanina family, an event considered sufficiently interesting to receive mention in the local press.[50] Charlie felt deeply the loss of his brother Fred, often on a wet, dull day, walking to his old blacksmith's shop to reminisce with a few friends around the forge. Also possessing the strong constitution of the Vaninas, Charlie continued his daily regimen of early rising, hard physical labour and not retiring to bed before 9.00pm. He chopped all his own firewood in the bush paddock adjoining his home, believing that at certain phases of the moon the wood would be better for burning -- one of the traditional peasant beliefs passed on to him from his family.[51] When Charlie died in 1956, his funeral was one of the largest ever seen in Hepburn.

Biasca, which had by that time fallen into disrepair, was sold and its new owners decided to pull it down. Before doing so, they invited one of the Vaninas who had grown up in the house to a final inspection. Reflecting perhaps her desire to forget the immigrants' struggles, she refused, claiming to be glad to see the last of the old place where, every Saturday afternoon, she and her brothers and sisters had been forced to eat sponge-cake dipped in wine spills. Ironically, the owners named their new home *Biasca Two*, preserving the memory of the Italian speakers at Hepburn. Informed by some of the town's elders of the local lore, a piece of the old house -- the original step to the veranda -- was retained to bring good luck. Several members of

the Vanina family remained in Hepburn all their lives or returned there to retire. The later generations became relatively prosperous, one family member establishing an importing business in America and others gaining degrees in the social sciences and fine arts. The Vanina clan -- as descendants would proudly assert -- had built a stable and successful life in Australia through hard work and the strong support of family ties. That they had won the admiration and respect of their local community was epitomised in a 1972 decision of the Mount Franklin Shire Council to name a Hepburn street in their honour. It was also a sign of the emerging permanency of Italian-speaking settlement -- a theme to be pursued in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN : SETTLING

SETTLING

While some of the Italian speakers who came to Australia in the 1850s, such as Severino Guscetti and Carlo Vanina, maintained relative financial and social privilege, for the majority poverty was to be their lifelong companion. Released from the hunger and destitution of their European villages, they were, nevertheless, confined to a life of economic struggle and dependence on traditional peasant methods of survival. By the 1860s less than a third of Italian speakers had returned to Europe[1] leaving the majority to face the folly of a journey which, instead of giving them riches, had reduced them to further debt. It was, says Cheda:

> **un' avventura di disperati ingannati che non solo non si sono arricchiti, ma che alla fine si son ritrovati più poveri di quando non erano partiti.**[2]

In their desperation, the Italian speakers turned to the skills and occupations which had supported them in their homelands -- skills, for example, in farming, building, blacksmithing and wine-making -- and, in so doing, settled in more stable communities. The highly mobile days of 'scouting' thus ended and a new stage began. Pascoe uses the term 'farmers' for this stage, applying it to Italians arriving in Australia in the 1920s. Like Pascoe's farmers, there is evidence that the group which features in this present study also 'advanced further into the core of Australian life and culture'.[3] This chapter explores the 'farming years of the Italian speakers at Daylesford: the forms of employment to which they turned, the growing stability of their life-styles and re-formation into families, their greater sense of ethnic identity and their interaction with the general community which prevented them becoming an isolated enclave.

What will emerge is how the settlers laid the foundations for a recognisable Italian-speaking community within Australian society.

While several factors were responsible for the Italian speakers' decision to remain in Australia, chief among them was debt. Many had remained unable to repay the money borrowed from village councils or wealthy citizens for the cost of their journey -- the despair epitomised by Filippo Tunzi's lament that '*non avremo mai più il denaro di venire a casa, la speranza è perduta*'.[4] In order to reduce their debt many immigrants sold property in Ticino or Italy, letters written home during the early years often being requests to have such sales enacted. Giuseppe Bedolla of Ticino's Brione Verzasca, who sold land in 1863 and 1864 in order to repay debts incurred ten years earlier, provides one example as does the sale of family land by the wife of Giovanni Bisi in 1864.[5] Researching this period, Cheda states:

> **Tra il 1858 e il 1866 abbiamo trovato decine di mutui ipotecari e di vendite immobiliari sottoscritti dagli stessi emigranti o dai loro familiari per saldare il debito iniziale.**[6]

The inability to repay debts remained with many immigrants 30 years or more, causing Giovanni Tartaglia from Gordevio to write home in 1883: '*sono imposibilitato di pagarli ma però potrete impagarvi in mia proprietà ma non nella casa ma in qualche pezzo di terra*'.[7] Many immigrants fretted about the burden placed on family members empowered to carry out these sales, ageing parents often having to struggle with unfamiliar and confusing legal terms. More traumatic, however, was the further slide into poverty which the sale represented, and the destruction of a centuries old interaction of land ownership, labour and family home -- 'the peasant triangle' -- which had protected family and community survival. Even with the land sales, however, it

remained beyond the means of many Italian speakers to return home, and they resigned themselves to a life in Australia.

Some immigrants were prevented from returning home by a sense of shame or guilt for their failures in the goldfields . Having ignored advice of compatriots, they feared the accusing glares and inevitable family bitterness. Though many emigrants had been less than fourteen or fifteen years old at the time of their departure, and hence barely capable of a well considered decision, they felt their remorse no less. A number of immigrants avoided return because of painful memories of the voyage; so excruciatingly long and fearsome had it been that the vast seas were both a psychological and actual barrier to repatriation. Some immigrants, especially those who had been unable to communicate in writing with their families during the years of absence, had also lost the passion of their emotional ties and had formed new, in some cases bigamous, relationships.[8] Charles D'Aprano also argues that, after a time, it became apparent to some Italian speakers that Australia was not such a bad place after all and that it was just as well to seek a living here as return to their own desolate homelands.[9] Whatever the cause, most immigrants were sooner or later forced to accept the inevitability of a future life in Australia and the need to concentrate on the skills which would help them to best survive.

Not all the Italian speakers unable to return to their homelands chose, however, to remain at Jim Crow. While some moved on to California or New Zealand, where they continued to seek for gold (Leonardo Pozzi being one example), others ventured into more progressive areas in the Victorian colony. The vast majority, however,

preferred the familiarity of the Daylesford region with its physical similarity to the alpine regions of Ticino and the reassurance afforded by its expanding Italian-speaking community. They realised that a return to traditional occupations, where lay the only real hope of success, depended on the support of compatriots as a labour force and market for their goods and services. If nothing else the 'scouting' years had proven the difficulty for non-English speakers to find work and to share in the prosperity of mainstream society. Expressing the frustration of his compatriots, Giuseppe Ferrari from Ticino wrote: *'L'Australia sarà come gli altri paesim cioè, nelle mani dei capitalista, i ricchi si inriccano e i poveri si impoveriscono'*,[10] and, like his fellow immigrants, sought refuge in traditional occupations and the support of their village companions. Through self-sufficiency, they hoped to regain the independent life-style which had enabled them (until the 1850s) to survive in Europe. Farming, store ownership, baking, wine-making, blacksmithing and other trades thus replaced mining in the quest for a secure future.

According to the 1855 *Conto Reso*, an official Swiss document detailing the country's emigration to Australia, by far the greatest skills of the Italian speakers lay in farming:

> **Fu scarso il numero degli operai che emigrarano nel 1855, scarsissimo quello degli esercenti arti o professioni liberali; l'emigrazione si compone quasi per intiero della classe dei contadini.**[11]

Despite the level of literacy discussed earlier,[12] of the 44 emigrants from the Swiss village of Vogorno, 23 had signed their loan contract with a cross: most were reliant upon the knowledge passed on from village elders who had survived centuries battling infertile soils and a harsh climate. As D'Aprano accurately notes:

[the] expertise of the Italians was in land use and so they turned their skills to the utilization of the land that became available for sale as a result of widespread demands by the ex-gold diggers.[13]

Not until the 1860s, however, when the government of the Colony released land on favourable conditions to the ex-miners, could the Italian speakers take up the 'call of the land'.

Previously Australia's early settlement legislation had been affected by a number of economic, social and political factors, among the most important being the character of the initial settlement and the growth of the country's population and resources. Land law had been based on the principle that all land in British possession was vested absolutely in the Crown and private property rights could only be derived from the Crown. By the Waste Land Repeal Act of 1855, the British Parliament vested in the new colonial legislature the entire control and management of waste (unalienated) land of the Crown within their respective territories. Land settlement policies underwent several major changes during four periods: the Period of Free Grants (1788-1831), Land Sales and Pastoral Licences (1831-1861), Selection before Survey (1861-1894) and the Period of Experimentation and Reform (1894 onwards).[14]

During the first period -- Free Grants -- the early governors were empowered to make free grants to emancipated convicts, free settlers, marines and officers, the maximum area permitted varying according to the status of the grantee and his marital state. In the second period -- Land Sales and Pastoral Licences -- the land policy was based on a theory of colonisation propounded in 1829 by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Free grants were abolished in favour of sale by auction without restriction as to area

acquired. Wakefield's theory was that progress in a new settlement depended on proper proportions of labour, land and capital, and that land should be granted at a price high enough to exclude laborers from acquiring a holding until they had saved for several years their earnings in the employ of existing landowners. He claimed that this would ensure a steady supply of labour but allow diligent and thrifty workers to become landowners in time. This land policy allowed some squatters and speculators to acquire huge areas by securing holdings of settlers caught in the depression years, and by strategic use of the pre-emptive right of purchase by 'peacocking' (buying up all the river frontages and other choice parcels within a run, leaving a residue isolated from water supply and useless to anyone but themselves). After the gold rush in the 1850s, miners and other immigrants seeking to invest in pastoral or agricultural ventures found the better quality land had already been sold or leased, although much of it was being kept by caretakers for absentee owners. There were insufficient surveyors in the colony to open up new areas quickly enough to meet the growing demand.[15]

Some of this demand was coming from the Colony's struggling Italian-speaking settlers, who continued to struggle in the mines. In 1859, the Swiss Government had heard a report from Commissioner Patocchi on the state of the immigration to Australia from the valleys of Ticino:

> **Le miniere vanno esaurendosi, il lavoro scarso, ed il guadagno limitatissimo ... sembra che la condizione dei nostri emigrati deteriori, perchè le sorti si fanno sempre più scarse e ristrette, ond'è che il Commissario, riferente arriva a temere che questa manía di emigrazione in massa sia per riescire di danno e produrre l'infelicità e la miseria di tanti concittadini che avrebbero di che vivere nel loro paese.[16]**

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While the Swiss read with sadness the plight of their compatriots, the new Land Acts were, however, beginning to offer some hope. By the early 1860s, immigrants, including many former gold miners, were clamouring for land for agriculture to supply the local people with food. The most important development in the 1850s had lain not in the new towns, or the establishment of the river trade, or the ecological damage caused by the diggers, but in the development of agriculture as an apparently viable land-use system, an alternative to the extensive grazing system of the squatters. 'The economic success of agricultural development during the 1850s', says McQuilton, 'became the critical prelude to and rationale for selection'.[17] Some of the good farming land had been damaged by alluvial mining as creeks and river beds were re-routed and the topsoil buried in a desert of subsoil. Large areas had been cleared of timber for building, shaft lining and firewood and the sediment content of regional rivers had been increased. During the 1850s, the small farmers and squatters had become more cooperative with some of the farmers running their livestock on the squatters' runs. The farmers were, however, neither secure financially nor small in number and were eager to provide for themselves a more even share of the available resources.

For the Swiss and Italian settlers of Daylesford, the Land Acts of the 1860s were to provide the first opportunity to acquire land and develop a secure life-style. The four major Acts, passed in 1860, 1862, 1865 and 1869, all aimed to settle the 'small man' on the land and encourage agricultural production for self-sufficiency and export. (Major change to the Land Acts did not come again until 1894, when reform was necessary to ensure fairer distribution and fuller use of land.) Common to all the

Acts was that any man or single woman over the age of eighteen years was entitled to select land; the selector had to live on the selection and cultivate at least ten per cent of it; before alienation (the transfer of land ownership), the selector had to show improvements to the land to the value of 'one pound per acre', usually defined in terms of housing, fencing and cultivation; land classified as auriferous could not be selected, nor any land containing red-gum stands and the value of the land was set at 'one pound per acre'.[18] Free Selection brought into being a new class of small farmers who, like the Italian speakers, were genuine in their desire to commence farming. Throughout the Colony acreage tilled rose enormously and diversity of crops was encouraged.

The Italian speakers selected land in and around the Daylesford district: Hepburn, Spring Creek, Shepherds Flat and Yandoit were all occupied while, towards Ballarat, many settled at Blampied and Eganstown. The strength of kinship and village ties was reflected in the immigrants' settlement patterns, several members of the Lafranchi family, for example, going to Blampied and members of the Gervasoni family to Yandoit Creek. At Hepburn several families from Ticino's Biasca made their home. But while land selection reflected the Italian speakers' strong traditional ties, it also represented a radical departure, signified by their increasing requests for British citizenship.

Up until 1863 British citizenship was a prerequisite for land purchase and, in the period just prior to and following 1860, many Italian speakers sought naturalisation. Attilio and Antonio Gobbi of Ticino were possibly among the first applicants, in May 1858, followed later that year by Dr Pagnamenta and Battista

Filippini. In 1859 three applications by Ticinesi were recorded with similar numbers in 1860, fifteen in 1861 and seven or eight over the next two years.[19] In 1863, an Act was passed giving aliens the same rights in respect of buying land as natural born British subjects.[20] Though fifteen Italian speakers sought naturalisation in 1864 and seven in 1865 [21] -- the reasons stated on their application forms being to purchase land -- after this date many began to delay the decision: despite Swiss law permitting the holding of dual citizenship, men, such as Gaetano Tomasetti, Isidoro Rodoni and Osvaldo Vanzetta (all of whom are included in this study) did not seek British citizenship for many years. Likewise Alessandro Quanchi and his brother Lorenzo, both of whom had arrived in Australia in 1855, were not naturalised until 1897 and 1905 respectively. There is no doubt, however, that the greatest number of naturalisations were recorded in the years of successive Land Acts. An examination of the records of land purchase in the Daylesford district between 1850 and 1900 reveals a sizeable concentration of Italian speakers. Around 60 names are registered with several settlers having acquired more than one block.[22] It is, however, difficult to establish exact numbers of buyers as in many cases names were misspelt and possibly recorded twice. F. Rapocioli and F. Rabocholli, for example, who bought land in Eganstown in 1879 and 1880, may in fact have been the one person. Judging by the number of misspellings in the district's rates books, the surnames of the Italian speakers often confused the official record keepers, who tended to write the names as they were pronounced in English: hence Bianchi (pronounced Bianki) became Bianci. For this reason, it is also difficult to establish how much land was purchased although, in most cases, the land holdings were small. Often the settlers would purchase one small block on which to begin farming then later, as they became more financially

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secure, buy another; the holdings of Andrea Lafranchi and Maurizio Morganti were extended in this way as were those of M. Sartori at Eganstown and Albino Paganetti at Italian Hill. Though rarely able to afford large initial tracts of land, its important role in the functioning of the 'peasant triangle' made it a high priority for reinvestment.

For all men and women taking up land under the Land Acts, 'selection was an arduous, long-term settlement process'.[23] All holdings had to be cleared, demanding a massive input of manual labour to fell the trees and clear the dense undergrowth, as well as fenced. Drawing on their experience as peasant farmers, with both the knowledge and skill to clear land efficiently, the Italian speakers worked together to set up their farms. Their understanding of the natural environment, together with an unwillingness to waste anything of possible future use, gave them a respect for the land which later generations have come to admire. Speaking (in 1991) of his Italian ancestors, Barry Donchi noted:

> [they] didn't take everything, they didn't fell hollow trees like they do these days ... They'd swipe the wood with the back of an axe and if it sounded hollow they'd leave it to provide cover for the new growth. You'd never know they'd been there.[24]

Based on their previous land-management skills, the Italian-speaking peasants recognised the natural environment as a precious and finite resource. To fence their lands, they again used materials economically (see Morganti, Home and Family sections), completing the laborious and time-consuming task with the help of compatriots. Their lack of machinery -- a few more fortunate ones owned a single-furrow plough -- often meant preparing the land for sowing with wooden hand mallets to rotate the clod surface on the soil for the first time. Despite the difficulties, the Italian speakers were soon able to turn their small plots of land to productive use,

planting vegetables, fruit trees, crops, grape-vines and by keeping a little livestock. Both Maurizio Morganti and Gaetano Tomasetti, (cf. above earlier sections), began small-scale farming not long after their arrival, purchasing a few cows in common with other compatriots: selling milk to the miners, they were typical of many who produced and sold 'whatever they could dispense with to luckier fellows'.[25]

Not all Italian speakers who remained in Australia were, however, attracted to making a living from the land. Among the 'farmers' were many who sought a future in the commercial life of the district, a reporter for the *Daylesford Advertiser* observing on 22 October 1864: 'As we struggle about we notice that there is a strong element in Italian miners, Italian tradespeople and Italian professional men'. Nevertheless, it had been the shift to farming and the taking up of land which had provided the stable community base and a market for their goods and services. The cohesiveness of the Italian-speaking population and the possibility of continuing such peasant practices as bartering (of the kind noted in the Perini story) ensured local support. Indeed the process of bartering served in Australia, as it had back in their villages, as a means to *'fronteggiare il male endemico dello privazioni e rinsaldare i vincoli collettivi'* (confront the evil endemic in deprivation and strengthen the collective chains).[26] The Pozzi brothers were among the first Italian speakers to open a store in Hepburn and they were soon followed by others. Dr Guscetti established his medical premises beside the 'Switzerland store' in Daylesford in 1856. Drawing upon their traditional skills, the immigrants opened, among other ventures, variety-stores, wine bars, hotels, blacksmiths and bakeries. Eagerly indeed did they enter into the commercial life of the community, Bertelli noting:

> Italians were involved in that experience [gold digging] but not as miners, they were smarter, and they were just thinking that you could ensure your future more probably by providing the necessary support services more than just going and digging for gold.[27]

Along with their large Italian-speaking community, some businessmen were also able to draw upon contacts made during the 'scouting' years to trade with the English speakers. Coinciding with the decision to open shops and businesses was a growth in the stability of townships in the Daylesford region, the contribution of the Italian speakers to economic diversity being an essential part of the community-building process.

In 1859, the municipality of Daylesford was formed and in 1863 it became a borough. The shopping centre moved to Vincent Street and over the next few years the population increased ten-fold. Among the most numerous businesses which the Italian speakers opened -- and which combined their interests in the both the food and hospitality industries -- were hotels and wine bars. Along with applications for British citizenship from those wishing to purchase land came those from men wanting liquor licences (for which British citizenship was also a prerequisite). Many Italian speakers found the liquor trade attractive, especially the Ticinesi with a tradition in such ventures. The Swiss had been pioneers of the hotel trade both within and outside their country, it being a Valaisan from one of the southern cantons like Ticino who first opened a hotel in Paris to which he gave the name The Ritz.[28] Likewise, many Italians found the hotel trade attractive and were soon established in businesses in the Jim Crow district. Carlo Traversi, who came to Australia from the Swiss village of Cevio, reinvested profits earned in 1854 land sales in the hotel trade. He built a dancing hall in Daylesford and ran his own orchestra (ref. figure 9). In Spring Creek Dr Rossetti,

despite his lack of British citizenship until 1861 (the law apparently being leniently policed in some cases), opened a hotel and store in 1855 (ref. figure 10). Pietro Pescia from Gerra Verz (Lorentino) managed the National Hotel at Sailors Hill in 1875; surrounded by bush, it was a popular drinking spot for the miners on Saturday nights and, in later years, a destination point for bicycle races from Daylesford.[29]

Hotels and wine bars run by Italian speakers also dotted the areas surrounding Daylesford, especially in townships where there were significant numbers of compatriots. Recall, for example, the Swiss and Italian miners at Blanket Flat who turned to the hotel industry, such as Q. C. Merigo, Pietro Scozza, Vincenzo Fasoli, Joseph Basoli and Luigi Togni. Vincent Fasoli, an Italian from the Lake Como district, at one stage ran the Carriers Arms hotel at Eganstown which was said to have been popular with people from the world of art and literature; like the Italian reading room at Bedolla's hotel, it may have provided a meeting place for the more educated Italian speakers. When Fasoli later established the first well-known Italian restaurant in central Melbourne, he provided a link between Daylesford and the 'Spaghetti Mafia' of 1920s Melbourne. Between Blanket Flat and Daylesford, Messrs Luminatti and Tognini owned hotel premises near the cemetery corner while, of the three hotels at Deep Creek, one was run by Maurizio Morganti. When the mining moved to Spring Creek in 1852 and Hepburn in 1854, drinking parlours were soon established, Foletti opening the Horse and Jockey in Hepburn. Further east was the Corinella Hotel run by Pietro Pedrotti.

In 1855, when the gold fever shifted to Yandoit and up to 5,000 diggers moved into the area to work the mines, the town's High Street became the main thoroughfare for the Cobb and Co. coaches travelling from Ballarat to Bendigo. The street was lined with shops and hotels, many of which were again run by Italian speakers. At the end of High Street, where the Cobb and Co. horses were changed, Pedrini's wine bar attracted good trade (ref. figure 12). Supplied with wine from a vineyard surrounding the property, the premises decades later provided evidence of the building skill and ingenuity of its original owners. The cellar, made from local stone and supported by red box beams and oregon poles, housed large wooden wine barrels and a press used to process the grapes. The wine was fed to the saloon above via a pipe cut through the floor and served to the drinkers across a bar several several centimetres wide.[30] Also in the Yandoit district, Luigi and Carlo Gervasoni (see section following) produced home-made wine for their own and local consumption, the area becoming known among the general community for its black and strong 'Yandoit plonk'.

Around Jim Crow, the hotels and wine bars were lively places with musical bands, dancing girls, wrestling matches and billiard competitions. Counter lunches could be purchased for a shilling and beer at threepence a pint. In order to attract the custom of their countrymen, the Italian speakers' hotels, mostly weatherboard buildings, had 'names which provided a tangible expression of their ethnic identity: the William Tell, Traversi's, Basili's, Bedolla's and Lucia Brigudi's *Helvezia*'.[31] J. Lavezzola, a huge man weighing over 130 kilograms, constructed his hotel in Daylesford in 1860 next door to where Alex Pozzi would erect his bakery in 1866 (ref. figure 9). There were four breweries in Daylesford which supplied liquor to the hotels

as well as the many Italian-speaking vignerons providing wine. The (previously mentioned) Borsa brewery was in Bridport Street and was formed into a company in 1865 with assets comprising 200 wooden casks and brewing vats. The Italian speakers' involvement in the brewing industry[32] suggests not only their sensitivity to market forces but also willingness to adapt and prosper from the changing needs of their host environment. Liquor played an important role in alleviating the misery of the Italian speakers and in (re)creating a meaningful social world. After the excessive drinking and 'immoral' behaviour of the 'scouting' years, hotels became more important as venues for discussing the day's events and receiving the help and emotional support normally provided by families.

Besides hotels, the Italian speakers, who soon made up ten to twelve per cent of the Daylesford population, established other businesses. *Butchnell's Daylesford Directory*, an official listing of the area's population in 1865, cites over 30 Italian-sounding names associated with the hotel trade, bakeries, grocery stores, blacksmiths and butchers. An early owner of the Wombat Flat Bakery, in about 1854, was Antonio Matte, the business later coming into the hands of a succession of Swiss owners, including J. Monotti, partners Vitorelli and Fasoli, and J. J. Monico. Before he turned hotelier J. Lavezolla operated a bakery, as did the Pozzi brothers, Battista Righetti and the Vanzettas of Hepburn. Butchers included the Sartori and Borsa families, both of whom owned shops in Daylesford. Supplying meat or bread to the Daylesford Hospital several of these traders, including Borsa, Fasoli, Perini and Monotti, extended their business dealings to the English-speaking community.[33] At one time Pedrini's wine bar in Yandoit also served as a butcher shop, the slaughtering carried out at the rear of the

premises and the preparation and hanging of the meat among the cellar's wine barrels. Attesting to the building's dual purpose are large meat hooks still visible in the ceiling beams and a huge tree stump chopping block. At Spring Creek, the Lucini family opened their macaroni factory, its pasta a symbol of the alternative life-style which Italian speakers had created for themselves and which gave Anglo-Celts some experience of their culture. Among other businesses formed by Italian speakers were blacksmiths, one (at least) existing in Daylesford by 1865. Such tradesmen, including Fred Vanina of Hepburn (cf. Gaggioni section p. 355), attracted good custom both during and after the gold rush years, often remaining in the business all their lives.

Despite the presence of a large immigrant population, and the growth in the size of local townships, not all Italian speakers found the business world financially rewarding. The special nature and uncertainty of the goldfields' population meant entire townships were known to abandon an area to move to another more promising goldfield, leaving shops and hotels without custom. The diggers often requested goods 'on tick' which, owing to the difficulty of refusing countrymen, left many Italian speakers in debt when accounts were not paid. Leonardo Pozzi, it may be recalled, blamed his economic struggles on such practices. Drawing on their traditional skills of survival (which also included the bartering system of exchange), many Italian speakers insured against financial ruin by diversifying their income. Hotels thus became outlets for grocery items as well as alcohol (Lafranchis' being an example); farmers, like the Gervasonis, sold a per centage of their home-made wine to the local population and stores like the Pozzi incorporated jewellery repair and photography. For those immigrants with good literacy skills, such as Vincenzo Perini, the settling of

compatriots' legal matters provided additional income. Many Italian speakers also retained an interest in the mines, its profits used to prop up otherwise meagre incomes. In 1871, 50 per cent of Ticinesi were recorded as involved in this activity compared with 25 per cent in farming.[34] Given the nature and habits of the Italian speakers, it is unlikely these activities represented a single income source.

Another important traditional defence against economic ruin was the use of family labour to run their farms and businesses; and as soon as they were able most requested wives and children to join them in the Colony or, if single, thought about marriage. While Pascoe characterises the 1920s 'farming' period by the appearance of wives and children 'who were linked economically and culturally to the lives of men',[35] so too were the immigrants in the earlier years supported by patterns of communal co-operation built on kinship and village ties. Among the working lives of the Lafranchi, Righetti, Gervasoni and Vanina families (to name a few) is ample evidence of the strength of patriarchal ties facilitating effective use of the family unit in production. Following on from the male-dominated 'scouting' years, the Italian speakers were grateful to be reunited with womenfolk who could share their working day and provide them with a work-force of children to extend the family's productive capacity. As indicated by the 1861 census of Daylesford, which reveals only 658 females in a population of 1,919, the search for a wife was not easy, forcing many Italian speakers to marry outside their ethnic community. Marriage was, nevertheless, a stabilising force, allowing a return to family life and to the traditions normally associated with it.

It was in the social and working life of the family that Italian speakers of Daylesford revealed their true essence as 'settlers'. A stronger sense of ethnic identity was expressed through freer use of their language and return to a more traditional life-style. While anglicised words, such as *folis* (foolish) and *mariagio* (marriage),[36] entered their vocabulary, in the family home husbands and wives could converse in their native dialects and expose their children to its use. At family gatherings, traditional songs and stories could be heard. Working cooperatively, households could grow, prepare and store traditional foods, and live in homes which reflected the architectural styles of their homeland. As has already been noted (and will be discussed further in the Home and Family section), many were constructed from local stone with features and adaptations typical of a peasant life-style. Reintroduced into community life was the *festa*, not in the traditional form of the magical rituals or fertility rites tied to the seasons of the agricultural year, but as religious or community gatherings, serving to reinforce ethnic identity. Along with the countless weddings, christenings, funerals and saints' feast-days, which brought families together, were the annual grape harvests and *bullboar*-making activities. In the work place, Italian speakers felt free to speak in their own dialects, the English-speaking customer, or *costum*,[37] as he or she came to be known, entering their foreign world in order to trade. Overall, the identity of the Daylesford settler was not an individual identity but a group identity, the core of which was the family.

As 'settlers', the Italian speakers had learned from the experience of being 'scouts'. Later they would be able to pass on 'a stock of knowledge and understanding which could be drawn upon in the construction of a recognisable

community'.[38] While never achieving the 'permanency' of later immigrant groups, the shops and businesses of the settlers had attracted the custom of the general community, their skills and abilities had grown more valued, their close family networks had earned the respect of local people and they had been seen as honest, generous and valued members of the community. Their willingness to integrate into the wider population through intermarriage, business exchange and language helped ease the way for their descendants, and for later generations of Italian-speaking immigrants, to become accepted and appreciated members of Australian society. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the story of the Gervasoni story which follows.

CHAPTER EIGHT : FAMILIES 1858 - 1861

Gervasoni

Caligari

Gaggioni

GERVASONI

It is surprising that as late as seven years after the first gold discoveries in the Colony of Victoria, Italian speakers continued to arrive at the mines seeking their fortunes. As least 258 Swiss emigrated from Ticino in 1858 along with smaller but still substantial numbers of northern Italians.[1] Poorly informed by their compatriots of the gold finds at Jim Crow, or intending to exploit the goldfields as store owners and tradespeople, the Italian speakers still hoped for salvation in the Colony. On 30 March 1858, Carlo Gervasoni and his brother Giuseppe emigrated to Australia from San Gallo in the northern Italian province of Bergamo (ref. figure 2), a village five kilometres from the home of Angelo and Battista Milesi, who had also emigrated to the Colony (see Chapter Six). Their parents Nicola and Giovanna Gervasoni had produced ten children: Carlo born in 1828, Giuseppe Maria in 1830, Maria Annunciata in 1832, Giovanini Silvestro in 1834, Giovanni Evaristo in 1836, Maria Pasqua in 1838, Giorgio Maria in 1840, Luigi Paolo in 1842, Giovanna Maria in 1843, Maria Cattarina in 1845 and an infant who died in 1848.[2] A farming family with a herd of around 40 cattle and its own dairying business, the Gervasonis were apparently more financially secure than many of the other small-scale farmers: certainly their children had received more education than most Lombarus about this time.[3] Despite this, they were adversely affected by the economic and political turmoil of the 1850s and when squabbles over property resulted in a family rift -- and Evaristo was accused of swindling his brothers out of their share of the land holdings -- Carlo and Giuseppe (and later Luigi) decided to seek a better future in the Colony.[4]

By the time of their departure in 1858, Carlo at 30 and his brother at around 32 were older than the majority of Italian speakers then emigrating to the Colony.[5] This fact, together with the news coming back from compatriots who had preceded them to the goldfields, should have ensured they were well informed of their prospects. Certainly the decision to emigrate was not a frivolous nor impulsive one, for it meant Carlo leaving behind his wife. He appears to have arranged his own, as well as his brother's, passage to Australia from Maggia in Ticino,[6] this fact alone suggesting that, like the many impoverished Ticinesi who supplemented their farming incomes with labouring jobs in Italy, the Gervasoni had spent long periods working in Ticino in order to meet their financial commitments. Since Carlo arrived in Australia with sufficient money to join a mining venture, the brothers may have become eligible for the same council loans as the Maggesi, although it is more likely that these loans had ceased by 1858.[7] Travelling to Melbourne aboard the *Harmonides*,[8] which departed Liverpool with sixteen Ticinesi and a number of northern Italians as passengers, the Gervasonis shared a cabin with fellow villagers A. and G. Milesi, who may later have opened a hotel in Yandoit Creek. Like the Gervasonis, the Milesis joined many Lombards settling in the region, their business and social interactions revealing the durability of kinship and village ties.

Though the skills of Carlo and Giuseppe Gervasoni lay chiefly in dairy farming, it was to gold mining that they initially turned. After making their way first to Hepburn, Carlo purchased shares in a mining tunnel at Italian Flat, an area named for its high per centage of Italian-speaking residents (later renamed Yandoit Creek). While underground mining was still popular in the Colony, the Gervasonis, like most

Italian speakers, strengthened their financial base through having a variety of income sources. They purchased a number of dairy cattle -- resorting to traditional occupations -- and began delivering milk to the miners in and around Hepburn. Like the Milesis, they were soon attracted to the Yandoit region where the rich flats, water holes and attractive undulating hills recalled the terrain of Lombardy; of all the areas around Daylesford, Yandoit was perhaps the most Italian in character. One Sunday in about 1859, while visiting his mine at Italian Flat, Carlo is said to have decided to drive his dairy herd down from Hepburn and begin delivering milk to the local miners.[9] As his mine had also ceased to be productive about this time, he discussed with his friends the possibility of extending their dairying business to include other food items and forming a company. Standing at the entrance to his mine, where the fresh spring waters flowing from its mouth were a further reminder of home, the men made their plans. Soon afterwards, the foundations for the new business venture were laid.

The original members of the dairy company were Carlo Gervasoni, Jack Goponi, Battista Monyang and Ambrogio Invernizzi -- all, it would seem, of Lombard origin.[10] Working cooperatively, each assumed a different area of responsibility: Carlo became the manager and salesman, Jack the orchardist, Battista the agriculturalist and Ambrogio (who possessed the highest level of education) the bookkeeper and cook. Battista also looked after the group's mining interests. Together the group produced and sold, among other items, potatoes, apples, plums, cherries, pears, cherry plums, green peppers, dairy produce, Italian sausages and wine -- again typifying the importance among the Italian speakers of diversifying their income sources. They delivered produce to a wide area, including Bendigo. In the early days of the

partnership the men were probably sharing make-shift accommodation close to where they were working, an 1865 Newstead Shire rate book mentioning Gervasoni and party as living in 'huts in Mein's paddock' (possibly a reference to an earlier occupant).[11] They eventually built (or improved) a small house on the east side of the creek, on a site which later became the site of the Yandoit Creek school ground.

In the early 1860s, two new members joined the company: Antonio Gervasoni in 1861, and Carlo's brother Giuseppe in 1862. Antonio and his two brothers Ferdinando and Giovanni were distantly related members of the Gervasoni clan who had come to Australia from Bergamo three years earlier. Antonio, who had been relatively successful in the mines (and may have brought extra funds to the partnership), became the cheese and butter-maker and Giuseppe, the baker and rouseabout. A baker by trade, Giuseppe had earlier been working at Vincenzo Pedrini's bakery in Yandoit (probably the same Ticinese immigrant who operated the wine bar mentioned previously). In 1863, and at Carlo's request, his younger brother Luigi arrived in Australia to become the seventh and final member of the dairying company.[12] He was appointed head cowboy, overseeing several young helpers (the lack of fencing in the early years of settlement making cattle herding a full-time occupation).

It was at about this time, with the partnership growing larger, that plans were made for bigger business premises -- (what later became) the 'old stone house' at Yandoit Creek (ref. figure 12). Pleased with his prospects in the Colony, and appearing unlikely to return to his homeland, it was also at this point that Carlo requested his

wife Maria to join him in the Colony. Maria left Liverpool on the *Royal Standard* in November 1864 and arrived in Melbourne three months later.[13] Like many women who emigrated to the Colony to join their husbands, Maria found herself living in a small, probably cramped and uncomfortable cottage. Despite any misgivings she may have had, it soon became a happy home and the venue for regular Sunday parties with compatriots and others in the district. Both Carlo and Maria had very good singing voices and Maria, who had been an opera singer in Italy, also played an organ which she had brought with her to Australia. The musical evenings -- Carlo singing the deep bass, Maria the alto, and several more Italians forming a circle to each take their part -- brought a slice of home to compatriots and a reminder to others of Italy's rich cultural traditions.

A year before Maria's arrival in Australia, Carlo had sold property in Shepherds Flat which raised money for his future land purchases. Signing contracts on 17 October 1863 with purchaser and Ticinese settler, Vincenzo Terribilini [14] (drawn up prior to Italian unification, Carlo was described as a Lombard), Carlo agreed to sell a mine, one fifth of his land, tent, garden and some farm animals (seven goats and two hens) at Shepherds Flat (assets which he appears to accumulated remarkably quickly). Judging by its handwritten contents, the contract was drawn up by business partner Ambrogio Invernizzi, who apparently had some legal training or experience. Four hundred vines which had been planted in the garden only a few days earlier were to be transported to Carlo's new property and the price, payable within six months, was settled at 50 pounds sterling. It would seem Terribilini had decided to live on a portion of Carlo's property, operating, like its previous owner, as an independent farmer.

Written in Italian, and apparently unchallenged within English jurisdiction, the contract was witnessed by Invernizzi and Ticinese settler Giuseppe Borga. It revealed some modification of the immigrants' language after their years in Australia, the English word 'land' appearing rather than its Italian equivalent *'terreno'*.

At the same time as he signed this contract, Carlo signed another with Terribilini, purchasing his land at Yandoit.[15] Terribilini agreed to sell a sixth-part of his property, including cattle, houses and garden, for the agreed price of 162 pounds, ten shillings, payable within six months. On the day of the contract, Carlo was required to pay ten pounds to validate the contract with the balance due at the end of six months, provided no new arrangements had been made. The contract, which was again witnessed by Borga and Invernizzi, again contained variations from standard Italian (cf. above discussion of 'popular Italian' p. 99) the word *selini* (shilling), for example, appearing instead of *scellini*, and suggesting the influence of a Lombard dialect. Struggling with the irregularities of English pronunciation, the immigrants wrote Hepburn as 'Hepbourne', likening it no doubt to the similar sounding and earlier visited Melbourne.

On 16 April 1864, six months after the previous contracts, further legal documents were signed between the two parties.[16] Carlo paid Terribilini the sum of 35 pounds with the promise of the balance within six months and the establishment of a five per cent per annum interest fee. Terribilini, in a separate agreement, paid Carlo the full amount owing to him. These contracts again carried a number of spelling anomalies from standard Italian, the word *selini* being repeated and *si segnano* (sign)

replacing the more common *si sottoscrivono* or *si firmano*. Along with expressions, such as *pagato pieno* (fully paid) instead of *pagato in pieno* and *summa* (sum) instead of *somma*, an English influence was apparent.

In 1865, a corner block of land at Yandoit Creek -- the future site of the 'old stone house' -- was sold to Ambrogio Invernizzi, acting as agent for himself, Carlo, Luigi and Antonio Gervasoni. The same year Carlo applied for two more lots of land nearby, as did his brother Giuseppe. Other members of the partnership also increased their land holdings during this period, evidence of the profitability and stability of their business arrangement. Around 1865, the building of the 'old stone house' was begun, with plans for it to be occupied by Carlo, his family and several of the business partners. With the growth of their combined land holdings, a contract was drawn up in March 1866 to stipulate fencing and other maintenance arrangements.[17] Today abandoned, the stone house was then a grand two-storey building in the Lombard style, its external appearance reflecting the architectural and agricultural traditions of that part of nineteenth century Italy.[18] While Carlo possessed some skills as a stonemason, it was possibly a group of Italian and English speakers who performed most of the labour along with large numbers of local tradespeople to order and supply the timber and perform the carpentry and plumbing work; one Antonio Duico, who was an important stonemason at that time, may have assisted, along with Jim Perinoni (who did some later work for Carlo) to help cart the mortar and stone.

Like many homes built by Italian speakers in the district, the workers first cleared the land of tree stumps and stones, dug a hole for the cellar and set aside the

waste stones to be used in the construction process. They were not only accustomed to working in difficult terrain,[19] but also in many ways preferred it for the building materials it provided. Additional stones were quarried from the nearby hills and carted to the site using two horses and drays. Large logs were taken from the forest, as they would have been back in Europe. The original stone house comprised five rooms -- two at ground level and three above -- Carlo himself working on some of the timber flooring. The exterior stone walls were given a plaster stucco and from the shingle roof emerged brick chimneys -- a feature common to many Bergamask peasant homes[19]. On entering the kitchen, to the left of the front door was a large stone fireplace with seats either side. As the focus of family life, it provided a warm and comfortable area where the family could gather at the end of a working day. Spaces either side, which allowed wood to be placed on the fire from outside and minimised the need for family members to go out in the cold, were an alpine adaptation translated to Australia. The kitchen, which housed a brick oven capable of baking up to sixteen loaves of bread at one time, butted on to workrooms and storage areas for grain and seeds. The kitchen sink was carved from a large sandstone block. The cellar and ground level provided all the living and working areas of the household, with the home's cheese house and dairy built as a skillion behind the main building. Thirty-seven to 45 centimetre logs in the main walls supported the ceiling/upstairs floorboards[20] and the bedrooms -- one large and two small -- were reached by a steep staircase. Situated below the steep shingle roof, and lit by tiny windows designed to minimise stress on the outer stone walls, their interior surfaces were covered in hessian and paper. In the grounds surrounding the house were barns, cowsheds, pigsties and

workrooms for carrying out domestic and farm chores. It was a practical home, built to serve the purposes of its owners.

Although the home was completed around 1865, Maria Gervasoni gave birth that year to her first child, John (Giovanni?) Battista, in the neighbour's home where she was living, the birth of all the Gervasoni children outside the family home suggesting the need for a midwife. A second child, Louisa, was born in 1867. Though some members of the company were still living in the house at this stage, it was not long before Invernizzi and Antonio Gervasoni left the business partnership to set up homes of their own nearby. Documents relating to the sale of their share in the company reveal stock and implement holdings at that time as: 90 head of cattle, two horses, two drays and a spring cart, sixteen large pigs, twelve small pigs, 25 goats, 100 fowls, sixteen geese, five ducks, household furniture and farming implements. The crops of the past harvest, the present vintage of grapes, butter and cheese were to be sold over the following three months.[21] The remaining members of the partnership continued to trade their dairy products, vegetables, fruit, wine and other food-stuffs in the local district, selling butter under the trade name 'Acorn' and honey under the trade name 'Beehive'. They also co-operated a mine under land which belonged to Giuseppe. With their growing prosperity, the Gervasonis were elevated above the peasant status defining most of their countrymen, becoming distanced from, not only their families in Europe, but also some of those Italian speakers who had made it to the Colony.

The farming partnership employed a number of workers, this practice only being tolerated, one presumes, because there was insufficient family labour to staff the enterprise. In 1868, Luigi began an account book which recorded provisions sold to employees from the family store:[22] maintained throughout his working life, until 1905, it provides a vivid account of the life of the farm and its workers. A number of men were employed on a temporary basis for two to three seasons, helping with the grape harvest, the fencing or general maintenance work. They were paid a relatively lowly wage of about five shillings per week, much of this being paid in kind as provisions from the Gervasoni store. Like similar arrangements operating within the Perini and Righetti families, this peasant practice reflected their lack of currency and desire to be independent of state regulations and taxes.

Unlike Vincenzo Perini, Luigi maintained all his business records in Italian: words, such as *buro* (butter), *formagio* (cheese), *zuchero* (sugar) and *tabaco* (tobacco), which dropped one or more of their consonants, indicating the influence of his Lombard dialect. The word *tabacho* also appeared, a further variation on standard Italian. Months of the year, such as *magio* (March) and *setembre* (September) were commonly written with a dialect influence and references made to *luganege* sausage, a variety particular to Lombardy and Veneto (also known as *luganighe*[23]). Occasionally the workers received items of clothing in place of wages, this listing again providing variations from standard Italian, such as *un capello* (hat), spelt with only one 'p'. The words *una giumper* (jumper), *balenso* (balance), *maces* (matches) and *ciaffe* (chaff) are evidence of an English influence upon the language, resulting from continued

contact with the Anglo-Celtic population. The English word 'sugar' appeared after 1870.

The cost of goods which the workers obtained on credit included: olive oil, fifteen pence; matches, six pence; bread, seven pence; a shirt, four shillings; a jumper, four shillings and six pence and shoes, twelve shillings and six pence. Sometimes the men were paid in *moneta* (money) for which they received accumulated amounts for up to ten weeks' labour. With this money they were able to purchase items which the Gervasoni store could not provide. Workers' names recorded in the book (in a number of handwritings, including that of Luigi's wife) included G. Angielo, Luigi Germano,[24] Mr Belizini and Battista Cartasio, all of whom, as northern Italians, indicated the endurance of their village links. Luigi's business papers indicate that, as well as receiving part payment in kind, the workers were able to take items on credit: things, such as tobacco -- the major item -- wine, olive oil, matches, bread, sugar, cheese and butter. Wine consumption was moderate, about four and a half litres per week, and probably only consumed in the customary manner with meals. The taking of goods on credit suggests a high level of trust existed between employer and employee based, no doubt, on village and kinship ties.

By the early 1870s Carlo and his family were the only members of the partnership still living in the 'old stone house'. Like their smaller home, it became the focal point for many social gatherings, including musical evenings which featured Italian speakers playing the violin, cornet or piano; some locals claimed that, of all the parties held around the district, none were better attended than those of the

Gervasonis.[25] Ritual religious occasions also enabled the Gervasoni clan to mix with their own and other ethnic groups, Luigi's wedding, in 1871, introducing it to the non-Italian-speaking Europeans of the district. Luigi who, by this time, was 29 years old, married Augusta Elise Ritzau, the daughter of German settlers Charlotte and Antonio Ritzau. Augusta, then only fifteen years old, had been living in Yandoit Creek where her family owned a farming property. Following the wedding (which was witnessed by Antonio Gervasoni) the couple took possession of a house which had been acquired some time previously from one Charles Langanke; later named *Bergamo* (ref. figure 12), it became an expression of Luigi's lasting affection for his homeland.

The year before Luigi's wedding, on 8 April 1870, he and Carlo had received a letter from their ageing father Nicola, criticising them for their neglect:[26] he claimed that, in the twelve years they had been in the Colony, not one son had written nor returned home to visit. He also highlighted his continuing financial struggles and requested money for a capital payment on land which the family had acquired -- without which, he claimed, the property would have to be sold. While it is not known if the brothers sent their father the necessary money, Giuseppe did return to San Gallo some time in the 1870s. He discovered the family differences still unresolved and its financial concerns in disarray. After some months spent with his family, he moved on to Venice, where he set up a bakery which he operated with only moderate success. He continued to write pleading letters to his brothers in the Colony, requesting they return to help sort out the family problems and the bitterness generated by Evaristo.[27] Though the letters reveal only a basic command of Italian, and contain the inconsistencies of syntax and punctuation common to many of the immigrants,[28]

Giuseppe always wrote in Italian, his preferred -- or only possible means of written expression -- after ten years in the Colony. His brothers, who now enjoyed a comfortable life-style in Australia, did not return home.

While the naming of Luigi's second child Nichol Louis in 1873 (a brother for Johanna Rossina, born one year earlier) after his father represented observance of village tradition, the Gervasonis' many years in Australia, and their rise in wealth and status, had resulted in an inevitable loosening of their ties with the homeland. When Carlo donated land to the Yandoit Creek community for the erection of a school, it signified not only a 'traditional' sense of commitment to the community, but also a new recognition of the valve of formal education.[29] Realising that his two children, then aged six and eight, did not have access to a formal education, Luigi worked with others in the district to have a school building established. The Yandoit National School (which had been extended in 1864 when enrolments reached between 50 to 60 students) was too distantly located for local Yandoit Creek children to attend each day and, as the Yandoit Creek area had experienced the greatest population growth in the past few years, in August 1873 a petition was signed by one Ambrose Draper and others, asking for a school on the east side of the Yandoit Creek near the Yandoit Bald Hill, Campbelltown. A two hectare site (on the north west corner of Allotment 59A, Parish of Yandoit) was donated by Carlo and a wooden school eight metres by three metres erected. It cost 200 pounds and opened its doors on 15 June 1878, with an enrolment of 52 students.[30] Unfortunately Carlo's son Battista was by this time thirteen years old and too old to attend. He thus remained illiterate.

Maria Gervasoni was unable to share her husband's pride in the school's opening, dying of tuberculosis in 1867. Left a widower at 51 years of age and the father of two young children, it was not long before Carlo remarried, choosing, after 20 years in Australia, a girl from the Irish community. Twenty years old, Annie Hallinan had been introduced to Carlo by her parents -- customers on his milk run -- the friendship providing evidence of the important role of trade in bringing together ethnic groups of the Colony. Annie bore her first child Nicholas in 1879 -- Carlo, like Luigi, observing the tradition of naming the first born after the family's patriarchal head. In recognition of their dual ethnicity, Carlo and Luigi's children were given names of both Italian and Anglo-Celtic origin, a second child born to Augusta in 1876 named Luigi Giuseppe after his father and a third child born in 1878 named George August after his mother. The couple's fifth child, born in 1879, was named Giovanni and the last, born ten years later, Elisabeth Pasqua.[31] Annie gave birth to another five children by 1886, naming them John Joseph, Annie Maria (after her mother), Carlo James (after his father), Mary (the heritage of every Christian female) Virginia and Johanna Maria.[32]

One year later, and with his family growing larger, Carlo decided to make extensions to his home. He was assisted by a number of men, the Italian-sounding name of one -- a stonemason called Domenic -- suggesting a continued reliance upon the skills of his countrymen.[33] Nicknamed 'bea-affire' (buon affare), he was apparently a man of shrewd business sense. Carlo added two extra bedrooms to the south side of his property as well as another large area, built over a wine cellar, for dances and parties. Christened 'the ballroom',[34] this last room represented a digression

from the purely practical features of a 'peasant' home to one presuming increased leisure time for its owners. It enabled the Gervasoni house to become an even greater focus for family and community gatherings, Annie, who had learned to cook the foods which her husband enjoyed, placing large bowls of macaroni in the centre of the kitchen table from which everyone helped themselves. Later the party would move to the 'ballroom' where the dancing would begin; sometimes presided over by the eldest son Battista acting as Master of Ceremonies, they were more formal affairs than the spontaneous family and community celebrations of Carlo's past and reflected the family's increased social status. Other renovations made at this time included a new dairy, wash-house and the addition of a verandah. The large bread oven was rebuilt into the left side of the near three metre high chimney and an underground 90,000 litre tank -- a brick-lined pit with domed cover -- sunk into the ground. The dairy provided space for laying out up to 100 dishes of milk for skimming the cream. Most of the milk was made into cheese -- Italian cheese made from half new milk and half skim milk and English cheese made from all new milk -- all the work being done by hand.

Apart from dances and parties in their 'ballroom', the Gervasonis passed their leisure time playing traditional games, such as *bocce* -- like other families in the district, owning their own *bocce* lawn. Some of the hand-carved and smoothly rasped wooden *bocce* balls have survived in the cellars of the old homes of the district. Playing their friendly matches, families would sometimes have to modify the game rules to accommodate the limitations of their surrounds, the Invernizzi family, for example, not permitting anyone to move a ball once it had landed in the wheelbarrow. From the opening instruction 'three then shoot,[35] sometimes heard about the Yandoit

streets, it would seem that English speakers were invited to participate in these activities -- by so doing helping to narrow the cultural divide separating Australia's ethnic groups. Another pastime, generally enjoyed by only the men, was the playing of traditional card games, the women frequently working in the evenings to the animated shouts of Italian numbers. The Gervasonis' Italian-speaking friends included many who had settled about Yandoit: in a nearby stone cottage (which many years later was occupied by Carlo's descendants) lived the Invernizzis and down the road was the Lombard-style home, stone stables and dairy Antonio Gervasoni had built in 1874 (ref. figure 12). Also in the area was the two-storey stone house and farm buildings of Antonio Tognolini (original title in the name of A. Tognolini, A. Milesi, and J. Gamboni) (ref. figure 14). This home comprised a typical Bergamask-style chimney designed to expose a large number of canals to the wind and ensure an efficient draft during the cold winter months[36] (ref. figure 12). Tognolini, or 'Togs' as he was affectionately known, was a charcoal burner who had emigrated to Australia from Lombardy. Purchasing around seven hectares in the area known as American Gully (ref. figure 12) he had, like Carlo, lived in a temporary make-shift hut while waiting for his home to be built. When, in the twentieth century, new owners renovated his two-storey barn, rather than the original house, as the area in which they would live, it suggested the solid construction of the property's productive areas -- and the priorities of the Italian speakers in establishing their farms. The district of Yandoit, with its parties, weekend *bocce* matches, special foods and home-made wines, provided members of the wider Australian community with experience of a small but recognisable Italian-speaking enclave.

With its increasing number of Italian speakers, the Yandoit Creek school quickly established itself and was attended by all the Gervasoni children. Annie gave birth to three more children between 1891 and 1897, the last born when Carlo was 71 years old: two girls and a boy, they were named Julia Agnes, George Louis and Theresa. The Gervasoni home was further extended in 1893 [37] with the addition of new stone horse stables comprising six horse stalls and a large hay loft, most of the construction work being done by Carlo. Also erected were a fruit house and wagon and machinery sheds, a horse-worked chaff cutter suggesting the family had gone some way towards mechanising its farming procedures. At some stage, other features making for a more comfortable life were also added, including an outdoor toilet comprising male and female sections and a smaller room for children. Carlo reportedly took great pride in having the latest in modern comforts[38] -- a view which contrasted with the frugality and simplicity of his Lombard past and reflected the length of time he had spent in Australia.

Despite subtle changes to Carlo's outlook and values, it was his upbringing and experience which enabled him to achieve prosperity. The patriarchal structure of the traditional family, and the consequent way in which it could be used in production, ensured he had a ready and willing work-force. Passing the farming skills of his ancestors on to his children, Carlo had taught them simple methods of husbandry: of planting crops to within the last inch of soil, of crops feeding animals and of manure feeding the land. Planting the same crops that grow well in Lombardy, such as maize, wheat, barley and oats, he would have gone ahead of the children, scattering seed with a practiced gesture while they came raking and hoeing lightly behind. Like Maria,

Annie took her place as a worker in the fields. Everyone knew how to milk the cows, tend the vegetable garden and orchard and help with the preparation and storage of food-stuffs. At harvest time the whole family worked in the vineyard, picking fruit from vines which, as in Italy, had been planted in a direction to catch the morning sun. The family was a cooperative unit, manipulating its resources and drawing upon centuries of knowledge and skill.

Along with making their properties self-sufficient, the use of family labour also allowed the Gervasonis, and many other Italian-speaking families in the district, to produce and bottle their own wine for sale. Most vineyards averaging one to two and a half hectares,[39] sufficient wine was produced to satisfy the local demand which, due to the numbers of miners and settlers from the wine districts of Europe, was relatively high. With a Colonial Wine Licence (which, it will be recalled, permitted vignerons to sell up to 'two gallons' of wine on their own premises between the hours of 6 a.m. and 11.30 p.m.) many Italian speakers operated small wine bars from their cellars. When the district's total production began to reach up to 13,500 litres per year, external markets were sought, (reported) sales to Ireland indicative of the wine's quality and the business initiative of its producers; it was also an arrangement which promoted the immigrants' culture to a world market. Carlo and Luigi Gervasoni each farmed two-hectare vineyards which, worked with considerable effort, averaged 600 to 1350 litres of wine per half hectare.[40] A number of Italian speakers were also familiar with the process of distilling lees or surplus wine to make brandy, both Carlo and Luigi establishing small stills in their cellars.[41]

Much of the fruit for their wine and brandy was grown on a terraced vineyard occupying a large area of land with a creek frontage next to *Bergamo*. *Bergamo* itself was a stone house built into the side of a hill, a design which had enabled the inclusion of an underground wine cellar and curing rooms. When applying to purchase his home in the 1870s Luigi had at first been refused permission by the Lands Department. Asserting that the highest priority should go to those who wished to mine the land, the Department representatives had eventually been persuaded to accept Luigi's application after receiving from him the following words by letter:

> as a class of settler, we [Italians] effect much more valuable and permanent improvements on our holding, in establishing new industries, than any other class of settler in the colony.[42]

In realising the important economic benefit Italian speakers were bringing to the region with their farming skills, the authorities had begun to adopt a more encouraging policy towards the Italian speakers' permanent settlement; it was an important stage in the road towards Australian ethnic tolerance. Like most homes occupied by Italian speakers, *Bergamo* was surrounded by many features necessary for a self-sufficient life-style. There was a piggery, blacksmith's shed, stables, cow barn, a large vegetable garden and chestnut and fruit trees. Mulberry trees provided a reminder of home, especially the flourishing silk industries of Lombardy (which inadequate labour supplies, namely women and children to pick the leaves and care for the worms, prevented being introduced in Australia). The cellar, the roof beams of which had been constructed from massive tree trunks and its floor paved with giant flagstones, housed salami and cheese-making rooms, huge fermenting and smaller wine storage barrels and a superb wine-press which had been built by Luigi (and proved operative for many decades). Inside the home, from a floor made of wide, uneven floorboards, rose a huge

fireplace into the back of which was set a domed bread oven. Leading off along a slightly askew passageway were several bedrooms, separated by thick stone walls, and upstairs a loft where the boys slept. The exterior walls were made from sandstone with a mud plaster and the roof was deeply pitched. The size of the home was extended by the Gervasonis as the needs of the family grew.[43]

Luigi traded a good deal with the Italian speakers in the Yandoit district, especially in the years leading up to 1900, before many began to move away. A number of his business receipts survive to reveal items, such as potatoes, chaff, hay, wine and sausages, which the family sold.[44] Personalised account slips, describing Luigi as a vigneron and seller of farm and dairy produce, suggest English-speaking as well as Swiss-Italian clientele. Items purchased by the family, such as meat, flour, coffee, bran, tea, salt, blue starch, shirts, boots and sharps, indicate a move away from a totally self-sufficient life-style, increased prosperity and the easy availability of many goods having eased the reliance on some traditional practices. Toward the end of the 1890s, the population of Yandoit Creek began to decline; by the late 1890s, the school's enrolments had fallen from 81 in 1884, when the region was at its peak, to 22 by 1891 and 17 by 1902[45] -- taking with it many of its Italian speakers. The Gervasonis did not move away from the district but, in the years which followed, suffered some misfortune and sadness.

In 1897, a number of properties, including Carlo's, were damaged by a severe storm; so strong were the winds, rain and hail that his children Carlo and Annie were hit by flying iron sheets from their roof as they returned from the milking sheds and the

family's crops were destroyed. Later on, when the house was repaired, a new wing was added to its north side (extending it by a further six metres), the roof was renewed and a balcony installed. To increase the height of the stone walls by two metres, stonemason Tony Duico was again hired, evidence of the endurance of Italian ethnic ties. The operation employed around twelve men and, together with the improvements and increase to the home's size, testified to the Gervasonis' increased financial security and status. Further dislocation to family life occurred in 1901 with the arrival in Yandoit of excise officers to confiscate unlicensed stills used in brandy making. The Gervasonis, who apparently had not licensed their stills (probably regarding their brandy supply for personal consumption only), had been forced to dispose of much of their produce; as the word of the officials' coming spread, spirits were quickly tipped away, including 200 litres over the verandah at *Bergamo*. The greatest loss for Carlo during this period came, however, with the death of his sixteen year old daughter Mary that same year -- a loss which possibly, focusing his attention on the preciousness of family ties, prompted him to book a holiday to Italy. Throughout the 1880s, he had also received many letters from his brother Giuseppe which detailed the family's financial hardships and spoke of the ill feeling generated by Evaristo.[46] Carlo was given little opportunity to settle the family problems, however, falling ill with pneumonia and dying within three weeks of his arrival in San Gallo. Allowing no one to nurse him but the wife of Evaristo, this does suggest, however, some mending of the personal bitterness. Carlo was comforted during his last two days and nights by the village priest and died a peaceful death in the family home. His large funeral was reportedly attended by 24 priests,[47] evidence not only of the family's lasting ties with the Catholic Church (in the early 1900s, Carlo's nephew Nicola had joined a

Bergamask seminary), but also of the enormous respect the emigrants to Australia had earned among the village population. It would seem to many that Carlo's life had come full circle when he was buried just a few hundred metres from his ancestral home.

Many in the Italian-speaking community in Yandoit were saddened by his sudden death, as they were by the deaths of his brother Luigi in 1908 and wife Augusta in 1912. After 45 years in Australia, during which time he had served on the Mount Franklin Shire Council for several years, Luigi left a substantial land holding to his offspring, three of whom followed him as farmers in the district. Most of his property remains in the family's hands to the present day. Annie Gervasoni died in 1920, after which time her home -- in accordance with the terms of Carlo's will -- was divided equally among the sons. The 'old stone house' was later purchased by Nichol and leased to his brother Carlo. Sold in 1925, it was finally purchased by Luigi's son Giovanni (Jack) and later remained the property of his descendants. The period saw the further decline of Yandoit Creek's population, the school closing its doors in 1930. Of Carlo's children, three married Italian speakers -- one to another member of the Gervasoni clan -- and several remained in the local district. When the last of Luigi's daughters left *Bergamo,* she scratched her name into a sitting-room window as a symbol of the many happy years she had passed there.[48]

In later years John Gervasoni operated a large vineyard in northern Victoria and sold wine under the label *Bergamo;* his sons Carl and Jack drew upon the musical skills they had learned in Yandoit Creek to form an orchestra which attracted

audiences over the next 40 years. Julia and Carlo Gervasoni were both able, in their 70s, to dance a fast Italian waltz which they had been taught in their youth. In his old age Luigi's grandson Vince Gervasoni lived in a home which his father had built opposite *Bergamo*; he became proud custodian of the family relics and of the life-style which had enabled his ancestors to survive and prosper. Though the Gervasonis had in one sense moved beyond a 'traditional' or 'peasant' mentality and life-style, they had retained many tangible links with their past -- and had fostered the retention of these links into the second and third generation. In the story of the Caligari family -- members of whom also emigrated to Australia in the 1860s -- which follows, it is these links which again emerge to reveal the determination of the Italian speakers to preserve aspects of their culture in an Australian setting while at the same time accepting the need to integrate into a foreign culture.

CALIGARI

While the Gervasonis have left historians with many clues as to their existence

and life-style at Yandoit, fewer details are known of the Caligari family who settled at

Eastern Hill (Eganstown) in the 1860s. Today the family's descendants have all moved

away from the district, leaving only their headstones (in the Eganstown Cemetery) as

tangible evidence of their presence in the area. Antonio Caligari emigrated to the

Colony of Victoria from Someo in Ticino in 1861,[1] later to be joined by his two

brothers Giacomo and Battista. Born among the 'huddle of blue-grey stone houses in

the rich green foothills of steep, snow-capped mountains',[2] which today characterise

Someo, they had grown up with members of the Righetti and Morganti families, who,

it will be recalled, also emigrated to Australia. Small and isolated, the 'old main street

three, perhaps four metres wide, hedged by two storey houses with whitewashed

facades and dark trims',[3] the village encouraged tight kinship and community networks

so that when four members of the Righetti clan (relatives of the Caligaris) and three of

the Morgantis decided to emigrate to the Colony in the mid 1850s, the impact on its

population was considerable. Not only the Caligaris, but other young men of the

village, were persuaded to follow, their enthusiasm heightened by the stories of those

returning -- stories often exaggerated by men wishing to enhance their adventures for

their friends or justify their departures to their families. Not long after Battista Righetti

had repatriated in 1857, eighteen year old Giacomo Caligari boarded the *Herald* at

Liverpool bound for Australia.[4] Someo's population fell from 633 in 1850 to 560 in

1860[5] and, while the number of departures began to taper off over the next decade, it

was with a group of eight fellow villagers that Giacomo's brother Antonio emigrated to Australia in 1861.

Born into a farming family in 1843, Antonio had joined with his parents (father Battista) and his two brothers in many of the village's centuries old rituals and customs: he had accompanied his mother during the communal washing days down by the river, helped with the seasonal plantings of the grape-vines on the steep mountain sides and participated in the annual religious festivals.[6] Though the rugged landscape, harsh climate, destructive effect of avalanches and lack of work had accentuated the difficulties of a subsistence life-style, his family had always found it within its power to survive. But Ticino's economic and political strife of the 1850s changed this, encouraging Antonio, like many young men in neighbouring families -- Morganti, Righetti, Bonetti, Caporgni, Dalidio, Giacometti, Guerra, Lanotti, Pedrina, Tognazzini, Tognini and Pezzoni -- to ponder a future in the Colony. Apart from his brother -- who doubtless provided a powerful role-model -- Antonio had known of a further 30 villagers who had departed for Australia between 1853 and 1854, followed by eleven over the next six years.[7] In 1861, nine men and women decided to leave Someo for Australia;[8] joining his companions for the overland journey to the port, Antonio became another of the young Ticinesi never again to step inside his native home.

Boarding the *Great Britain* at Liverpool on 12 February, a vessel now docked in a maritime museum at Bristol Harbour in England, Antonio was eighteen years old and single. His ship had been built in 1843 especially for the purpose of transporting emigrants to their destinations and now carried a total of 406; the only Ticinesi on

board, Antonio and his eight companions formed a tightly-knit and cohesive group of passengers.[9] Barely having travelled outside the confines of their own village or areas where an Italian dialect was spoken, they now found themselves among a great variety of nationalities and cultures: a microcosm of, and preparation for, their future life in the Colony. The passenger lists[10] recorded 296 English, sixteen Scottish, 73 Irish and 21 from various other nations, such categorisation revealing an Anglo-Saxon concern to differentiate between the nations of the British Isles but to regard as less important the origins of those from the continent. It was an attitude which would find similar expression in Australia, the same classification being used throughout the nineteenth century. Many years after their arrival, some Swiss continued to be regarded as Italian.[11]

Travelling in Antonio's small, closely-knit group were three women, each hoping, like many other females during the 1860s, to be reunited with their husbands or fiances in the Colony. Lucrezia Giacometti (nee Righetti), who as Antonio's cousin had very likely been entrusted to his care, was joining her husband Felice. Maria Tomasini was also married, while Domenica Righetti (whose name also suggests kinship ties with Antonio) may have been betrothed; within a year she had married Filippo Martinoja from Cevio and settled at Guildford.[12] Antonio's male travel companions were mostly farmers aged under 21 years, the youngest being another of his distant relatives, fifteen year old Giuseppe Righetti.[13] Their names, according to the ship's passenger lists, were G. Tonagini (Tognini), Austachio (Eustachio) Morganti (brother to Maurizio in the Morganti section), Batista Pezzioni (Pezzoni?) and Marco Righetti, several misspellings suggesting again Anglo-Saxon ignorance of, or disregard

for, the peoples of Europe. During the voyage the two married women shared a compartment while the single girl roomed with the men -- this possibly to avoid unwelcome male advances. Life as an emigrant, she discovered, was vastly different from that in the village and one to which she had quickly to adapt.

Antonio's whereabouts in his early years in Australia are undocumented, but, as most of his compatriots from Someo were living in the Jim Crow area, it is reasonable to assume that this is where he headed. While mining may have been his first occupation, it is possible he acquired labouring jobs with the many countrymen who had now diversified into farming or a trade. The fate of most of his male travel companions is unclear although both Giuseppe Righetti and Eustachio Morganti returned to Someo after some time.[14] (Eustachio, it will be recalled, had settled for a time at Blampied.) Drawing upon his kinship links, Antonio may have resided for a time with his cousin Lucrezia, whose husband Felice Giacometti had emigrated from Someo in 1854 (when Antonio was eleven); marrying in that same year, it is likely the couple anticipated a lifetime in the Colony. Lucrezia joined Felice on a dairy farm and vineyard at Musk Vale, an area occupied by other Italian-speaking settlers, such as Serafino Righetti from Someo. After a time Antonio shifted to Bullarook where his brother Giacomo was living. Eventually he settled at nearby Eastern Hill,[15] another area popular with emigrants from the Valle Maggia, and where his neighbours included Maurizio Morganti from Someo and Gaetano Tomasetti from Avegno (see previous sections). It was not by coincidence that the Italian speakers settled near one another: rather, they found security in the close proximity of village compatriots and family.

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An examination of the *Licensing Register* for the 1860s suggests that one of Antonio's earliest activities at Eastern Hill was as a publican, an application for a hotel licence being received on 15 April 1864.[16] As family descendants had no knowledge of such a venture, however, this application may not have been successful.[17] It is more likely that Antonio began to farm the land while continuing to mine for gold. By 1867, he was joined by another member of his immediate family, his younger brother Battista, who had departed for the goldfields of New Zealand in 1862 before transferring to Australia; the three Caligaris had presumably been in contact during these years, informing one another of the opportunities in the spirit of the 'scouts' (see earlier section). By 1870 Antonio was living in Daylesford where he made application to the Lands Department to purchase land at Eastern Hill[18] (ref. figure 13). He requested a relatively small plot, like his compatriots needing only eight to twenty hectares to farm effectively. The area's other Italian-speaking settlers -- Giorgi, Morganti, Tomasetti - had acquired blocks of similar size, all on the cheaper northern side of the road toward Eastern Hill.

Within two years of his land purchase Antonio had married. After eleven years in the Colony, during which time he had made contact with many in the Irish community, he chose seventeen year old Mary Ann Lucas to be his wife, the ceremony taking place on 4 December 1872 at Daylesford.[19] Born in Tasmania, Mary Ann had at some stage moved with her parents to Victoria, where they had opened a store. Twelve years her senior (evidence of the time it had taken to attain some financial security) Antonio gave his principal occupation as miner and his address as Deep Creek.[20] The couple's first child was born one year later, on 13 November, and named

Maria Celestina Elvezia in recognition of her father's ethnic heritage: it was an appropriate choice given the large Italian-speaking community in which they were living. Sadness followed for the Caligari clan with the death of Antonio's 28 year old brother Battista in 1874. His body was laid out in Antonio's home -- as it might have been in his homeland -- before being transferred to the Catholic churchyard of the Eganstown Cemetery;[21] his burial in Australian soil symbolised the distance separating the immigrants from their homeland and the diminishing hope of return.

More cheering to Antonio was the birth of his second child on 16 January 1875: christened Antonio John, he also became his namesake. On 9 December 1876, Antonio (snr) was naturalised,[22] marriage and a family having encouraged a lifetime commitment (at 33 years of age) to Australia. His brother Giacomo had been naturalised four years earlier. Mary Ann went on to produce a further ten children, the eldest christened with Italian names and those younger with names reflecting an increased assimilation into Australian culture. Luisa Sabina was born in 1877, Lavinia Cristina Anastasia in 1878, Amadea Elvira in 1880, Battista Patrick in 1882, Camilla Virginia in 1883, Mary Ann Eugenie in 1885, Richard Albert in 1887, William James in 1889 and Harry Francis in 1890. The last child, Leo Rienzi, born on 4 March 1901, was given an Italian name, a reassertion of Antonio's ethnic roots after 40 years in Australia. The offspring, evenly divided into males and females and ranging in age over eighteen years, were to provide a large and efficient work-force to run the Caligari farm. As Antonio had reached his 58th year by the time the last child was born, it was his 'insurance' against the family's economic ruin -- as it had been for his peasant ancestors.

All the Caligari children were raised in a small weatherboard home at Eastern Hill, the surrounding farm providing most of their food needs: oat crops, a large and varied vegetable garden, fruit and nut trees and livestock for eggs and milk. Though it was a family enterprise ostensibly run on patriarchal lines, Mary Ann, with her strong and determined personality, was able to temper the traditional relationship.[23] The children, who mastered few words of Italian, attended the local government school, although the two youngest (at least) were students at Holy Cross Convent in Daylesford, Leo walking the six or so kilometres there and back each day. To support his large family, Antonio continued to mine for gold, one mine (reportedly) returning over 8,000 pounds;[24] if this figure is accurate, it suggests the family clung to a peasant life-style through choice rather than need. Before the birth of his last child, Antonio, driven by the same courage and ambition which had brought him from Someo to Australia, headed off to Western Australia[25] to pursue further his mining interest. (It was a decision taken by many Victorians, including many Italian-speakers at that time.) And because of Australia's vast size, it was a decision almost as momentous as the one taken all those years before.

Departing by ship, as he had in 1861, Antonio was accompanied by his eldest daughter Maria, she being the kinship link in the 'new land' as once his brother Giacomo had been. Sadly, Maria was to die in Western Australia (from enteric fever and haemorrhaging on 31 January 1898), her burial in the Coolgardie Cemetery, again signifying the many Italian speakers who had died far away from their homes. Her death was also recorded on a family plot at Eganstown, symbolising the immigrants'

identification with a new 'home' outside Europe. Travelling aboard the *Buninyong* to Western Australia[26] to be with his father, Antonio (jnr) joined the emigrant chain but, like so many before him, decided to remain on in the 'new land', not returning to his family for many years. Leaving him behind to mine for gold, his father, grieving for the loss of his daughter, returned to Eastern Hill that same year. The naming of his last child in 1901 with an Italian name possibly signified a yearning to recapture the past.

Antonio lived another nine years after his return from Western Australia, dying on 27 May 1907 at 64 years of age. Prior to this he had been transferred to a Melbourne hospital where, denied the opportunity to die at home, he perhaps felt the alienation and fear associated with being placed in institutionalised care. His obituary, which appeared in the *Daylesford Advocate*, described him as a 'very highly respected resident of Eastern Hill'.[27] The sentiment was reflected in the attendance at his very large funeral: along with 35 vehicles, several horsemen and pedestrians following the hearse, 20 members of the IOOF, and many from the Italian-speaking community, joined the procession. The coffin-bearers were S. Belline (Silvestro Belloni?), M. Giacometti, M. Morganti, Lafranchi, J. Tomasini and R. Bernasocchi,[28] indicating Antonio's lasting links with his homeland. The cord-bearers were his four sons. Antonio was buried in the Eganstown Cemetery along with his brother Battista and his cousin Lucrezia, who had died in 1898. He had resided 46 years in Australia.

The lives of his children followed varying paths. Antonio John mined for gold in Western Australia for over 50 years living at various times at Laverton, Davyhurst, Leonora, Mt. Malcolm and Coolgardie. In Collie he worked as a woodcutter, and in

Manjimup as a tobacco grower. During a visit to Melbourne in 1947, a reporter for the (Melbourne) *Sun* wrote about his adventures, gold mining having continued to capture the imagination of many readers. Referring to his childhood days in Eganstown (and thereby disseminating knowledge of the Italian speakers to a wide audience) Antonio spoke of the mine which his father had worked in Daylesford and which he now hoped to re-locate and mine. Speaking with the hope and excitement which had brought the immigrants to Australia, he claimed:

> I know there is gold there. If I can find the old tunnel leading into a hillside through which I wandered when I was a boy, I know I will get enough gold to make me a rich man. I will be on Easy Street for the rest of my life.[29]

Though reasonably successful in the mines, Antonio (jnr) -- like his father and his father's generation -- supplemented his income from a variety of sources, such as cutting railway sleepers and growing tobacco. Married, but childless, Antonio died in the Western Australian timber town of Manjimup on 21 July 1948.[30]

No Caligari children married Italian speakers. Luisa became the wife of a Mr Coutts, with whom she moved to Melbourne. There she was joined by her sister Lavinia (Mrs George Gough). One of Lavinia's grandchildren was to achieve noteworthy qualifications in the field of Arabic, indicating not only the increased educational opportunities for the younger generations, but also the multicultural world which Australia had become. Lavinia's sister Amadea married a Mr McInerney and raised a family in the Victorian town of Stawell; remembered as house proud, an excellent cook and mother, she possessed all the female attributes most admired in Australian women of her day. Battista Caligari (apart from some years of active service during the First World War) remained all his working life on the family farm at

Eastern Hill. His children and grandchildren also distinguished themselves in military careers, three generations of Caligaris thus expressing their commitment to Australia. Battista'a sister Camilla married a Mr Hogan and moved to the inner Melbourne suburb of Footscray. Mary Anne married a Mr Stewart and remained in Eganstown. Richard moved to the industrial Melbourne suburb of Preston, where he became an assembly worker with an engineering firm. His brother William farmed as an itinerant, a life-style facilitated by his childless marriage. Harry struggled through the depression years, becoming a semi-skilled worker in a Melbourne brewery. Leo, who was twelve years his junior, trained as a qualified telegraphist and found employment with the Victorian Railways at Benalla. While only a few of the Caligari offspring remained in the area of their birth, and through marriage distanced themselves from their Swiss roots, they retained a strong attachment to the family and the community of which they had been a part.[31]

Their mother Mary Ann, who had been left with one child at home at the time of Antonio's death, had married an Eastern Hill farmer, Henry Colbourne. Establishing new friendships, she had drifted from some of her neighbours in the Italian-speaking community, the Morgantis seeing her only seldomly. When she died (in the Creswick Hospital) on 2 January 1926 at 69 years of age, the obituary, which referred to 'another old and respected resident of Eastern Hill (Blampied) passing away',[32] was warm and affectionate. Mary Ann's funeral also expressed the lasting bonds which had formed between the Italian-speaking and Anglo-Celtic communities, it being attended by many Swiss, including J. Pedrotti, L. Morganti and several members of the

Lafranchi family, who acted as pall-bearers.[33] She was buried with her first husband Antonio in the Eganstown Cemetery.

Her property, in accordance with the terms of Antonio's will and prevailing patriarchal ideology, was divided among the first-born sons and the grandsons. Today the Caligari home no longer stands at Eastern Hill and the family has long since moved away -- though the scattering of Luisa's ashes over the old farm property following her death in 1936 symbolised the family's affection for the old home. One of Antonio and Mary Ann's grandsons would later visit Someo, eager to see the old family home and discover more about his ancestors.[34] While the Caligari homestead still stands in Someo it is no longer occupied by the family members, all of them having moved away. Even the Caligari gravestones had been removed from the church cemetery, the space being needed for the more recently deceased.[35] Talking to some of the village elders, such as 88 year old Fr Giorgio Cheda (cousin to Giorgio Cheda, the author much quoted in this study), Mr Caligari was able to learn something of his past. He participated in some of the local traditions, drinking wine from (what he heard the locals call) a *broccaccino*, a jug-shaped drinking vessel.[36] He also ate at Morganti's Cafe, it being a tangible link with the families in Australia. Despite the preservation of old customs, he also discovered that Someo had undergone much change: responding to the demands of tourism, the farmers' stone cottages had been transformed into holiday accommodation for those escaping city life. Modern, convenient and comfortable, they were evidence of a process of change traceable back to the years of mass emigration, when appalling poverty and the promise of riches in a new land had forced many hundreds of Ticinesi to abandon their land.

GAGGIONI

The story of the Gaggioni family -- and references to other families like the Lucinis and Crippas -- which conclude this chapter confirms that during the 1860s a pattern of chain migration became established which, in uniting families in the Colony, continued to lure Italian speakers from their homelands. The people of Gordevio in the Valle Maggia (ref. figure 4) had long sought work in foreign lands -- in 1855 five per cent of the population were absent from Switzerland[1] -- but never had they travelled so far and never without the option of return. During the 1850s, this situation changed and, like the inhabitants of nearby Maggia, Coglio, Giumaglio, Someo and Avegno, those in Gordevio were swept up in an exodus which threatened to destroy the very livelihood of their village. While the majority had departed between 1854 and 1855 (when over 80 per cent of those Australia bound passengers accepted council loans), the numbers had remained high over the following decades as families sought reunion overseas; by 1873, Gordevio's population had fallen by one third.[2] In 1860, joining the 60 or 70 people who had already departed for Australia,[3] Pietro Gaggioni made his plans to emigrate to the Colony.

> I was struck with the houses of Gordevio ... They are built of stone packed one above the other with no mortar or other binding substance, while the roofs were of rough hewn slates similarly laid on. However there they were and there they seemed to stand. One thing aids and that is that they are so completely surrounded by mountains that they never get strong winds.[4]

This extract from a letter sent to the Pozzis from a friend in 1906 describes the village in the Valle Maggia from which Pietro Gaggioni emigrated to Australia in 1860. Though he appears to have been the only member of his immediate family to emigrate

to Australia, at least twelve Gaggionis arrived here from Gordevio during the peak years of the 1850s.[5] Fourteen or fifteen years of age at the time of the exodus (and hence old enough to have accompanied his compatriots) Pietro, a farmer, did not emigrate until several years later.[6] By this time six of his compatriots, including family member Giovan Giacomo Gaggioni, had returned with news of the Colony's prospects and its growing Italian-speaking community. Encouraged more by these kinship ties than by desperate financial need, in 1860, at 21 years of age, Pietro had boarded the *Swiftsure* bound for Australia.[7] Departing London on 5 March, he was accompanied by seventeen Ticinesi passengers, two of whom were from Gordevio. Although several members of the Gaggioni clan eventually returned to Gordevio, Pietro's kinship and community links enabled him to integrate easily into the immigrant community and to begin to accept Australia as his permanent home.

There is little documentary evidence of Pietro's early years in the Colony, though he is likely to have headed directly for Hepburn to begin mining with his countrymen. Having little apparent success, by 1862 he had taken up two blocks of land along the creek there, near to where he eventually built a small hut and began planting grape-vines.[8] The earliest existing rates books indicate that in 1871 Pietro was paying ten shillings per annum on a house and land in Hepburn, assets which by 1875 had grown to include a vineyard.[9] Maintaining his interest in the mines, he had also begun working a tunnel close to the main road in Hepburn -- on land which would eventually become the site of his new and bigger home. In 1875, fifteen years after his arrival in Australia, Pietro considered himself sufficiently financially secure for marriage and a family.

Despite his many years in Australia, Pietro chose his wife from among his own ethnic community, a choice made possible by the continuing tight kinship and community ties. Giovanni Maddalena, Pietro's future father-in-law, had emigrated to Australia from Gordevio in the 1850s, being joined by his wife Maria (nee Muscetti) some five years later. The Maddalena and Gaggioni clans were strongly linked, several having travelled together on the *Carpentaria* to Australia.[10] Giovanni and Maria had settled in a small hut at Hepburn (within walking distance of where Pietro would later settle) where they produced two sons (who died in infancy) and daughters Loretta and Valeria. The family had then moved to Happy Valley near Ballarat where their last child Giuseppe was born. Judging by the difference in their ages -- she at fourteen and he at 36 -- the marriage between Pietro and the eldest daughter Loretta appears to have been a family arrangement preserving ancient endogamous traditions.[11] It was also, however, a marriage of convenience, giving Loretta the financial security she needed and Pietro a young and fit wife capable of bearing many children. The difficulty of finding a wife in the early years of the Colony is suggested by some of the gossip then reaching the ears of the local people, one story being that a number of men had drawn lots to guarantee them the right to court certain women arriving on the ships from London. It is said that a member of the Bolla family had 'acquired' his wife -- a woman of apparent high birth, judging by her wardrobe of beautiful clothes -- in this way.[12]

On 22 June 1875, in the same year in which they were married, Pietro purchased the blocks of land which he had been farming and mining at Hepburn.[13] The

Selection Acts, which had been introduced not long after his arrival in Australia (cf. above pp. 299-300), had facilitated these purchases, selectors being able to lease a piece of land until they had earned the right, and paid the rent for a sufficient length of time, to acquire it freehold. Pietro and Loretta lived for a time in their small hut at Hepburn, where their first child Virginia (registered Emelia) was born in 1878, but after a year were able to move into a new and larger house which Pietro had built on the main road (ref. figure 11). Erected from the local stone, and named *Gordevio*,[14] it was a two-storey house built in typical Ticinese style.

In constructing his home, Pietro first dug a cellar, the same proportions as the future rooms above. He selected rocks from along the nearby creek, assembling them in random-rubble fashion (typical of the vernacular traditions of northern Italy) and joining them with a mud mortar. The home was given a brick chimney, small windows and a steep gable roof, the last feature being common among alpine homes. The stonework in the cellar was excellently crafted, comprising cavities for the placement of lamps or for the religious effigies which families would entrust to watch over their produce.[15] One wall contained a full-length slit -- possibly for ventilation -- and, because the ground sloped down to the creek, there were two barred windows at the rear. Leading down to the cellar were superb stone steps wide enough for a double-door entrance. The rooms above the cellar, and the first-storey rooms, were built on adzed iron bark or box logs supporting the floor joists and flooring. There were no internal walls, the outer walls being fully load-bearing.

In the downstairs living area was a big open fireplace occupying half a wall at the rear. It represented (as in the Gervasoni home) the central gathering point of the family. In later years a daughter would recall of the room:

> In our home the large living room opened straight away from the open door, and we had a big table in the middle of the room with chairs all around it, and we had a sofa one side, and two windows and the stairs were in one corner to go upstairs. It had a trap door to close then. We cooked on the big open fireplace in the room, with three chains hanging up in the ceiling, one for the camp oven, one for the big kettle, and one for the big boiler.[16]

Two staircases led away from the living area, one (very steep) going to three tiny bedrooms upstairs and the other to the cellar, both of them accessed by trapdoors in order to save space. The entrance to the cellar through the front of the house, as well as the double-door width of the stairs, may indicate that in the early years the cellar served as a wine saloon for the sale of the family's home-made wine; though its floor was too rough for dances, it was adequate for social drinking. The exterior walls of the Gaggioni home were covered in a white stucco (removed in 1992) and surrounding the property were cowsheds, stables and a meat house. In later years the family attached a verandah to the front of the house and planted poplar trees which recalled the landscape of Lombardy and Ticino.[17]

Settled in *Gordevio*, Pietro and Loretta produced a second child Joseph Gaudenzio in 1879 and another son Pietro in 1881, both of whom died as toddlers; by 21 years of age, their mother was well acquainted with the joys and sufferings of raising a family. Happily, a healthy daughter Josephine was born in 1884 and son John Peter in 1886. Loretta bore another six children: Loretta Ellen in 1888, Ernest William in 1891, Elsie Theresa in 1893, Clare in 1895, Leila in 1897 and Ray, a change-of-life

baby, in 1904.[18] Seven years before the birth of his last child, Pietro had applied for British citizenship,[19] it being a prerequisite for receipt of a government pension. At 58 years of age, and after 37 years in the Colony, this might have seemed an unnecessary declaration of his allegiance; the anglicised names of his younger children alone reflected the strength of his commitment to Australia.

Despite being two-storey, *Gordevio* afforded the growing Gaggioni family little living space or privacy. For people of peasant origin, it was, however, a familiar and comforting environment in which physical closeness and a sense of sharing everything they did fostered family bonds. The family worked, ate, slept and relaxed together, sharing the joys and frustrations of daily life. As in most such homes, the sleeping areas were overcrowded with little segregation by age or sex; the overriding need was for warmth and sufficient space to lay one's weary body. Extra beds placed in the downstairs area were only separated from the living space by a curtain, giving the sleepers little peace or privacy. Like most people of their time, the Gaggionis had no laundry, bathroom, toilet or (separate) kitchen. Some of the cooking was done outside on a camp-oven similar to the one Pietro had used in his hut (placing coals in a metal lid) and the washing was boiled in an adapted kerosene tin.[20] Though Pietro and Loretta were far from the poverty of Ticino, hard work and demanding conditions remained constant in their lives.

Pietro's chief sources of income were his farm, his vineyard and his mine.[21] The tunnel over which he had built his house was never greatly productive but was worked on and off throughout his lifetime. To the rear of their home, the Gaggionis

farmed land extending back to Spring Creek, it being used to supply most of their food needs: fruit trees (which Pietro grafted), chestnut, almond and walnut trees and a large vegetable garden providing cabbages, cauliflower, carrots, parsnips, turnips and potatoes. So plentiful must the produce from their farm have been that one daughter later proudly claimed 'we grew everything but oranges'.[22] In fact, potatoes made up the family's staple diet, presented as *gnocchi* (dumplings) and other peasant fare. Unlike families at Eganstown with their herb gardens, most settlers at Hepburn grew only parsley, garlic and onions as food seasonings, the latter being especially good for flavouring their soups and stews.[23] Meat, apart from sausages, was rarely served, meals of bread and bacon dripping being one of the frugal ways in which the Gaggionis enjoyed its flavours. *La minesta* (vegetable soup) accompanied by bread was a common meal, recalling the typical diet of the Lombard peasantry.[24] The family kept a cow for milk and hens for eggs and poultry. Sometimes a rabbit would be caught in the local forest and cooked as a stew with *polenta*, a then typical and popular northern Italian dish. The family's vineyard (which extended over half a hectare) provided plentiful supplies of home-made wine, the children being given small amounts to drink as their cultural tradition allowed.[25]

Like most Italian-speaking immigrant families, the Gaggionis made their own butter, cheeses and bacon, the latter being hung from the ceiling of the cellar to dry. The children were encouraged to participate from an early age in the food preparation process, some of the youngest daughters taking turns to work the butter-churn. On a large plain wooden table in a section of the living-room the family made its *bullboars*, the recipe comprising equal quantities of pork and beef seasoned with allspice, garlic

and wine. Once completed, these too would be hung to dry in the cellar, a room later described by one of the daughters:

> We had a lovely big cellar underneath the house. It ran the full length of the house and lots of food and other things were stored there. It was very nice and not at all damp. All the wine barrels were down there, also long benches where the big dishes were laid out with milk to get the cream. We did not have a separator. We just skimmed the cream off. There were racks to dry them [cheeses] on.[26]

Food preparation and storage were demanding and time-consuming activities for the Gaggionis who often worked together with other families to ease their workload. Drawing upon their peasant tradition of inter-family cooperation, they prepared the year's *bullboars* or wine supplies with the help of the Vaninas (cf. above pp.283-284), celebrating the conclusion of their labour with a 'pot night', when some of the wine or freshly boiled *bullboars* would be consumed hot.

Items which the Gaggionis did not, or could not, produce on their farm were acquired from other local traders, some of whom were their friends in the Italian-speaking community. Various goods were purchased from Vincenzo Perini's store in Spring Creek, as was pasta from Lucinis' macaroni factory a short distance away[27] (ref. figure 10). Brothers Giacomo and Pietro Lucini (a family name mentioned several times previously) had emigrated to Australia during the 1850s from Intra (ref. figure 2) in the Novara province of northern Italy. Linen and lace merchants, they had hoped to pursue their trade in the Colony but the lack of a sizeable market had seen them diversify into pasta production, opening a macaroni factory at 41 Lonsdale Street Melbourne. Later attracted to the goldfields of Jim Crow, where they had set up a bakery in Spring Creek and then a hotel named The *Roma*, they had eventually returned to the pasta trade. Their new pasta factory (the converted *Roma* Hotel) was

constructed from creek stones from nearby Doctors Gully, bricks from Abbotsford (Melbourne) and timbers from the local forest, its design reflecting the architectural traditions of northern Italy and the Tyrol. With walls 600 centimetres thick cemented with limestone, it had a central two-storey pavilion with flanking single-storey wings.[28] Its cellar, like the Gaggionis', had been skilfully constructed, with steep stone stairs, dry-stone walls and a recess for placement of a religious effigy: a statue of the *Madonna* in a glass dome dating from the 1850s.[29] The Lucinis were renowned throughout the district for the quality of their pasta products, vermicelli and macaroni both being manufactured with water from the local springs. Produced in a kitchen at the back of the property, it was sold in Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney and (according to local folklore) Italy. Winning prizes at the Melbourne International Exhibitions of 1880 and 1881 and at Bendigo,[30] it demonstrated to the broader Australian community some of the skills of the Italian-speaking settlers.

During the 1860s and 1870s, Pietro may also have traded his wine supplies with (previously mentioned) wealthy Italian merchant Fabrizio Crippa, who had arrived in Spring Creek from the Como region of Italy during the 1850s. Purchasing large tracts of land for 15,000 grape-vines, he had also planted fruit trees, tobacco and vegetables. Like the macaroni factory, his home *Parma House* (ref. figure 10) reflected the cultivated architectural heritage of Italy rather than the vernacular traditions of some of his compatriots. Built in 1864, it was a two-storey stuccoed brick villa with a slate hip roof and four matching chimneys, large wine cellar with handmade brick arches and a deep well. Long stone benches along the front of the house were a reminder of similar features in Italy: a place where family members would sit and while

away the summer evenings. Crippa remained only a few years in Spring Creek before moving to Melbourne in 1878.[31]

Supplying most of their own needs, and rarely travelling beyond Spring Creek or Daylesford, the Gaggionis led a life of material simplicity. Apart from pot nights', and ritual occasions associated with the Church, the children created their own entertainments, becoming as inventive at this as their parents were in running the farm.[32] Playing among the grape-vines in the backyard (none of the boys was so old that he would not swing along the trellises with his younger sisters), joining in the neighbourhood games and, on Saturdays, inviting their friends over to play with an old punching bag in the stables, were among their simple pleasures. Sometimes they would be permitted to accompany their father down the mine to ride along on its old trolley. Their mother, in order to call them from the mine, would blow on a Swiss cow-horn, one of the few artefacts Pietro had brought with him from Gordevio. As in other Italian speakers' homes, music played a central role, one of Leila's most enduring memories being of sitting in her bedroom window and singing. A childhood of material simplicity it, nevertheless, met the expectations of the Gaggioni children -- indeed, of most poor children growing up in Hepburn at the end of the nineteenth century.

For their education the children all attended the local Hepburn school which had been established in 1864. Geography classes were Leila's favourite, the schoolmaster often calling her to the blackboard to sketch maps of Australia or the world, or to recite by memory the states of the United States.[33] Ironically, she was

taught more about the countries to which the Swiss had emigrated than about their nation of origin. The children quickly mastered English, a skill which perhaps increased their status within the home and helped to break down the traditional power structure: instead of gaining all knowledge and wisdom through their parents or the village elders, as their illiterate father had done, they had access to new sources of information. In situations demanding a good knowledge of English they could act on their parents' behalf. Since both Loretta and Pietro presumably spoke the dialect of Gordevio, this skill must also have been passed on to the children, although the younger ones appear to have acquired very little.[34] Loretta, who, was able to read and write in Italian, often corresponded with her friends the Tognazzinis in California. Her youngest children never saw her write to her own family in Switzerland, however, suggesting that by the end of the nineteenth century everyone she cared most about was living in the Colony and that her direct ties with the homeland had grown weak.[35]

At some stage Loretta's parents had returned to Hepburn from Happy Valley and were now living a short distance away. There was a continual coming and going between the two families, the children, who were always eager to visit their grandparents, taking a risky leap over Spring Creek on the way to their house. Loretta's sister Valeria had died in 1884, following a fall into a fire during an epileptic fit. Her nieces and nephews had not been spared the tragic circumstances of her death, children of the time being taught to understand death as an integral part of life.[36] Though they had lost their aunt, the younger Gaggioni children had many adult carers, their older sisters having nursed, fed and played with them as babies, and watched over them as they grew up. The working life of the family was structured in such a way that

when Loretta could not see to the needs of her youngest children, there was someone else who could. The demands of their home and farm meant that school was not a high priority for the Gaggioni children, most only completing the compulsory years to age fourteen. John and Ernest did, however, go on to higher education, enrolling at the School of Mines, an institution founded in Vincent Street Daylesford in January 1890. Opening with an enrolment of 84 students, its subject offerings reflected the gold mining origins of Daylesford and included mining, metallurgy, assaying and petrology. Other subjects were telegraphy, magnetism and electricity, mathematics, botany, Latin and French (presumably for the reading of scientific journals) and bookkeeping. John graduated from the school as a carpenter and Ernest as a typesetter with the *Daylesford Advocate*, a job which allowed him to enter the work-force of the general community. Rather than go on to higher education at the completion of their school years, their sisters were encouraged to find a job until it was time for them to marry.

In 1901 Virginia became the wife of Ernest Menz, a union which forged links between the district's German and Swiss communities. They set up home in a timber cottage in Hepburn, both of them remaining close to their family networks. Josie, before she married, worked for a branch of the Borsa family in a guest-house in the Melbourne suburb of Canterbury. John, who was the carpenter, also married and built a modern home near the Hepburn school before later moving to Melbourne. Because of the years separating the Gaggioni children it was, however, many years before all had left the family home, and when Pietro died in 1906, several, including two year old Ray, remained in Loretta's care.[37] Pietro's death came shortly after the devastating

bushfires which raged through Hepburn that year. Already suffering poor health due to miners' complaint, on the day of the fire his family had taken him down to the cellar of his house for safety. His children Ernest and Elsie worked throughout the day to keep his property hosed down and protected from the flames. Virginia's house was also in danger, she being assisted by her neighbours to remove her furniture to a safer distance. While the press was later able to report Pietro's losses as only vines, grass and fencing to the value of ten pounds, Virginia lost everything.[38]

Following her father's death, and while waiting the three months for her cottage to be rebuilt, Virginia moved back to live with her mother. This would have been a comforting arrangement for Loretta who struggled to overcome her grief with the practical and emotional support of her eldest daughter. Her son John also came to her assistance, building a new kitchen at the back of her home which comprised the first stove -- a 'colonial cooker' -- the family had ever owned.[39] John also shifted the staircase closer to the kitchen and may have been responsible for building the walls which established bedrooms at either end of the living area. Loretta did not remarry but managed, through her ingenuity and frugality, to provide for the needs of her family. Among her most useful assets were her ability to produce cheap and nutritious meals and her skills with a sewing machine.

The family continued to make its own cheeses and to eat pasta from Lucinis' macaroni factory, one of Loretta's simple sauce recipes combining only finely cut onions and chopped tomatoes fried in butter. Butter featured heavily in the Gaggionis' and other Italian speakers' diet, it having been a hallmark of Lombard cooking since

ancient times.[40] The pasta meal was often eaten on Friday nights since meat, according to the traditions of their Catholic faith, was forbidden. Loretta continued to prepare other traditional peasant foods, including *polenta, risotto* and *gnocchi*, and to maintain potatoes as a staple part of their diet. Bread was purchased from Vanzettas' bakery (see Vanzetta section). At night the children were still given small amounts of wine although, according to one of the daughters, '[they] were not mad about it' and 'used to prefer mineral water'.[41] It served, however, as a warmer during the winter months and was, no doubt, a custom transferred from Switzerland. As the daughter explained: 'In the winter, mum used to heat up the wine for us when we went to bed. Hot water bottles were unknown then'.

Making clothes for herself and her family, Loretta was fortunate to save a Singer sewing machine, one of the few mechanised items in her house. She delighted in producing colourful and pretty clothing for her children, especially the two youngest girls who, because they were similar in height, could be dressed as twins.[42] Making little sailor suits decorated with braid and pretty yellow dresses with matching hats, she might have been compensating for the toys and outings which poverty denied her children. The colourful outfits, despite charming many of the tourists then flocking into Daylesford, could not, however, hide the Gaggionis' financial need nor their awareness of belonging to a low socio-economic group. Even within the Italian-speaking population, class distinctions had begun to emerge, families, such as the Borsas (who ran *Bellinzona*) being seen to ride around in carriages and dress in expensive clothes. To Leila they were 'like aristocratic ladies [and] they kept apart'.[43] While Leila's comment can be viewed in the context of the resentment expressed by

other Italian speakers against the success of their compatriots (cf. above pp. 264) and thus as an expression of class-consciousness, it can also be understood in terms of the comment made by Lurati and Bolla that '*il vestito tradizionale ha spesso riflesso per secoli i divieti e le norme, scritte e non scritte, che obligavano i ceti subalterni a non vestire con le fogge e i panni che erano riservati a quelli dominati* '[44] and thus as a positive affirmation of peasant identity. In contrast to the bright outfits which Loretta made for her children, she dressed herself sombrely: a black bonnet tied under her chin making her appear older than she was. Like many of the Italian-speaking women, her life was dedicated to serving her family and she was happy in so far as their needs were met.

According to a family descendant,[45] the children's entertainments remained simple, Loretta always having to pay the butcher or baker before arranging outings or tickets to picture shows. (Technological advancements, such as cinematography, had, however, broadened the range of entertainments available to most people.) A visit to Wirth's Circus was a grand event, as was their first ride in a car. The Gaggionis maintained contact with their many friends in the Italian-speaking community: the Vaninas, with whom they often played *bocce*; the Tinettis at Shepherds Flat; the Tomasinis at Basalt, whom they often hiked through the forest to visit; the Pozzis and the Ferraris at Daylesford; the Prettis and the Bollas, who lived near the Old Racecourse Hotel in Hepburn; the Scheggias and the Righettis. These friendships were both a support in time of need and means by which the family (and other Italian speakers) could indulge their cultural traditions. While Mrs Tinetti of Hepburn taught Leila to crochet, Robert Righetti (son of Giuseppe) at one time employed John

Gaggioni as a carpenter in his hotel. The Gaggionis' kinship links were extensive, the children reportedly having at one time up to 47 cousins (including the Morgantis at Eganstown) living in the district.[46]

A love of music and shared Catholic faith also continued to tie the Gaggionis to their ethnic community. The children were all musical, Leila often being asked to play the piano-accordion along with Mrs Scheggia or Mrs Tinetti at the Hepburn Springs pavilion;[47] popular with the public, these performances helped educate the general community about the Italian speakers' musical heritage. Leila, as well as being able to play the mouth-organ and the tin-whistle, could sing well and both she and Clara were members of their church choir trained by Ella Bravo (who later married Jim Vanina). On Saturday afternoons and Sundays, the two sisters attended Mrs Lucini's Sunday school classes in a room at the back of the macaroni factory.[48] The factory itself was a focal point for the Italian-speaking community, Giacomo and Pietro Lucini being active promoters of their culture. On the ceilings of the single-storey wings of his factory, Pietro, who was artistic, had painted scenes reminiscent of his homeland. His bedroom depicted the last act of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* surrounded by flags of Italy, France, Switzerland and possibly his version of the Union Jack. On the ceiling of his lounge were scenes of his village Intra, including again the Italian flag.[49] Having completed the paintings by 1864, the inclusion of the tricolour Italian flag revealed an acceptance of the political changes then taking place in his homeland and the struggle for unification. So too did the depiction of a Verdi opera, many of the composer's works, such as *Aida, Rigoletto, La Traviata* and *Otello*, then being thought to convey the spirit of the *Risorgimento*. In Australia, the Lucinis had also taken an active interest

in political affairs, at one time hosting meetings of the Hepburn Democratic Club in their home.[50]   They were committed to the welfare of their countrymen, lending money and other forms of assistance to those in need.

Drawing upon their connections within the Italian-speaking community, Leila and Clara later began working in some of the locally Swiss-owned guest-houses, initially employed after school and on Saturdays, then later full-time. Performing the roles of kitchen-maid (cleaning and emptying the 'slops'), chamber-maid or nurse-maid, they were employed at various times at Perinis' *Locarno*, Borsas' *Bellinzona* and Rolleris' Hotel.[51]   At some stage Clara left Hepburn to assume an office job with Collins Booksellers, a newly formed company in Melbourne. In 1918, she was joined there by her 21 year old sister Leila. The some year her mother and fourteen year old brother Ray moved to Sydney, where Josephine and Loretta (jnr) had set up as milliners in 1904. The land title for *Gordevio* was transferred to John Gaggioni, who sold it in 1924 for 200 pounds.[52]

Loretta remained in Sydney until her death in 1950 at 89 years of age. Her son Ray set up his own riding school, changing his name to Jolly for business reasons.[53] In Hepburn, Virginia raised seven children, the last of whom was named Loretta Maddalena, a gesture which preserved both the christian and maiden names of her maternal grandmother. This child and two of her brothers are the only descendants of the Gaggioni family still living in Hepburn. Leila Gaggioni remained with the Collins company in Melbourne all her life, renting a home in Kew after the war and marrying in 1935. In 1991, she became a resident of a Melbourne home for the aged where she

kept a photograph of *Gordevio* on her bedroom dresser and regretted that she had never been able to travel to Switzerland to visit the homes of her parents.[54] For Pietro and Loretta Gaggioni, however, home had been Australia the land where they had owned land, built their house, raised their children and lived among a generous and hard working Italian-speaking community. Their family life had been the core of their existence which, as the following chapter reveals, was the case for most Italian speakers.

CHAPTER NINE : HOME AND FAMILY

HOME AND FAMILY

As suggested in preceding chapters, for the overwhelming majority of Italian-speaking men who had decided to settle in Australia, the need for female companionship became a pressing concern. Denied the emotional support of wives, mothers, sisters or fiances, they longed to be reunited with their families. Married men had spent many years away from their family homes and many bachelors, aged now into their mid 20s or 30s, wanted a wife and children of their own. They had also reached a level of financial security sufficient to provide for a family. This chapter will examine the family life of the Italian speakers: their marriages, their homes and the raising of their children. It will note the extent to which the settlers attempted to reconstruct their European life-styles in Australia while at the same time recognising that their decision to remain in the Colony with a family involved a commitment to an 'Australian' way of life.

When the married male immigrants realised what little hope remained for a return to their homelands, many wrote to their wives instructing them to join them in the Colony. Some were able to return to Europe to accompany their wives on the journey but most could only afford the single fare. Many of the reunions between husband and wife occurred after a separation of six or seven years during which time brothers or sisters had died, children had been born and property had been bought and sold. Many marriages did not survive the years of separation with couples eventually losing interest in one another. In some cases, the men had actually emigrated to Australia in order to escape unhappy unions, remarrying again illegally in Australia.

Gossip concerning bigamous relationships remained a part of Daylesford life for many decades (as the Gaggioni section revealed). Some of the men had also entered into de-facto relationships or consoled themselves for their wives' absence by visiting 'vagabond women' (see Scouting). For the majority of immigrants, however, this 'transgression' was temporary and they struggled to maintain contact with their families. As soon as they were able, they encouraged their wives to join them in Australia. For many this was a recognition that their future was to be built in the adopted country -- and a positive step in actually taking control of the future.

For single men seeking wives in the Colony, the problem of finding a suitable partner was not easily solved. Most of the women arriving in Australia after the initial gold rush years were being reunited with husbands or were joining fiances, resulting in an uneven gender balance. The problem for the Italian speakers was further compounded by their tradition of endogamy which imposed certain rigidities upon their choice of partner. This practice, which has been referred to on several previous occasions, restricted a man or woman to a partner from his or her village, thus encouraging harmonious and closely-knit households where everyone shared a similar cultural and religious background. The choice of partner, says Cheda:

> **era undubbiamente un elemento importante della struttura sociale
> e mentale, perché contribuiva -- come del resto il livello economico
> -- a formare, consolidare e mantenere i gruppi sociali.**[1]

In the Valle Maggia, between 1855 and 1875, 1341 of the 1534 couples uniting in matrimony were born in the same village. In Verzasca, the figures were similar, with 884 out of 944, or 93 per cent.[2] Judging by the cases in this study, in Australia, of the men who married Italian-speaking women, the majority wed from within their native or

a nearby village. In the case of those men who had arrived one or two decades after the 1850s, marriages occurred with the daughters of such families, the previous Gaggioni story having provided an example. An Italian-speaking wife from a distant village was apparently no more desirable to the settlers than one from a different country.

The women arriving from northern Italy or Ticino were, however, extremely few in number. In the early years -- from 1854 to 1856 -- only three females arrived from Ticino, with similar low numbers from Italy.[3] By 1901, the rates had begun to increase, but remained low. The following table shows migratory rates for Ticinese women compared with males from 1871 to 1901:[4]

year	female	male	total for Victoria
1871	54	718	772
1881	59	888	947
1891	162	1555	1717
1901	236	1289	1525

As most of these women were either married or betrothed, little hope remained for the single settlers of finding an Italian-speaking wife. Only about 30 Ticinesi in Australia, in fact, married from within their village grouping and it is likely the situation varied little for the Italians.[5] The remainder chose partners from the Irish or English communities, a shared Roman Catholic background promising broadly similar values and moral code:

> Most of the Ticinesi were deeply religious and in the absence of girls from Ticino, married Irish or English Catholic girls: 97 brides had Irish surnames or given names, and 81 had likely English surnames, 6 presumably Scottish surnames.[6]

While many Italian speakers considered marriage outside one's ethnic or social group to be traitorous, most regarded marriage outside one's religion as unforgivable, even a

sin. Along with a common faith, the Italian speakers shared a similar social background of poverty and deprivation with the English and Irish settlers, Gaetano Tomasetti and his Irish wife Kate having been closely bonded in this way. Sometimes these marriages which crossed ethnic boundaries invited criticism, especially from wealthy citizens who considered the penniless Italian speakers a demeaning choice. It might, however, have been a criticism rooted more in financial insecurity than ethnic prejudice, not surprising in the uncertain climate of the goldfields. Despite Margherita Lafranchi once asserting that the landless sons of Irishmen would make unsuitable husbands for her daughters, (cf. above p. 169), in the absence of more suitable partners from Italy or Ticino, the Italian speakers continued to marry into the Anglo-Celtic community.

Many of the marriages during this period occurred between men of middle age and women of much younger years, one reason being the length of time needed to attain financial security. Because men had often reached their mid 30s before they were able to support a family -- by which time their female contemporaries had already married -- their choice was limited to the younger women. It may be recalled, for example, that Loretta Gaggioni (nee Maddalena) and Elisabetta Righetti (nee Perinoni) were thirteen and fourteen years old respectively at the time of their marriages. It is possible that in Australia marriages such as these were arranged by the family members, translating a popular village tradition. Often they were successful as they fulfilled the expectations of both partners, the female gaining lifelong financial security and the male a fit and able helpmate capable of bearing many children. The marriages

also strengthened the immigrants' kinship ties, extending and reinforcing their channels of emotional support.

It was not an easy life for the women of the Colony, especially for those arriving on the goldfields from Europe. A long with having to adjust to life with a new husband, or to someone from whom they might have become estranged after years of separation, they were confronted with a different culture and way of life. Many were shocked by the primitiveness of their surrounds and conditions which were little better, if not worse, than those they had left behind. It may be recalled that Maria Gervasoni's first home in Yandoit was a small miner's hut built by her husband's dairying partners (cf. above p. 319). Fashioned from the local timbers these temporary dwellings, known as 'wattle and daub', were built as a wooden post frame on to which mud, stiffened with chopped straw or clay, was liberally spread. The mud was contained within a series of closely placed sticks which ran cross-ways to the frame and gave the building strength. A bark roof covered the homes, window spaces were covered with calico to keep out the cold and the flooring was just the bare earth on which the house had been erected. All cooking and washing was done outside.[7] Despite the disappointment and anger which many women felt on first seeing their homes, many were soon cheered by the promise of a new and better house, this being one of the highest priorities of the Italian speakers.

Due to the availability of certain building materials, the villages from which the settlers of northern Italy and Ticino had departed were vastly different from the towns which grew up in the Colony. Unlike the timber homes at Jim Crow, the

houses in Ticino and northern Italy had been made from a plentiful supply of local stone. Despite being well adapted to the needs of their peasant owners, they had, however, been squalid, cold and uncomfortable, a central fireplace giving off more smoke than heat and families sleeping several to a bed or in the hayloft to receive the warmth from the stables below. The close proximity of the animals and the lack of ventilation had made the homes putrid and unhygienic. The bedclothes were rags and the windows little more than small holes covered in paper. It was, nevertheless, in a similar material and style that many Italian speakers chose to build their homes in Australia, since it allowed them to draw upon traditional building skills and create a familiar domestic environment. The main difference between these homes and those of their past was that the new dwellings were bigger, more comfortable and more like those of the rich. According to Gentilli:

> The great achievement [of the Italian speakers] was to build a two-storey stone house with wine cellar and cheese store room just as the better-off folks were able to afford back home.[8]

Many of the Italian-speaking immigrants were skilled stonemasons whose very survival, at times, would have had relied upon an ability to make and repair their own homes from local resources.

These skills extended to both the Ticinese and the Lombards. Around the shores of Lombardy's lakes region, stuccoists such as the *Maestri Comacini* from Como (cf. above Morganti section p. 75) had been renowned for their ability for centuries[9] and the Ticinesi, working alongside them during their annual excursions into northern Italy in search of work, had absorbed many of their skills. Returning to their Ticinese villages, they had introduced the Lombard building styles of stuccoed houses

washed in white or off-yellow and roofed with the rounded ridge tiles of the Mediterranean. They had also adapted their building techniques to suit the purpose of their local constructions and the availability of local resources, the natural weakness of round cobble-stones found on river beds, for example, being remedied by doubling the thickness of the walls. Neither Lombards nor Ticinesi had wished to travel great distances to collect building materials which had to be transported, with some difficulty, back to their villages. Instead, they had selected only local resources, over the centuries finding stone both practical and plentiful in their harsh alpine climate, and becoming masters of its craft.[10]

A typical Ticinese rural dwelling in the mid-nineteenth century was constructed from split stone with a sparing use of mortar on the corners and around the openings. The roof, which was a steep gable shape to suit the alpine climate, was supported by rafters and covered with the same material as the walls. The lower part of the chimney traditionally flared out into the room to catch the smoke and channel it (not always successfully) into the chimney proper. The low placing of the fire on a stone slab lying on the floor ensured that as much heat as possible radiated to the kitchen which was also used as a living area. The space arrangement was usually vertical, the foundations housing a stable or cellar, the ground floor the cooking and living area, the first floor the sleeping area and the attic the storage areas for hay, straw, vegetables or other crops. It was important not to build to excessive heights or depths since all the work was done by hand with limitations on time and labour.[11]

The preparation of the land before the erection of the house was an important part of the building process as it provided the materials used in construction. It was necessary first to remove the trees from the mountain slopes, uproot all the tree stumps, level the area to be built on, remove the stones and eradicate the weeds and bushes. The area thus became grassland and suitable for feeding small numbers of cattle. The stones were piled up ready for use in the walls and the tree trunks set aside for the roof rafters, beams and the hayloft. Dried branches and twigs were used for firing the stones to get quicklime, the mortar used to hold the stones together. (Sometimes the quicklime was kept for years in underground holes which had been lined with clay.) A stone stable, which later became the basis for the house, was constructed first followed by a kitchen, cheese-room and other working areas. Appended at the sides and (later on) above were the family's bedrooms. A *loggia* (open gallery) could be attached to the property to house the agricultural products for drying, along with an area for storing the wood and a hayloft. [12]

In Australia the Italian speakers built and ᴜesigned similar homes, making only those adaptations which a different climate and geography demanded. The Selection Acts of the 1860s (cf. above Settling section) enabled them to acquire suitable blocks of land and they discovered the Jim Crow region rich in sandstone and limestone, both good building materials. They immediately set about the arduous task of clearing their land, accumulating the waste stones and tree stumps for the building process. Next they dug a hole for the cellar, lining it with the waste stones. Many such cellars are still to be seen around the Daylesford district, providing evidence of superb dry-stone

packing (Lucini) and the inclusion of wells (Lucini, Sartori). In the construction of the actual house, most Italian speakers placed the largest stones at the quoins or arches to support and form the home, *Parma House* at Hepburn Springs providing one example. Apart from the windows and door jambs which, for safety and stability, demanded extra care, the section of wall between the corners was done quickly. Most window spaces were made small to ease stress on the walls and their frames were embedded into the mortar with chicken wire. Both the windows and door openings were well bonded with longer stones. Due to the numerous creeks around Jim Crow most settlers were able to obtain good supplies of mud, clay and sand to be used as a mortar, some of which they strengthened with lime. Settlers, such as Pietro Gaggioni, often walked many kilometres to find the most suitable building stones, assembling those of different sizes and shapes in a random-rubble fashion without any regular coursing and flatter stones in a strata-formation.[13] While the first method allowed the use of hard, intractable stones, the second method was easier and, with little mortar, gave great strength to a building.

The preparation of the frame to support the roof was one of the most difficult parts of the building process, the completed construction requiring walls of extreme thickness to support its weight.[14] The Italian speakers made boards, roofing rafters and props from the local stringy bark and yellow box timbers, covering them with a slate or timber shingled roof. The external rendering of the house was usually in a material similar to the mortar, although sometimes mixed with cow manure depending on the wishes of the individual builder. The interior walls were plastered for hygiene and insulation and the floors made from flagstones. Iron brackets, nails and chains

used in the construction process were often manufactured by the builder himself, only bare essentials, such as glass, being obtained elsewhere. While the Italian speakers were among the few settlers at Jim Crow prepared to take their constructions above one-storey, few added a traditional third level, finding that the greater availability of land and the milder climate permitted the building of external storage areas. Their stone stables and dairies were often large and solid constructions (Tognolini, Gervasoni), stressing the importance of the productive areas in such households.

Not all of the Italian speakers built their homes in stone or solely in stone. A number selected handmade bricks, a material almost as durable and somewhat easier to manage. The use of bricks for housing construction depended, as with stone, on a ready supply of clays or shales, as well as access to plentiful supplies of fuel, such as firewood, both of which were available around Jim Crow. To make the bricks, the settlers dug clay from the ground, mixed it into a pug, pressed it into wooden moulds and stacked the bricks in the sun to dry. If clay was hard to find in some areas, there was always a good supply of mud by the sides of the rivers and creeks to which chopped straw, sand or gravel could be added. Once the bricks had been baked in a home-made kiln and had dried hard, they were laid with the mud mortar. The finished home, Morgantis' being an example, was both cool in summer and warm in winter. In several cases, such as may be seen on the Morganti and Lucini properties, brick buildings rested on stone foundations. At the Gaggioni home, a brick chimney completed a stone construction.

A number of Italian speakers, adopting the most common building method of the Colony, built their homes entirely from timber. These houses consisted of a sawn timber framework clad in weatherboards, horizontal overlapping timbers and a wooden shingle roof. Before the introduction of power-sawing in the 1830s,[15] it had been both laborious and expensive to build these houses but with improved technology, timbers and machine-made nails had become cheaply available. Previously the settlers had pit-sawn an enormous quantity of wood and made every nail by hand at the forge. Galvanised iron as a roofing material also became more popular, with many settlers replacing their shingle roofs. The wooden shingles had been found to buckle and shrink under Australia's hot sun and often allowed the intrusion of rain. Most Italian speakers purchased existing timber homes, although in the 1880s Stefano Pozzi erected his own house in Daylesford; several stone walls which surrounded his property incorporated the Italian speakers' traditional building methods. A number of Italian speakers, such as Maurizio Morganti at Eastern Hill, erected timber fencing, using morticed tree trunks with two or three levels of split timber railing. Simply constructed gates were swung on metal rings embedded into the ground, one of the many items which may have been produced in the family blacksmith shop.

Along with the previously mentioned adaptations Italian speakers made to their homes in Australia, some added galvanised iron verandahs to shade the house and provide a place to sit at the end of the day. As they grew more financially secure, families also included decorative finishes on their homes, such as the ornate ironwork seen on the Righetti property at Yandoit and the neatly picketed balustrades on the Gervasoni home. The decorative wooden eaves visible on the Morganti property

resembled similar architectural features seen in Bergamo and may have translated this northern Italian tradition.[16] With the passing of the years, the productive aspects of some homes became less prominent and were replaced with features more related to comfort and status. For most families, however, the need for a self-sufficient life-style continued to determine the design of the house.

Attempting to replicate the domestic arrangement which had supported them in Europe, most Italian speakers planted fruit trees, vegetables and crops around their properties and kept a few animals. Through centuries of struggle -- working tiny plots of land in a harsh European climate -- they had developed farming skills and an inventiveness and frugality which allowed them to provide most of their food needs. Faced with Jim Crow's different climate and less mountainous terrain, they were able to apply their knowledge to make their farms productive. It was possible to cultivate many traditional crops, including oats, rye, corn, barley, potatoes, carrots, peas and cabbages and the herbs which permitted a traditional diet. They planted large orchards and grew nut trees, such as the chestnut. Like the Pozzis at Hepburn, some families exchanged plant seeds with their relatives in Ticino, this economical arrangement increasing the garden's variety. Many immigrants found the gently sloping hills of Jim Crow easier to farm than the mountainous terrains of their homelands while some lamented the loss of soil nutrients which they believed had come with the annual snowfalls.[17] While many settlers in the Colony adopted extensive farming methods -- achieving low yields per hectare and increasing production by cultivating more land -- the Italian speakers purchased small blocks of land and applied their specialised farming knowledge to making them productive.

The Italian speakers' agricultural history, says Pascoe, had been one 'one of continuous, plodding effort to cultivate quite uncompromising land'.[18] This same 'plodding effort' was transferred to Australia with the immigrants farming with little or no machinery, planting crops to the last centimetre of soil, utilising simple animal fertilisers and adopting ingenious methods of irrigation. On his property at Yandoit Battista Righetti brought water from a spring to his crops via an open race.[19] Most families kept a minimum of livestock, such as a cow for milk, a few hens for eggs and poultry and some pigs for lard, bacon and sausages, feeding them on skim milk, fruit and other farm produce. Any products which the family was unable to generate itself were bartered with other families (cf. above Perini section pp. 188-189). While increasing the range of goods available to a household, this economic and, at the same time, social arrangement also avoided the need for currency, as a consequence, increasing the reliance of Italian-speaking families upon their own community. Without savings, it was difficult to operate in the wider commercial world -- and to break free from this kind of peasant existence. There were exceptions. Gottardo Foletta from Valle Verzasca drove a herd of 50 cattle down to Naples in 1868 and shipped them via Southhampton to Melbourne to form the basis of a successful dairy business in Spring Creek.[20] While a few other families, such as the Righettis at Yandoit, developed large and commercially viable farms, most Italian speakers produced only enough for their own consumption. Blacksmith shops, work areas, dairies and smoke-houses surrounding the home were all designed to increase the family's self-sufficiency and avoid dependency on others.

Frugality and an ingenious use of resources were the peasants'[21] tools for survival. They were able to build most things -- bricks, nails, doors, furniture, shoes, rope -- or adapt their use to their needs. They were stonemasons, carpenters, blacksmiths, farmers and hunters, whose knowledge had been passed down through generations of village life. For them, being economical meant using all of a farm animal: milking a cow, eating its flesh, tanning its skin. They could dry rabbit and hare skins, deliver a calf and graft trees. They knew how to re-use everything a second and third time. 'Rooted to a little patch of ground to which he must adapt himself ', the peasant made his home a work-place and his work-place a home.[22] The Italian-speaking immigrants drew upon these same attributes of economy and pragmatism to help them survive in Australia, one of their greatest assets being a work-force composed almost entirely of family members.

Essential to the successful operation of this kind of household was a cheap and ready work-force, none being more appropriate than the family members themselves. It was important for women to produce large numbers of offspring, especially since illnesses such as diphtheria and tuberculosis often brought them to early deaths. Of the four infants Swiss settler Giuditta Guscetti produced in Australia, not one survived beyond childhood. Life was hard for the women of the Colony, many spending the greater part of their child-bearing years pregnant (Giuditta Guscetti being so virtually for four continuous years) and undergoing difficult and dangerous births. Illnesses, such as mastitis (recall the Tomasetti story), would often be traumatic. Because the household or family was the crucial economic unit, women also made a vital contribution to its productive capacity, their work sometimes making the difference

between subsistence and near starvation. Within the home, distinctions between domestic and other productive work were blurred, women having housework and nurturing roles as well as the responsibility for animal care, marketing of dairy produce and crop production. Where the family owned a business, she was also involved in its daily operation. The men worked alongside their wives, preparing food-stuffs and providing fuel for the stone or fireplace. In this sense, the distinction between domestic and productive work was irrelevant, a sense of common effort and mutual benefit underlying any division of labour on the basis of sex.

This same view of the family as constituting the key unit of production was taught to the children who, from an early age, were encouraged to contribute to the family's productivity. By performing simple but essential tasks, such as minding the younger children, weeding the vegetable patch, frightening birds away from the crops, helping to scatter the new season's seed and stirring the *polenta* pot, they eased the burden on other family members. Even difficult tasks, such as wine-making (traditionally the domain of the more experienced) called for their help: to harvest and transport the fruit, to join the adults in the stomping barrel and to clean up at the end of the day (see above Vanina section p. 279). The 'family', as constructed by Daylesford's Italian speakers, was a co-operative unit under the direction of the father or male head -- a patriarchy, says Cheda, tied to '*una mentalità tradizionale*' (a traditional mentality).[23] It prospered in Australia largely because of its ability to utilise and marshall an effective and cohesive work-force from among its own members.

When the daily work was done, the family could relax in the evening about the large open fire which, with its accessories of poker, shovel, fire tongs for holding the embers, spit and hooks and chains for the pans, represented the gathering point of the home. Sitting on the large stones to the side of the fire, a building feature translated from their Swiss and Italian villages,[24] the children could watch the evening meal as it cooked: large pots of soup, pasta from Lucinis' macaroni factory in Spring Creek, *polenta*[25] and *risotto*. Most of these hearty dishes, which recalled the alpine climate in which they had been created, needed long preparation times and the dedication of several family members. The majority of dishes were vegetable-based (the vegetables and herb gardens thus always placed near the home for convenience), some families adding potatoes to cooking pasta for extra body (and to save use of another pot). The heavy reliance on butter and other dairy products reflected the culinary habits of the Lombard peasant, and a time when, as tenant farmers, they had paid their rent in butter.[26] Bread was one of the few prepared items purchased outside the home, the large number of Italian-speaking bakers operating around Jim Crow making this possible. Fresh meat, apart from a rabbit caught in the local forest, was a rare treat, most families relying on a supply of pre-prepared and preserved sausages.

Dried and preserved foods had always been an important component of the Italian speakers' diet, the harsh alpine climate necessitating their storage for the winter months. Salami, bacon, cheese, bottled sauces and jams were among the most common foods set aside in the cellar. Pork-based sausages, called *cudeghini* (a version of the more well-known Italian sausage *cotechino*), formed the basis of their meat supply along with other sausages containing varying amounts of beef or donkey meat. They

were flavoured with various herbs, spices and wine and contained large amounts of salt to assist the preservation process: some sausages would hang to mature for several years before being eaten.[27] Many of the Italian speakers who came to Australia retained their traditional diets, this enabling them to continue a pattern of self-sufficiency which aided their economic survival while at the same time enjoying a familiar pattern of eating. They were also able to maintain a similar working calendar, only having to adapt their customary activities to the different months in which the seasons fell. Though time-consuming and laborious, the preparation of food-stuffs had played a vital role in the day-to-day life of the peasants and, closely aligned with their social and religious events, was one which they were reluctant to surrender. In Australia many families, such as the Vanina and Gaggioni clans, joined efforts for the annual grape-harvest or sausage-making days and celebrated their conclusion with a 'pot night'. Despite the preference for a traditional diet, contact with the Anglo-Celtic community did, however, mean the inclusion of some new foods, especially for those families operating a food outlet to the general community (see Perini section). The greater availability of certain foods also impacted on their eating patterns, the immigrants developing a new type of sausage called a *bullboar* which contained, as its name suggests, near equal amounts of pork and beef. It soon assumed supremacy over the traditional pork-based *cudeghini* which, although still continuing to be made, comprised only the scraps and gristle left over from *bullboar*-making. *Bullboars* became popular with local people of all nationalities and were eventually produced in some of the district's butcher shops (cf. above p. 214). The sharing of food and wine was thus important for the growth of mutual understanding between different ethnic groups of the Colony.

As vital participants in their family's economic productivity, peasant children were seldom encouraged to go to school.[28] This attitude persisted among the immigrants of the Colony, their offspring often poorly represented among the regular attenders of the government and Church run schools of the 1860s and 1870s. In the early years of the gold rush, most miners had displayed a low regard for the education of their young, the Inspector of National Schools finding in 1854 that the men rarely attended meetings to establish schools but always supported meetings regarding mining licences and related matters. The miners were unwilling to part with as much as threepence to support the building of a school, preferring their children to support them in the search for gold. As for the Italian speakers, since most were either unmarried, or intending to return to their families in Europe, few gave thought to the education of the Colony's young. The difficulty of establishing schools was further exacerbated by the continual movement of the miners from one goldfield to another and the resultant dwindling of the town populations. The first schools, which were erected in tents and moved with the diggers to each rush, were damp, ill-ventilated and either too hot or too cold.[29] Despite the problems, by the mid 1860s, they had become a more permanent feature on the Daylesford landscape and children's attendance made compulsory. National Schools were replaced by the Common Schools and then, in 1873, the State Schools came into being.[30] Wherever there was a settlement, a school was erected. The greater number and accessibility of schools did not, however, encourage the attendance of the Italian speakers, whose parents needed them at home.

As soon as they were old enough, the majority of Italian-speaking children left school to work full-time on the family farm or business -- often willingly as the extra contribution lifted their status within the home and placed boys on a more even footing with their fathers. While the sons of wealthy squatters could further their education at colleges in Geelong or Melbourne, or at a Gentlemen's Academy opened in Daylesford in the 1860s, few Italian speakers were given such opportunities. Those who worked outside the home were either in unskilled labouring jobs or apprenticeships, most maintaining the employment patterns of their parents in farms, grocery shops and hotels. Only in the third or fourth generation did some achieve tertiary qualifications and professional careers.

At school, the children of the Colony learned reading, writing, arithmetic, fine handwriting and neatness, history and geography. In preparation for their future working lives, in years seven and eight, boys concentrated more upon arithmetic and accounting and girls upon needlework -- skills which the Italian speakers viewed as either irrelevant or as duplication of knowledge gained in the home. The acquisition of good English skills was, however, important to all children, and school was a major factor contributing to attrition of the Italian speakers' mother language. Other factors included the lack of Italian reading matter in the Colony and the tendency for married couples to speak in English where one partner was of Anglo-Celtic origin. Within the Italian-speaking community, the high rate of illiteracy hindered maintenance of their mother tongue, it being mainly passed on to the children in oral rather than written form and hence easily lost in the next generation. When one parent died at an early age, as happened in the Gaggioni home, the tendency was to speak English, the

language which the children brought home from school; some children even gained status with their parents by acting as intermediaries in the general community. And while children like Caterina Rodoni (see next chapter) might have arrived at school unable to speak a word of English -- apart from the few anglicised terms which had entered her vocabulary -- it was not long before most immigrant offspring were using it as their principal language.

Though most Italian speakers attended government rather than Catholic schools during their youth, the traditions and rituals associated with the Church dominated many aspects of their rise to maturity. Family life in northern Italy and Ticino had centred around the Church, its village bells a reminder of people's spiritual duties and its teachings a guide to moral and social behaviour. The Italian speakers trusted in the power of the saints and prayed to them for guidance and protection. They placed their statues and pictures in their homes and observed their feast-days with attendance at Mass and processions.[31] Though the early years on the goldfields had seen many Italian speakers neglect their religious duties (see Scouting), the Church had resumed its important position in the lives of most once families had begun to re-group. It was not, however, the same Church which they had left behind in Europe but one dominated by an authoritarian Irish clergy. The Church in Ireland had undergone considerable change after the famine: many large churches, convents and asylums had been erected and new religious devotions, sodalities and church guilds initiated. The numbers at mass and the sacraments had rocketed, many priests becoming

> determined to weld their parishioners into a solid, loyal phalanx, to
> stamp out any reminders of pre-famine pagan rites, and to crush the last
> vestiges of the relaxed religiosity of an older Ireland.[32]

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It was this new, brash and assertive faith which was brought to Australia, and it alienated many of its Italian-speaking congregation -- although a traditional scepticism of the Church clergy (cf. above p. 147) and political views which conflicted with a Catholic faith were also significant. Apart from a brief period during the 1870s when Frs Ottavio Barsanti and Nicholas Bassetto arrived on the goldfields from Italy (cf. above p. 142), the Italian speakers were mostly denied the comfort of a truly empathetic clergy. Despite several inevitable scenes of conflict (see Morganti and Tomasetti sections), most Italian speakers tolerated the different ways of the Irish clergy and incorporated their own traditions into the expression of their faith. Celebrations associated with *La Festa della Madonna* (feast of the Assumption) or, as it was also known among the immigrants, *Mezzagosto* (mid August), still brought the ethnic community together at various times of the year and many families retained effigies to the saints to watch over their produce. Several Italian speakers assisted as stonemasons on church building sites -- notably St Joseph's at Blampied -- and, as they grew more financially secure, donated land for a church's erection. In the little church of St Bernard at Hepburn, a statue of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart perpetuates the memory of the Rolleri family who were once its loyal parishioners.

Gathering to talk at the end of the weekly Mass and to celebrate saints' feast-days, baptisms, weddings and other ritual occasions, much of the social life of the Italian speakers focused around the Church. Other occasions for socialising, such as the 'pot nights' referred to earlier, related to the immigrants' working calendar. At weekends, games and other sports would be enjoyed, most families owning a *bocce* (Italian bowls) lawn which attracted friends on Sunday afternoons. Though card

games were usually a male-dominated activity, all of these occasions recalled the village *filò* of Europe and were important for the transmission of the immigrants' oral culture and the maintenance of their ethnic identity. *Il filò* in the European setting had offered one of the most important occasions for socialising, it being a gathering together of all the generations of the family -- the elderly patriarch, the sons and their wives, the old wife, the grandchildren -- to complete the day's domestic chores (the women mainly to sew, '*il filò*' meaning 'thread') in a convivial atmosphere at the end of the day.[33] Calling in to join the local gossip which invariably took place, would be various village folk -- young men in search of young women (perhaps bearing some nuts or fruit and carrying a guitar or harmonica to play), a neighbour to ask for help or to offer suggestions for someone ill.[34] *Il filò* was an opportunity to exchange knowledge and tell stories; it was a time for reinforcing the collective memory and placing it in reserve for future generations -- the expressions and gestures, the fact of being together in a particular place at a particular time (usually the barn at night) -- as significant as the stories which were being told (cf. Ong's comment above, p. 11). A similar group based dynamic, which operated to make the children feel a sense of belonging and the adults reassured in this knowledge, existed in Australia with the weekly Mass, festivals and ceremonies, visits to the *osteria* (hotel) and the social occasions which involved one or several families. Members of the English-speaking community, integrated with the Italian speakers through marriage and business, were often present at these social activities, the sharing of food and conviviality again fostering cross-cultural understanding. Daylesford, in the early 1870s, owed much of its social life to the Italian-speaking families who held large dances in their homes and entertained guests with singing and music. Away from their homes, the Italian

speakers often passed their evenings in the hotels and wine bars of their compatriots, where their language and the songs of their native valleys were given free expression. By 1875, Daylesford's active Swiss and Italian Association was also an important focus. During their quieter evenings at home, some Italian speakers carved items from wood, a traditional craft of the alpine regions. A small hand-carved occasional table made by Vincenzo Perini remains the property of his family today.[35]

The essence, as it were, of the Italian-speaking family in Australia was reflected in the style of its home, its striving for self-sufficiency and its maintenance of core values and customs. It was also reflected in its willingness to adapt to the ways of a new country and to participate, over time, in its development. With the case studies of the Vanzetta and Rodoni families in the following chapter, who arrived in Australia in the late 1880s -- thirty years after the majority of their compatriots -- newcomers are seen entering an already well established immigrant community, many of whose members had begun integrating into Australian society. As the chapter also demonstrates, however, Italian speakers still sought security in traditional values and practices, even when arriving at the end of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER TEN : FAMILIES 1888 - 1889

Vanzetta

Rodoni

VANZETTA

On 27 November 1964, Ferdinando Dionigi Vanzetta celebrated his 100th birthday in the Daylesford hospital. He and his brother Osvaldo had arrived in Australia over 70 years earlier, two of only nine Ticinesi to emigrate to the Colony during the 1880s.[1] The decade brought to an end the chain of emigration which had followed the gold rush exodus -- a chain which had united families and reinforced the strength of immigrant communities in Australia and America. Among the last of the immigrants to arrive at Jim Crow, the Vanzettas reaped the benefits of the 'scouting' and 'settling' years during which their compatriots had struggled to make a living. They found well-established, if informal, networks of support and a community bolstered by the strength of its village and kinship ties. Most of the immigrants (including some previously considered in this study) were married and raising large numbers of offspring. They were well established in businesses or supporting families in a 'traditional' life-style which still shared many peasant attributes. The Vanzetta story is interesting in that by this time Italian speakers were entering a community created by their immigrant compatriots: a community adapted to the demands of a foreign culture but clinging to its own language and traditional ways. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was a 'melting-pot' of newly arrived immigrant, well established settler and second generation Italo-Australian -- in short, the Italian-speaking community as it entered the twentieth century .

Ferdinando Vanzetta was born in Biasca in 1864, the eldest of seven boys and one girl, several of whom died at an early age.[2] His father Aquilino was a *contadino*

(peasant farmer) married to Maria Mansueta Fogliani,[3] many of whose family had emigrated to the Australian goldfields. The effects of mass emigration still haunted the people of Ferdinando's village, especially families such as the Vaninas, Delmues and Monighettis (see previous chapters) who had each lost several members. A small number of immigrants had returned to Biasca by the 1860s, and there were few, if any, new departures after this time.[4] By 1870, the year in which Ferdinando celebrated his sixth birthday and his brother Osvaldo was born, the situation in most of Ticino had improved, with no departures that year and the emigration rate in steady decline.[5] The Vanzettas appear to have been reasonably financially secure and the sons, judging by the writing skills which Ferdinando displayed, in receipt of a school education.[6]

The reasons for Ferdinando's and Osvaldo's departure from Biasca in 1883 are, therefore, difficult to ascertain. Both were probably aware, through the stories of repatriates and the letters which had been sent back to friends, of the large Italian-speaking community at Daylesford and the work opportunities which existed there. As no other members of the Vanzetta clan had previously emigrated to Australia, they were not seeking family reunion, nor were they expecting an easy introduction to the workforce through a network of next of kin. They might, however, have hoped that the large number of Biascans living in the Colony (those previously mentioned include Francesco Rossetti, although he was then living in New Zealand, and brothers Andrea and Aquilino Tinetti who owned properties in Hepburn and Shepherds Flat), as well as relatives on their mother's side, would guarantee them work and a short-term place to stay. Perhaps they were just young adventurers, happy to swap a monotonous village existence for an exciting life in a foreign country.

Ferdinando and Osvaldo departed for Australia aboard the *Hohenzollern* in 1888.[7] Ferdinando was 24 years old and his brother eighteen. They travelled overland from Melbourne to Daylesford in a manner more comfortable than the earlier immigrants, there being, by this time, both the Cobb and Co. coach with its regular routes between Melbourne and Daylesford and a train to Bendigo; passengers could alight at Malmsbury and walk the remaining 30 kilometres over roads maintained by the Glenylon Roads Board. This ease and convenience of travel might have reassured the Vanzettas of their decision to emigrate to the Colony, but also distanced them from the earlier struggles of their compatriots. Arriving at Jim Crow, they sought the help of fellow Biascans, residing for a time with the Vanina family in Hepburn. Writing home in June 1889, Ferdinando gave his address as:

> **Ecco la direzione**
> **c/o Mis Vanini Hepburn**
> **via Daylesford Victoria**
> **Australia.**[8]

It was a curious, somewhat clumsy, mixture of Italian and English, suggestive of the short time he had been in Australia. Since (it will be recalled) Carlo Vanina had died in 1877, it was his wife Giuseppa, also from Biasca, who welcomed the boys into her home. Bringing information, and possibly artefacts, from the homeland, the excitement surrounding their arrival is only to be imagined. After 30 years or more in Australia, many immigrants would have viewed the Vanzettas as a fresh link with the homeland -- its language, way of life and values (despite the many changes which must have occurred). In exchange for their news, the young travellers received knowledge and experience of Australia, vital resources for their survival.

As expected, the Vanzettas were able to draw upon the resources of a large Italian speakers' network. They had little difficultly finding work, Ferdinando writing home in June 1889: *'lavoro ho trovato, non soltanto me ma anche gli altri, e subito pochi giorni giunti in Australia'.*[9] Unlike the 'scouts' of the earlier generation, they found people willing to give them work or to direct them to possible sources of employment. Their income appears, however, to have been small and insufficient to enable money to be sent back to their parents, Fernando writing in 1889:

> **Mi rincresce non potervi presentemente soccorrervi, ma sappiate caro padre, che se i nostri interessi vanno bene e che Dio ne abbia a donare sanità, per St. Martino in quello che possiamo, da parte nostra non mancheremo.** [10]

Ferdinando apologised for his failure and suggested that it was only through the intervention of God that the family's financial woes might be overcome. It was a response which was perhaps typical of one with his religious beliefs, indicating, on the face of it, a willingness to place his personal destiny in the hands of a divine force[11] -- though it may also have been no more than the accepted idiom for communicating with one's parents. It is also possible that Ferdinando concealed his true income from his parents in order to avoid the pressure to repatriate; although he expresses the desire to return home, *'ho troppo amore alla mia casa paterna sperando di rivederla ancora un qualche giorno'*, it appears a vague hope rather than pressing need.[12]

At some stage the Vanzettas were attracted to gold mining, a photograph from the period showing Osvaldo with their water battery on Spring Creek at Hepburn.[13] They had either brought sufficient money to Australia to establish such an operation -- another factor distinguishing them from the earlier 'scouts' -- or had earned it since their arrival. Their mining associates, and evidence of the Vanzettas' rapid assimilation

into the immigrant community, included Luigi Rolleri, Jim Scheggia and Carlo's son, Fred Vanina. Working arrangements, as well as marriage, providing opportunities for first and second generation immigrants to come together, the Italian-speaking community was responsive to new ideas and change. Further evidence of the Vanzetta brothers' mining activities and success is provided by Maddicks with: 'Vanzetta's Tunnel comes north under this area also [Hepburn] running west from the foot of 18th Street. They had a water wheel battery of 5 head of stamps'.[14] While mining was to remain a lifelong interest and source of income for Osvaldo, Ferdinando soon substituted this hard and tiring life with an occupation of a different kind.

He had formed the opinion that the best way to succeed in Australia, while avoiding the need for back-breaking work and financial uncertainty, was in a trade.

> **Quello che avrei ancora molto piacere caro padre sarebbe quello di sacrificare qualche cosa e far imparare ai giovani fratelli un qualche mestiere loro adatto, il quale sarà per loro tanto buon pane e latte durante la loro vita. Qui in Australia colui che sa un mestiere si può chiamare felice e fortunato, per quelli che non hanno né arte né mestiere né poca educazione per essi i lavori si presentano più ruvidi e faticosi** [15]

he wrote to his father, expressing the ideas which brief experience in the Colony had taught him. Choosing one of the trades already popular with Italian speakers, and for which there was apparent demand, Ferdinando decided to become a baker. Opening a business in Hepburn (on land where the Righetti store had once stood) some time before 1892, by 1894 he is registered in the Shire of Mount Franklin rates books as the owner of a brick building valued at 36 pounds (ref. figure 11). Fronting on to the main street of Hepburn, with a central front door and double windows either side, its front section provided living quarters and the rear, with an adjoining door, the baking

area. Leading from the bakery, with its large bread ovens, was a corridor where fresh loaves of bread could be displayed to the customers. Off this was the sales room.[16] The living and business areas of the property were thus closely aligned, an arrangement not dissimilar to the peasant homes with which Ferdinando was familiar.

With his bakery in operation, and supposedly a steady income, 1892 was also the year in which Ferdinando chose to marry. His bride, Luisa Scheggia, was the daughter of Ticinese immigrants who lived at Elevated Plains (near Shepherds Flat). Luisa's father had emigrated to Australia from Semione near Biasca in 1858, marrying Margherita Delmue, also an immigrant from Biasca, in 1871.[17] Born one year later, Luisa was the first of their ten children. Her marriage to Ferdinando, which strengthened kinship ties between families from the same region of Ticino, revealed endogamy as a still popular practice among Italian speakers at the end of the nineteenth century. The wedding ceremony, which took place on 2 April 1892 at St Peter's Roman Catholic Church in Daylesford,[18] was a reminder that central to a marriage's success were shared religious beliefs. While it might have been an arranged marriage, Luisa's age at 21 and Ferdinando's at 28 (though his marriage certificate states 24) could suggest that the two had become acquainted during one of the many social occasions attracting Biascans. Luisa's brother Jim, it will be recalled, had been a member of the early Vanzetta mining team. At the time of their marriage Ferdinando, while operating his bakery in Hepburn, had often resided in their home.[19] Their union, like some of the earlier mining arrangements, had thus fostered the development of close emotional bonds between first and second generation immigrants -- pooling recent experience of Ticino with increased knowledge of the Colony.

Giving up her job as a housemaid when she married, Luisa produced her first child Attilio on 17 March 1893. Recording the birth in the family bible,[20] the Italian handwriting and chosen name reflected the immigrants' close links with Ticino: despite the fact that many Italian speakers' names had been anglicised at school and in the work place by the end of the nineteenth century, the Vanzettas clung to this tradition. While it is uncertain where Ferdinando and Luisa were living at this time (the district's rates books for the period having been lost or destroyed) it was probably in the bakery at Hepburn. On 24 October 1894, Luisa produced a second child, Margherita, followed by another son Osvaldo two years later on 14 August 1896; both were again given Italian names, one the namesake of his uncle. The business, by now named the Pioneer Bakery, possibly in an attempt to capture the Anglo-Celtic as well as Italian-speaking market, was the family's chief means of support, supplying breads locally as well as to towns within a 20 (or so) kilometre radius. Making his deliveries twice weekly by horse and cart to areas such as Newstead and Mt Franklin, Ferdinando could maintain contact with other Italian-speaking compatriots; the news he carried to and from Hepburn provided an informal communication network linking immigrant families. Ferdinando also supplied bread to the Daylesford Hospital, his presence on its Board giving him increased contact with the Anglo-Celtic community. Assisting Ferdinando in the bakery, both with labour and financial contributions, was his brother Osvaldo.[21] He lived with Ferdinando's family for a number of years but, by 1896, had acquired land (part of which had once been owned by Giuseppe Righetti) opposite the bakery where he built a home of his own (together valued at ten pounds).[22]

By 1898, the profits of the bakery had enabled Ferdinando to acquire more land, which remained the basic asset for ensuring social as much as financial security.[23] On June 13 of the same year a fourth child, Giovanni, was born to the Vanzettas, his Italian name the last assigned by the family. Louise, born on 9 June 1902 was given the anglicised version or her mother's name, almost as though the new century demanded this as an outward sign of the immigrants' commitment to their adopted home. A final child born on 1 February 1907 was named Frank. Also reflecting his parents' increasing commitment to Australia was the English handwriting which recorded the births in the family bible. In 1901, Ferdinando had been naturalised,[24] after buying more land in Hepburn that year and a block in nearby Bryces Flat in 1903.[25] His land acquisitions not only consolidated his economic future in Australia but also that of his children who, as they married, received allotments upon which to build their homes. The burgeoning tourist industry in Daylesford eventually added to the Vanzettas' prosperity, the Pioneer Bakery supplying breads to guest-houses and associated industries. They increased the living space to their home and established a comfortable and, to all appearances, happy life.[26]

Similar to other Italian speakers, it was the Vanzettas themselves who operated the family business. Ferdinando and Osvaldo were the chief bakers, while the children assisted in minor roles until they were able to accept greater responsibility.[27] As they grew older, the boys assumed control of the delivery cart and the girls (perhaps) the sales. Luisa was responsible for the bookkeeping. The Pioneer Bakery became a focal point of Hepburn, serving not only Italian speakers but many other members of the

community. Entering the sales area through a side door near the family's kitchen and lounge, customers could gain occasional glimpses of the Vanzettas' domestic life -- contradicting or confirming their preconceived notions about Italian speakers.[28] Sign-written with 'Vanzetta Bros.', the family's baker's cart was a familiar sight about the district and a reminder to the locals of the large community of Italian speakers at Hepburn. A popular public relations exercise, but one which perhaps had its origins in a subsistence upbringing and dislike of waste, was Luisa's making of tiny loaves of bread from dough scraps to give hot to the local children. At Christmas time these same children would enjoy watching her bake small fruit cakes which were given to her customers; it was a procedure carried out in her backyard where she stirred fruit and other ingredients together in a large washing tub.[29] These cheaply produced, home-made cakes were a reflection of similar gift-giving practices in Ticino, where items of folk art were all that one could afford to give away.

Though the profits of his bakery had vindicated Ferdinando's decision to emigrate to Australia, economic insecurity remained part of his life. The disastrous bushfires which raged through Hepburn in 1906 (cf. Perini, Gaggioni sections above pp. 195-196, 361) threatened his financial survival. The family suffered considerable losses, the local press reporting:

> Mr F. Vanzetta was a very heavy loser, fourteen years' savings going at one blow. His eight roomed, brick house with bakery, stabling and all necessary outbuildings were consumed, together with 125 bags of flour, 104 tons of firewood, 15 tons of hay, spring-cart and harness, two saddles and bridles, furniture and clothing. The fire came down so suddenly on the premises that all that was saved were three bags of flour, sixteen other bags that were put out on the road being destroyed.[30]

Added to this, one of his children (possibly the three-year-old Luisa) had needed to be dragged from the smoke and flames which engulfed the Vanzetta home. The only comfort after the tragedy had subsided was the rallying together of Italian speakers whose strong kinship and ethnic ties ensured a mutual concern and willingness to offer active support. A fund, which was set up to help the victims, included among its subscribers Luigi Rolleri (one-time mining partner of the Vanzettas) and Battista Righetti of Yandoit.[31] The few Italian speakers contributing to the fund suggests, however, that, despite their many years in Australia, most remained poor and lacking in cash savings. It can be assumed, given the nature of the immigrant community, that many donations would have arrived in kind rather than cash in the form of food, clothing, accommodation and the other requisites of the needy. Some Italian speakers participated in the various fund-raising activities organised by the community, one member or the Zelman family (see Perini section) receiving mention for his efforts in the local press.[32]

The Vanzetta family had insured its property to the value of 260 pounds,[33] which represented less than a third of its losses. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of renovations which took place to the bakery (the rates books for 1907-1910 also having been lost or destroyed), however, the business was back in operation and the family living in its residence by 1911. Along with the buildings, the Vanzettas' assets also included ten hectares of land.[34] Miraculously, Ferdinado's brother Osvaldo had suffered no damage to his home during the fires, nor to his eleven hectares of land. One hectare of steep land leading to the creek behind his home had been planted with grape-vines, this being a source of home-made wine for all the Vanzetta family. The

vines and its produce were a tangible link with Ticino, like their names, a reminder to Ferdinando's children of their ethnic heritage.

Though their father had arrived in Australia 30 years later than most Swiss, and their mother had been born in Australia, the Vanzetta children grew up in an atmosphere combining elements of both Swiss and Anglo-Celtic cultures. Their closest relatives, who included Osvaldo and their maternal grandparents in nearby Elevated Plains, were Italian speakers and they very likely had strong kinship ties with the extended Scheggia family, members of the Fogliani clan (relatives on their paternal grandmother's side) and other members of the Biascan community. Many of their friends were children of Italian speakers. At the same time, the bakery attracted a variety of customers, giving them experience of the English language and the customs or other national groups. At school they learned English but at home heard their father speak Italian. Since the children learned remarkably few words of Italian, however, it might be presumed that their mother, who had attended an Australian school, felt more comfortable with English and it had become the family's first language.[35] Nevertheless the children could not divest themselves of their European appearance, school friend Leila Gaggioni (see Gaggioni section) recalling Louise and Margherita Vanzetta as being 'very Italian looking with straight jet black hair tied well back'.[36] Margherita had, however, anglicised her name to Maggie.

Also reminding the Vanzetta children of their Italian-speaking heritage was the adoption of various traditional practices in the running of their home. Despite apparent financial security, many foods were prepared and stored in a manner typical

of the alpine farmer. Opposite their home the family's cellar stored preserved meats, cheese, vegetables and fruit. They had a large vegetable garden next to their home and, a short distance away, an orchard which was still bearing fruit over one hundred years later. Luisa Vanzetta cooked *risotto* and other meals using recipes handed down by her mother while Ferdinando made up large batches of home-made sausages (including the by then well-established *bullboar*), which were hug to dry in the cellar.[37] Osvaldo supplied their home-made wine, he, no doubt, receiving other consumable goods in exchange. (Osvaldo apparently had less difficulty farming his steep land in Hepburn than he did preventing the local children from stealing his grapes; Leila Gaggioni, and others like her, perhaps learned some interesting Italian words as he endeavoured to shoo them away![38])

The Vanzettas were eager participants in many social occasions organised by Italian speakers, especially the regular 'pot nights' held at the Rodoni (see following section) and similar households. After helping to make *bullboars*, and bringing their contributions of freshly made bread, the Vanzettas would enjoy a meal of freshly boiled *cudeghini*, the sausage traditionally eaten in Ticino. In Australia considered inferior,[39] these sausages were made from the scraps and gristle left over from the *bullboars*; the variety of dialect terms by which they were known -- *cudica* in some households, *la codica* in others -- reflected the number of villages from which the emigrants had come. Ritual events, such as christenings and weddings, provided other opportunities to socialise, and were as significant in bonding the immigrant community at the beginning of the twentieth century as they had been 50 years earlier. Attendance at weekly Mass also brought the Italian speakers into contact with the general

community, especially the predominantly Catholic Irish. Even more multicult:ral were regular Friday night dances held each second week in the Hepburn Assembly Hall or State School.[40] Entirely a local affair, business people brought along items such as of tea, milk and, in the case of the Vanzettas, bread, to donate to the supper. Italian speakers often provided the music, their traditional concertinas, piano-accordions and violins being called upon to play a variety of numbers, including some from the old music halls of Great Britain. A curious mix of Anglo-Celtic and Swiss-Italian cultures, the dances epitomised the ethnic make-up of Hepburn. Vera Howell, a child growing up at the time, recalls her English speaking parents making *bullboars* and pasta dishes, the popular foods of their friends.[41]

Vera Howell's recollection suggests that, by the early twentieth century, the Italian speakers were well integrated into the Anglo-Celtic community. Participating on local councils or supporting various public associations with their time and labour, they had earned a respect as hard working and honest. When the time came for Ferdinando to seek similar roles (his bakery having proven sufficiently prosperous to allow leisure time), he was readily accepted on to the Daylesford Hospital Board and the council of the Glenylon Shire (of which he would at one time serve as president).[42] He was also an honorary Justice of the Peace, another semi-official role which symbolised the drift from peasant roots, and a member of the Hepburn Water Trust, a body he served for 40 years.[43] He became one of the oldest members of the I.O.O.F., serving for 73 years.[44] While his children were students at the Hepburn State School his active involvement in its Parents' Association reflected the respect for institutionalised learning which had grown with his years in Australia.

As the century progressed and the Vanzetta children grew older, they retained close employment links with the family. Attilio who, at ten years of age in 1913 had been a registered baker and owner of two lots of land valued at eight pounds, was among its chief operators.[45] His name, despite Italian speakers having lived in Victoria for over 60 years, was recorded in the local rates books as Tiglio, the Anglo-Celtic record keepers still apparently struggling with the strange names of 'foreigners'. Reflecting commonly held attitudes about acknowledging the abilities and efforts of women, his mother Luisa's contribution to the bakery was overlooked in the official records with her being listed simply as a housewife. Although Attilio, as the eldest son, had possibly been destined to inherit the business on his father's death, this was prevented when his life was cut short by a farming accident. [46]

His sister Margherita was also given land by her parents (five hectares but with the same eight pound value),[47] possibly as a wedding gift prior to her marriage to Italian speaker Bernard Ploza in 1924. When her brother Frank wed Maddelaine Sartori in March 1934, it was another example of Italian speakers inter-marrying into the twentieth century. Ferdinando built a home opposite his bakery for Margherita and her husband, its proximity to his own residence a translation of the traditional family estate (see also Vanina section). Frank, who also owned a house nearby, remained in the family business for many years, although a family argument eventually led to his departure. The other children both married English speakers, Osvaldo becoming the husband of Myrtle Evans on 1 March 1932 and Louise the wife of George Gillespie in

1949. Remaining in Hepburn, Osvaldo and Frank worked in the family bakery, the Gillespies settling in a weatherboard house also built for them by Ferdinando.[48]

It must have been with some sadness that this close and loving family saw the death of Osvaldo in 1943.[49] Seventy three years old and unmarried, he had been naturalised in 1927 (possibly in order to receive a government pension), having spent a lifetime working with his brother in the bakery. Like Ferdinando, he had been a member of the I.O.O.F. Nine years later, in 1952, Luisa died of a stroke on the eve of her husband's 88th birthday and only a few weeks short of their diamond wedding anniversary. Louise assumed care of her elderly father, although he remained a fit and active man well into his 90s. Long after retirement age, he continued to work in the bakery and to actively participate in the many clubs with which he had been associated. With Louise's help, he was able to remain in his own home until his 99th year, enjoying the company of friends and kin who called to visit.[50] A business register, which records the bakery's operations for the 1940s,[51] indicates that the sons Frank and Osvaldo and son-in-law George ran the business. Italian speakers continued to number among their clients: C. Vanina, W. Perini, C. Rodoni, E. Tinetti, J. Scheggia, C. Sartori and C. Gervasoni were among their regular customers. Unlike the Perini register for the 1860s (cf. p. 187) all payments were recorded in cash, which might indicate that the immigrants had by then achieved financial security and had reduced their reliance on practices such as bartering.

By 1963, as he was approaching his 100th birthday, Ferdinando was in need of constant nursing care and was moved to the Daylesford Hospital. Bedridden, and

forgetful at times, he was still able to enjoy the company of friends as well as meals which included an occasional customary glass of wine. There were great celebrations on the day of his 100th birthday, articles in the local press even recording the important event. The *Daylesford Mercury and Express,* recounted interesting details from his life with:

> He (Ferdinando) was one of the hospital's most active committee of management members. He served on the committee for more than 50 years and did not retire until his 93rd birthday. He has collected many hundreds of pounds for the hospital each year, holds its highest life membership certificate and was recognised by the Queen for services in 1952.[52]

Ferdinando received letters and telegrams from Queen Elizabeth II, the Governor General, the Governor of Victoria, the Prime Minister, the Premier and the Federal and State Members of Parliament for the district: together they reflected British and Australian pride in this Italian-speaking citizen. Recognising his dual citizenship, however, were similar letters from the Swiss Consul and the Swiss Embassy. With these official congratulations for the great age he had achieved, Ferdinando also received many letters from his friends and relatives in Switzerland and Italy.[53] His family in Biasca sent a large commemorative plaque which listed the names of all the family members. The wording '*dedicano nella festosa ricorrenza del suo 100 compleanno questo omaggio a ricordo dei parenti rimasti in Patria',* [54] was a reminder of his still close ties with Ticino. Nor had he been forgotten by the many compatriots living in America and other Australian states who sent congratulatory messages. Along with several small parties held in various Vanzetta homes in the days surrounding his birthday, a commemorative cypress[55] tree was planted at his bakery. Ferdinando remained a deeply religious man throughout his life, saying the prayers he had been taught in Italian right up until his death four weeks before his 101st birthday.

After his death, the bakery remained in the hands of his sons with Osvaldo occupying the residence. Most of Ferdinando's children and over 28 great grandchildren continued to live in the Hepburn district for many years, keeping alive the memory of the Vanzetta name.[56] The old bakery, though no longer operational, stands as a Hepburn landmark, recalling a family who, through most of those past 100 years, helped maintain the culture and traditions of the Italian speakers. Also maintaining their ethnic and cultural ties well into the twentieth century were members of the Rodoni family, whose story concludes this chapter and the study of these fifteen families.

RODONI

Isidoro Rodoni, like his cousin Ferdinando Vanzetta, was born in 1864 in the village of Biasca. Raised in a large dairying family, he grew up with stories of the Ticinese exodus to the Colony and the suffering of his village community. During the 1850s several of his brothers had emigrated to Canada, while other members of the extended Rodoni clan had gone to Australia: Gabriele Rodoni in 1855, Giuseppe Rodoni in 1858 and Pietro Rodoni in 1861.[1] While it appears the Rodoni family suffered considerable financial hardship during this period, it was not until some decades later that Isidoro decided to emigrate. He had perhaps given little thought to his compatriots in Australia as he grew up, spending his time, like most children of peasant families, helping about the family farm and performing, with his remaining brothers and sisters, the many tasks associated with a dairy farm. One of his many responsibilities had been to drive the cattle up into the mountains for grazing during the summer months, this giving him early knowledge of and skill with a dairy herd.[2] Thoughts of emigration may only have emerged in 1887 when Carlo Rodoni, another member of his extended family, departed for the Colony and his cousins the Vanzettas began making similar plans.[3] When, finally, Isidoro did decide to emigrate from his village it was not to Australia that he headed, but to England, seeking adventure in a land from which he could quickly and easily return. He later transferred to Australia where his experiences, like those of the Vanzettas, reinforce the notion that a distinct and recognisable Italian-speaking community existed at Daylesford and remained strong into the twentieth century.

Upon his arrival in England, Isidoro worked for two years in a London grocery shop. In 1889, when he was 25 years old and one year after the Vanzettas had departed for Jim Crow, he boarded the *Holdenburg* bound for Australia.[4] He went directly to Jim Crow where he was greeted by his Biascan compatriots and given accommodation in the home of Giuseppa Vanina. Like most new arrivals, he sought work in the goldfields, finding employment at Franklinford and possibly with the Vanzettas on their water battery on Spring Creek. He later worked on mines, such as the Golden Spring at Womens Gully outside Daylesford as a woodcutter, this still being a popular occupation among Italian speakers. The deep underground mines of Daylesford were large consumers of timber and the supply to mines a major industry. In a single twelve month period, the Band of Hope mine in Ballarat, for example, consumed '65,000 props, 360,000 laths, 500,000 feet of other sawn timber and 2,600 tonnes of fire wood' to generate steam power.[5] While the bulk of timber to line the underground shafts and tunnels was supplied by large sawmills, single splitters, working in two or three-man teams to fell the logs, cut them to required lengths with a cross-saw and split the lengths by hand with wedges and splitting knives to make props, laths or roofing shingles, were an important source of labour. Isidoro would have been assisted into the industry with the help of his compatriots, benefiting from their years of experience and familiarity with Australia.

Isidoro worked in a variety of occupations before settling into his familiar occupation as a dairy farmer. This decision may have coincided with his marriage in 1891 to Caterina Adelina Tinetti, the daughter of an Italian-speaking couple living at nearby Shepherds Flat.[6] It will be recalled (see Milesi section) that Caterina's father

Aquilino Tinetti had arrived in Australia in 1860, built himself a stone cottage and set to farming the land. He had returned to his home village of Biasca to marry Maria Virginia Capriroli and bring her back to Australia. By 1891, two years after Isidoro's arrival in Australia, the Tinettis had produced twelve of their thirteen children, two of whom later married into the Milesi clan. Nor was the marriage between Isidoro and Caterina the first to unite the Rodoni and Tinetti clans: in Ticino a number of marriages had taken place in different branches of the family, including that of Aquilino's brother Andrea with Maria Caterina Rodoni in 1856 and Pietro Rodoni (see above) with Eufemia Tinetti (Andrea and Maria Caterina's daughter) in Australia in 1873.[6] The marriage between Isidoro and Caterina might, therefore, have been arranged and one of the reasons for his transfer from England. The second eldest child in her family, Caterina was eighteen years old at the time of her marriage to 27 year old Isidoro.

In what was an unusual arrangement among peasant folk, Aquilino Tinetti and his family vacated their stone cottage at Shepherds Flat to make way for the newly-weds. Moving to a house a short distance away, they left the Rodonis to occupy their stone and clay home with barn, dairy and well. The home had originally been built on the banks of the Jim Crow Creek but, after the waterway had been diverted to one side during the mining years, it was reached by crossing a bridge over the creek.[8] A facility with stone (Biasca being noted for its indestructible building materials of gneiss and granite) was evident in Aquilino's stonework at Shepherds Flat, the home's original section -- a single room with cellar -- being a random-rubble assemblage of large sandstones and riverstone. Though dry-stoning was the method

commonly adopted in Biasca, Aquilino had taken advantage of the local resources (the profusion of creeks around Jim Crow) and used a mud mortar.[9] Similar to the peasant-style homes of his compatriots,[10] and those which were being built by the Italian speakers in Australia, Aquilino's house was evidence of the enormous variety of techniques used and solutions sought in the building process. After his wife's arrival from Ticino, he had added a second room to his home built from scrap bricks and rubble. The cellar was later extended and a room (coined by the family the 'long room' and used for dances and parties) built upon it.[11] The floors of the house comprised long logs covered with fifteen centimetres of dirt and stone over which were placed red box planks. The interior walls were 46 centimetres thick with a fireplace in each room and there was a timber shingle roof.[12]

The cellar, which was divided into three rooms, stored the family's dairy products, meat, fruit, wine and other food-stuffs produced on the farm. A large Swiss-style barn, built from clay and stone with a gable roof, attic and cobblestone floor, stabled the cattle during the winter months -- a Swiss tradition maintained by the family.[13] A small stone dairy, the entrance of which was supported by tree trunks and which had foundations reaching several centimetres into the soil, was situated close to the house. Both the barn and the dairy walls were inscribed with family names: on a wall of the barn the name F. Tinetti and the date 1889 probably referred to the then thirteen year old Ferdinando, and the name Kate on a wall of the dairy to his sister Caterina (her name having been anglicised from an early age).[14] Into the thick, coarsely stoned walls of the dairy, Chinese coins were also embedded -- curios probably found by Aquilino while mining[15] -- their appearance in the stonework of

Italian speakers providing unusual testimony of the multicultural nature of the colonial goldfields .

Caterina gave birth to her first child in the Tinetti house in 1892, naming her Ellen Adelaide Virginia. A second child, born in 1894 and named Caterina Angelica, suggested Antonio's divided sense of national allegiance -- a characteristic of the relatively brief time he had spent in Australia. In 1897 the Rodonis moved out of the Tinetti house and into a small wooden home of their own in nearby Elevated Plains. Sited on a hill near Mt Franklin, on the main road to Castlemaine, the home's accompanying ten hectares of farming land suggest the family enjoyed reasonable financial security.[16] Elevated Plains attracted a number of members of the Biascan community -- Pietro Rodoni had dairy farmed there for a time before moving to Deep Creek -- the clustering of village communities still being evident at the end of the nineteenth century. Despite their apparent economic stability, the Rodonis maintained a peasant life-style with the accent on self-sufficiency. Crops, vegetables, fruit, herbs (thyme, rosemary, marjoram) and almond trees were planted in the rich volcanic soils surrounding their home, the creek-flats and gently undulating paddocks being supplied with water from the nearby creek.[17] Cypress trees were planted to recall the European landscape. Along with his dairy herd Isidoro kept a few sheep,[18] this break with traditional farming practice signifying his (and probably other Italian speakers') gradual integration into a more distinctly 'Australian' culture.

In 1896, Caterina gave birth to a son, whom she named Charles Peter. Again, responding to a call for increased living space, Isidoro extended the family home to

almost twice its size. He also drew upon the carpentering skills common to many of the Italian-speaking immigrants to built a number of useful furniture items, including a handmade dresser, some simple chairs and a wooden sofa with a covered seat.[19] Caterina bore a further eight children at Elevated Plains, their names having a mixture of Italian and Anglo-Celtic forms. Marina was born in 1897, Albert in 1902 (who survived only eighteen months) and Jack some time later. In 1903 or 1904, when Caterina was pregnant with her sixth child, Isidoro returned to Biasca[20] to visit his ageing parents (again indicative of the family's economic stability). It was almost 20 years since they had been together. During his absence Caterina gave birth to another daughter (1904), whom she named Amelia Myrtle. Four more children, Frank, Plinny, Alan and Andrew, were born after Isidoro's return, bringing the number of living offspring to nine. The younger children attended the local Hepburn school and the older ones, Ellen, Caterina (Katie) and Charlie, the school at Shepherds Flat.[21] Leila Gaggioni (see Gaggioni section), who also attended the Hepburn school, was able in her old age to recall the Rodoni children, especially Marina, with whom she shared the same birthdate. Describing her as 'a fat little thing [who] used to give me a hiding', it seems that no love was lost between these two second generation immigrants.[22]

The immigrant community in the early twentieth century was, nevertheless, still a distinct cultural unit retaining significant vestiges of its own language and traditional ways. When Caterina, the Rodonis' second eldest daughter, enrolled for school at age six, she was (reportedly) unable to speak a word of English.[23] Her parents, despite Caterina having attended an Australian school, conversed in their Biascan dialect and it was only later, when Isidoro felt confident with English, that it became the language of

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the younger children.[24] Like the Vanzetta offspring, the Rodonis grew up against a familiar, but often incomprehensible, background of Italian words. Within their home, the Rodonis maintained a traditional peasant labour structure, encouraging the children from an early age to be involved in the running of the farm. The Rodonis' land holdings were eventually increased to around 80 hectares, Isidoro, following his naturalisation in 1908,[25] buying up allotments of Crown or cheaply priced land whenever they came on the market.[26] Like many of his compatriots, he consolidated his economic future in land.

Some of the Rodoni land holdings were planted with grape-vines to provide the family's wine supply. An anecdote, which has been passed down through each generation of the Rodoni family, recalls how the younger sons Plinny and Frank were once found lying drunk in the sun after having 'sampled' the home brew in the cellar. Such an enormous row is meant to have erupted that no more wine was produced by the family after this date.[27] While the boys' action had certainly offended the moral propriety of the family, it might also have threatened its economic survival; theft from the cellar, the traditional subsistence life-support, was considered by the family a serious and punishable offence.[28]

Food or other items which the Rodoni property could not supply from their farm were sometimes acquired from Perinis' store and bakery in Spring Creek (see Perini section). Despite their apparent financial security, goods, such as wine, sausages and hay, were paid for partly in labour, Isidoro spending a day or a half day carting wood for Perini or in performing some other useful task; one day's labour

equalled eleven shillings and a half day six shillings.[29] This practice was followed by a number of Italian speakers, suggesting the bartering tradition was maintained into the early twentieth century as much through tradition as economic need. Isidoro may also have traded his home-made cheeses (which were placed to mature in a tunnel on the western bank of the creek at Hepburn)[30] or the *bullboar* sausages for which the Rodoni family was famous.[31] The Rodonis used only the best cuts of pork and beef in their *bullboars*, leaving the poorer quality meats for traditional *cudeghini* -- referred to in the Rodoni household as *cordic*.[32] Like other families, the Rodonis' sausages (according to a family recipe) combined a delicate blend of beef, pork, wine, garlic, spices, white, black and red pepper and salt. Connoisseurs were said to have been able to identify the produce of different families by holding a thin slice up to the light, announcing with confidence, 'this is by Rodoni', or 'this is by Lucini'.[33]

The making of *bullboars* provided the Rodoni family, not only with an important source of protein, but also with an opportunity for socialising. It was not uncommon for Isidoro to invite several families to his home for a traditional 'pot night', including among them members of the English-speaking community. He would send out word whenever he was preparing to make a batch of '*salsicce*' (sausages), inviting people to a meal of simple peasant fare, Italian music and dance.[34] Prior to the festivities, the *bullboar*-making would have begun with the killing of the animals at 'sunup' some days earlier. Two pigs and a couple of steers would have been slaughtered, their throats cut and the blood allowed to slowly drain away (a practice, as noted in earlier chapters, thought to enhance the flavour of the meat). The Rodonis usually considered the pigs ready for eating at eight months of age or when they

weighed 140 to 180 kilogrammes, a size achieved rapidly through a diet of milk and maize. After the butchering process had been completed and the meat cleaned and prepared, it would be laid out for cutting, the family gathering around a large trestle table upon which a mountain of meat -- well over a quarter of a tonne of pork and beef -- had been heaped. The pork would be cut into small uniform pieces then mixed, kneaded and turned. The pork fat (but not the beef) would be cut to squares about one centimetre thick and distributed evenly throughout the mixture. The tougher parts of the meat would be put aside as seconds or as soup flavouring.[35]

In the big open fireplace measuring four metres across, and constructed from large stones from a nearby creek, the cooking of the *bullboars* would begin in the Rodoni home.[36] A huge pot, in which about nine litres of wine were simmering, would be suspended by chains over the fire. A bucketful of garlic would be pounded and crushed (usually by Marina) then wrapped in a calico bag and hung in the pot. In this way, the garlic essences would be extracted to mix with the hot wine and distributed throughout the meat. Not all the wine would go into the pot during the day, some being drunk by the busy workers. Great care was taken to mix the ingredients well so that the finished product was uniform in flavour. The mixture was ready for piping into the sausage cases once the wine and all the other ingredients had been added; while the mixture was cooking, the 'runners' to hold the sausage meat would be prepared by being soaked and salted. To pipe the meat into the cases, the family used a commercially-produced sausage-making machine, the only mechanical device used in the production process.[37]

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A huge lump of sausage mixture would be dropped into the machine, a 'runner' fed to the spout, the handle turned and the sausage would take on the form of a long, wet snake. Made into various sizes, some would be small *(salametti)*, others about thirteen centimetres in circumference and the largest holding up to seven kilogrammes of meat and taking six months to mature. As the meat had to be uniformly and firmly packed into the skin, everyone would poke and prod it until it was the right shape. It was important to avoid air pockets as these could spoil the whole batch. A third person would expertly string the sausages, looping the twine and pulling it tightly every 30 centimetres or so along. The sausages would then be cut into strings about two metres long and temporarily hung on hooks from rafters which eventually became covered in sausages. Up to 90 per cent of the batch would be hung for maturing, during the process losing about one third or its weight. The meat had at first to be monitored but after a few days could be removed to the cellar where the air had free circulation. This stage was also important since meat which did not set properly could go mouldy. If, on the other hand, it set too quickly, it could become tough and inedible. Sometimes the Rodonis would remove and return the sausages -- the whole quarter tonne -- to the cellar a dozen times before the right setting action had begun. This was indicated by the skins losing their moisture, the meat remaining soft but firm, with the salt beginning to emerge in a fine white encrustation. Once the 'set' had taken place, the sausages would be left in the dark cellar, needing no further attention. In some cases, the sausages would hang for up to three years before they were eaten.[38]

From the time the meat had been laid on the table until it was hanging from the rafters, several hours would have elapsed -- hours which served to cement family and

social bonds. A small proportion of raw or 'green' sausages would have been set aside

to be boiled, fried or grilled during that evening's 'pot night'. Despite their day's hard

labour, the Rodoni family would find the energy to scrub down the tables, clean and

scald the sausage machine and begin the evening meal. A huge log fire would be lit

and some of the sausages placed in a big iron pot to cook for approximately twelve

minutes. Other dishes prepared would include bowls of minestrone soup and plates of

spaghetti accompanied by thick crusty bread (perhaps donated by their regular guests

the Vanzettas), a few crisp lettuces and radishes taken from the garden and

home-made wine. After the meal, the furniture would be pushed to one side, making

space for the evening's festivities. Marina would play the piano-accordion,

accompanied by another Italian speaker on the violin and everyone would dance.

Sometimes Ferdinando Vanzetta would entertain the gathering with old Swiss songs,

encouraging everyone including the English speakers who struggled with the foreign

pronunciation, to join in the chorus.[39] Andre, the youngest Rodoni son, years later was

still able to recall these songs and, though never having been able to understand their

words, felt they celebrated happier times back in Switzerland.[40] Other musical

numbers which might have been heard during the evening included 'Una Sera a

Settembre' (One Evening in September) and the music from Leoncavallo's opera

Pagliacci, of which Isidoro was especially fond.[41] Playing his piano-accordion at the

local dances, Andrew also brought the music of his ethnic group to the ears of the

general community.[42] Towards the end of the Rodoni 'pot night' Emilia would make

wine-flips, vigorously beating a dozen eggs in a huge earthenware bowl with a few

spoonfuls of sugar, two litres of sherry and a dash of nutmeg. While Pliny and Frank's

drinking incident perhaps prevented the children sharing in this ritual, they would later

join in as everyone toasted bread over the fire to eat with thick wedges of Isidoro's home-made cheese. The Rodoni 'pot nights', which often concluded with shouts of *addio, viva* and *buonanotte*, were thus occasions bringing Italian and English speakers together and providing opportunities for cultural exchange.

It was by all reports a happy life for the Rodoni family, Isidoro supplementing the family income with contract work as an assistant road maker for the shire council.[42] As he and Caterina grew older, they moved out of their home at Elevated Plains and into a cottage at the north end of Hepburn. They leased their home to their son Charlie, who also inherited the family money and property after Isidoro's death in 1952. Most of the Rodoni children remained in the district after both their parents had died, Charlie and his sister Caterina living at Elevated Plains and Andrew moving only a short distance away to Basalt. Amelia settled in Daylesford (where she was still living in the 1890s) while other siblings moved to Muskvale.[44] The Tinetti property at Shepherds Flat, which the Rodonis had occupied in the early years of their marriage, remained in the hands of the Tinetti family until 1936. In later years it was converted to a lavender farm, the new owner, Carol White, naming it *Lavandula* 'because it sounded Italian'.[45]

The Rodoni story concludes this history of fifteen Italian-speaking families who settled in Victoria during the colonial period. Together the stories paint a vivid picture of Italian-speaking settlement over more than a century. The interwoven thematic chapters, which deal with the reasons for the immigrants' departure from their homelands, the journey to the goldfields, the early 'scouting' and more settled

'farming' years and the establishment of their homes and family life, draw together the thread of these lives and present an overview of the Italian speakers' immigrant experience in colonial Daylesford. All that remains now in the final chapter 'Looking Back and Looking Forward' is to place this experience in the context of Australia's broader immigration history and to consider its significance in the light of the nation's present and future policy-making direction.

The history of the Tinetti property -- established by the Tinettis after their journey out in the 1860s, home to the Rodonis after their marriage in the 1890s, and eventually sold to the Whites who named it *Lavandula* 'because it sounded Italian' -- captures many of the key elements of the history of the Italian-speaking settlement in the Daylesford area. In the absence of so many written records, what has been passed down in family memory provides, like the property itself, insights into the Italian speakers' experience of departure from their homelands, journey to the goldfields, early 'scouting' and more settled 'farming' activities, and establishment of homes and family life. Tenuous, but also tenacious links with the past, such memories (again, like the land) testify to the contribution of Daylesford's Italian-speaking community to the creation of new multicultural ways of life, where 'traditional' practices and ideas assumed new significance and meaning in the light of new contexts. At the same time, the appropriation of elements of the history and cultural heritage of incoming groups served to enrich and expand these 'Australian' contexts. As the following, final chapter indicates, the history of Daylesford's Italian-speaking settlers is not without significance in terms of Australia's immigration history and the nation's multicultural future.

CHAPTER ELEVEN : LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

The major settlement of Daylesford's two to two and a half thousand Italian
speakers occurred, as discussed earlier, over a period of a few years and was mainly
restricted to the geographical area surrounding the Jim Crow mines. The earliest
settlers clustered around the mines in small communities, seeking emotional and
physical support. With each new arrival, the communities grew larger and stronger and
networks were established to assist in finding work and lodgings. A strong sense of
inter-dependency developed among the men, the main barrier into the Anglo-Celtic
world being their lack of English skills, a poor understanding of the workings of British
law and few contacts in the world of 'officialdom'. Apprehensions about success were
resolved in the way they knew best -- banding together and forming communities
independent of the dominant Anglo-Australian society. Over time, these communities
became more permanent and, with the resumption of family life, more fully able to
nurture the language and culture of the ethnic community. This is not to deny,
however, the Italian speakers' willingness to integrate into Australian society, and this
concluding section, which looks back over the lives of the fifteen Italian-speaking
families, their friends and associates who emigrated to Victoria in the second half of
the nineteenth century, creates a picture of a people who struggled to preserve
language, cultural traditions and life-styles while still adapting to the needs and
demands of a new environment and society. By tracing in broad outline the experiences
of later waves of Italian immigrants to Australia, it notes the particular influence of the
Italians as a distinct ethnic group while at the same time suggesting the universality of
immigrant behaviour and the processes which lead to integration into a foreign

community. It demonstrates how the Italian speakers of colonial Daylesford helped shape the attitudes and values of early Australians, creating a momentum which would be carried forward by other immigrant groups to pave the way toward a multicultural future.

As argued throughout this thesis, the attitudes and values which they help create represented a unique convergence of 'traditional' cultural frameworks and the new contexts of the Australian location. Even the most self-consciously 'traditional' cultural expressions were transformed by the new contexts, in terms of which meaning was redefined by new points of reference. As this study has shown, negotiating identity in rapidly-changing contexts was both a negative and a positive experience for the Italian speakers, whose taken-for-granted world was subjected to new pressures and doubts. The new forms of identity which emerged in the process did not necessarily contradict earlier identities. Rather they added to what Homi Bhabha has called the repertoire of 'positions of enunciation'[1] available to the (former) Ticinesi. As this study has shown, the newly available positions did not sever old positions so much as transform them and give them a new significance (occasionally a new-found reverence) in the Australian contexts.

The transformation began with the decision to leave their home villages. Following the land and sea journey from their villages, which for many had been a rite of passage to their future lives as immigrants, the Italian speakers drew upon village and family links to assist them in finding work and a place to live. Newcomers were met by relatives or friends as they stepped off the boats at Melbourne -- recall

Alessandro Brocchi's defence of his compatriots against the shipping companies (cf. above p. 103) -- and given the help and advice which they so desperately needed. In some cases Italian speakers arrived in Melbourne to take up jobs which had been pre-arranged by friends or family, or were invited to join mining parties heading to the Jim Crow goldfields. Celestino Righetti from Someo wrote glowing letters to his home of the aid rendered to arriving compatriots (cf. above p. 206) -- aid which he found essential due to the lack of government and Church aid at that time. Despite this, a number of immigrants were disappointed with the lack of work opportunities in the Colony and soon regretted their decision to leave their homelands. Their early weeks and months in Australia were marred by a sense of disillusionment; a perception that they had been deceived by the travel agents and shipping companies (who had promised them work) and mistreated by the ship's crew during the journey. This sense of disillusionment, however, was tempered by a determination to succeed, and out of these two factors the process of transformation towards a new, hybrid identity took root.

Seeking the support of compatriots, the Italian speakers -- as in California[2] -- headed to the areas where they knew other Italian speakers would be and where they could expect to find temporary accommodation with friends. Clustering in this way, only few Ticinesi or northern Italians settled at Ballarat or Clunes, where substantial gold finds had also been made. Reaching Jim Crow, some of the men set up temporary shelters and began mining for gold in small partnerships of two or three, the composition of the groups usually being determined by the men's common debt. The sharing of food, accommodation and moral support bonded the immigrants, increasing

their sense of inter-dependence and trust. At night, they would cluster around the campfire to discuss the day's events and talk of life back home. Isolated -- like the Chinese or Germans -- from others in the Australian community by their lack of English skills, Italian became the force to drive them closer together; and, since most were illiterate, it found its richest expression in oral form. The letters which arrived from the homeland were treasures to be savoured by the few who could read, the high levels of illiteracy increasing the dependency of some men upon others. Since, without someone to read and write their letters, the immigrants were cut off from their families in Europe, it was a skill which interfered with their traditional power structure: no longer based solely on age, sex or farming skill, it was now centred upon their level of education. There thus emerged from within the immigrant population 'informal leaders' -- people whose skills were necessary for the immigrants' survival in Australia. And since most Italian speakers spoke the dialect of their particular region, they lent most heavily on the members of their extended family or close personal associates, further strengthening kin and village ties, at the same time as new patterns of leadership were emerging.

Italian was not only a bonding force among the Italian speakers but also an outward expression of their ethnicity on the goldfields. Having brought few ornaments, art works, books or household items with them from Europe, they had only tenuous material links with the homeland. Pietro Gaggioni had carried a cow-horn with him from his village of Gordevio but, only used many years later to call him from his mine, it lost much of its cultural significance (cf. above p. 358). The Italian speakers were also constrained in how far they could express their ethnic ties through their culinary

habits in that period on the goldfields -- and sharing the experiences of other Australian miners would have encouraged the process of integration. Most difficult of all for the Italian speakers in maintaining a 'traditional' way of life was the lack of female companionship -- their wives, mothers, sisters, daughters -- which enabled them to perform familiar family and kin-based social roles. All this was largely denied them in the male-dominated world of the goldfields.

The lack of female companionship had serious consequences for many immigrants in the Colony but, for the Italian speakers, it meant alienation from the rules which govern village life. As immigrants they assumed new moral codes and behaviours more in keeping with the harsh and competitive goldfields' existence. Like many miners, some squandered their money on alcohol or the services of prostitutes. Some were unfaithful to their wives and eventually entered into bigamous marriages. The strange surrounds, the harsh and exhausting working day, the disappointment and the financial insecurity all combined to challenge long-held beliefs and values. Despite this, many Italian speakers remained close to their families and sought to assert their authority through their letters: Domenico Respini wrote to his wife from Cevio expressing concern for his daughters' moral development (cf. above p. 235). Others sought the family's approval for deeds committed on the goldfields or voiced complaints about the dishonest actions of others. Knowing that such individuals would be criticised back in the village -- as the Pozzis would have known with their disparaging remarks about the Righettis (cf. above pp. 208-209) -- they reasserted their links with the homeland. At the same time, dishonest or excessively greedy

behaviour of some Italian speakers undermined the trust of their compat.iots and served to further weaken ethnic identification.

The moral decline among Italian speakers (as was the case for many immigrants to Australia) was partly attributable to their isolation from structured religious life: the Catholic rules and rituals which normally governed the pattern of their daily lives. The difficulty most faced in attending church services, or in receiving sacraments such as confession, resulted in a general apathy vis-à-vis the Church (although, it was also noted that many Italian speakers possessed a tradtional scepticism of the Church clergy or had arrived in Australia with political views which conflicted with a Catholic faith). Alessandro Pozzi noted in a letter to his home how few compatriots were willing to travel all the way to Melbourne to attend Mass (cf. above p. 244). There were no Italian-speaking priests on the goldfields and only Irish clergy, whose approach to Catholicism alienated many of the Italian speakers. Unlike the Irish Catholics, who adopted harsh and introspective devotional practices, the southern Europeans practised their faith more as an expression of community values, concepts and symbols. Like the Irish, Italians prayed to the saints for help -- as did the boatload of travellers on the *H. Ludwina* (cf. above p. 83) -- but unlike the Irish, the Italian speakers found more social outlets for their devotion in the form of religious celebrations and parades. Faced with a domineering Irish clergy, who did little to alleviate the misery of the goldfields, the Italian speakers only grew more resolved to hasten their return to their homes and families.

Working on the goldfields as miners or labourers, the Italian speakers became more aware of the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups, especially the Anglo-Celts. Within a short space of time they had adopted various anglicisms into their own language, predominantly words and phrases -- *clem* (claim), *ciansarla* (to chance it) and *prospetto* (prospect) -- which related to their experiences as miners (cf. above p. 246). Ethnic conflicts, where they occurred, centred chiefly around events on the goldfields and the tensions involved in the search for gold. Among the Ticinesi and northern Italians were few reported incidents of racism, apart from some complaints that Englishmen favoured their own as workers. The general mood of the goldfields was peaceful and, among the Italian speakers, there was little reported incidence of serious crime. As a group, they were considered hard working and amicable. In contrast, the Chinese at Jim Crow, like their compatriots elsewhere, suffered victimisation for having the misfortune of 'looking different'; but, despite the animosity shown toward them by most ethnic groups, the Chinese were regularly visited in their camps by Europeans seeking the entertainments of their hotels and gambling dens. Here, where weekends took on a carnival atmosphere, were early signs of an emerging multicultural Australia.

Despite the pleasures for some of gambling and excessive drinking, most Italian speakers longed to be reunited with their families. Their lives were hard and lonely and lacked the comfort of female companionship. Once they began to doubt the wisdom of their journey, and accepted the impossibility of return to their homes, they requested their wives and children to join them in Australia or, if single, decided to marry. The successive land acts of the 1860s enabled the purchase of small allotments at

reasonable rates and the possibility of building a family home. Selecting their land in and around the towns of Daylesford, Spring Creek, Hepburn, Yandoit, Eganstown and Blampied, the Italian speakers clustered in groups determined by their kinship and village ties -- translating the familiar environment of their homes in Europe. Several branches of the Gervasoni family settled at Yandoit, families from the region of Someo settled around Blampied, and many of those from Biasca settled at Hepburn. Often these communities were shared with English or Irish immigrants, the struggle to establish a home and raise a family, a common bond. These settlements gave a more permanent face to the emerging multicultural Australia.

With the arrival of women from northern Italy and Ticino, the immigrants re-established links with the homeland. Wives brought fresh and detailed news of friends and family, often carried artefacts and utensils from the home and, through their presence, allowed the re-establishment of family roles and patterns of living. The many years of separation (seven in the case of Carlo and Giuseppa Vanina) brought, however, its own problems with husbands and wives having to readjust to again being together. While the men had been leading largely unstructured, 'vagabond' existences, from which they had now to withdraw, the women, left alone in their villages, had taken on new roles and responsibilities -- some of which they were now reluctantly having to surrender. Portrayal of the suffering of the Ticinesi and northern Italian women who emigrated to Australia during the 1860s has been largely ignored in most historical documentation. Many females, who had remained in Europe after the departure of the men, had become burdened with the extra tasks their absence created. Performing back-breaking farming work, while at the same time running the home and

family, many women had become physically and emotionally exhausted and suffered ill-health. They had, however, assumed their roles with courage and determination and, performing them well, won the respect and admiration of their families. In coming to Australia, where they relinquished these roles and resubmitted to the authority of their husbands, many suffered stress and resentment. Added to this, they had lost the support of their extended families. Some women never overcame this grief for an unattainable past and suffered; others resolved to make the best of the path they had chosen, or which had been chosen for them.

A number of Italian-speaking women arrived on the shores of Australia as partners in what appear to have been pre-arranged marriages. To the peasants of northern Italy and Ticino, it had always been important to marry from within their own villages; the practice of endogamy, they believed, ensured the continuity of family ties and village customs and prevented the decline of the village population. Trying to preserve this tradition in Australia, many male immigrants were assisted by their families, both in Europe and the Colony, in finding a wife. Marriages, such as that between Andrea Lafranchi from Coglio and Margherita Filippini from (nearby) Cevio (cf. above p. 158), may have been thus arranged. Selection of a partner was not a means of individual social mobility but a form of social cementing. There were also occasions when immigrants married the daughters of first generation settlers, as happened between Pietro Gaggioni and Loretta Maddalena, both from Gordevio (cf. above p. 351); in this, and similar endogamous marriages, the bride might be as young as thirteen or fourteen years old - again translating village tradition into a new context.

When it was not possible to find a suitable partner from their own or a nearby village, the Italian speakers in Australia selected primarily from among the Irish population with whom they shared a common Catholic faith. This became an accepted and widespread practice, the marriages between Gaetano Tomasetti and Kate Clooney (cf. above p. 136) (and, after her death, Catherine Fitzpatrick) and Vincenzo Perini and Anastasia Short (cf. above p. 187), being some of the examples included in this study. Carlo Gervasoni married an Italian-speaking woman then, after being left a widower, married an Irish girl. As well as the shared Roman Catholic faith, which linked the two ethnic groups, there was also a similar socio-economic background. A number of Italian speakers chose English wives, and a few, such as Leonardo Pozzi who married Margherita Leichner (cf. above p. 49) and Battista Milesi, who married Augusta Tuddin (cf. above p. 255), selected wives from the non-Italian-speaking European communities. These, and similar mixed marriages occurring throughout Australia, were laying the foundations for the transformation of an Anglo-Celtic outpost to a multicultural nation.

Marriage to an Irish wife did, however, threaten the preservation of the Italian-speaking culture; women, as principal custodians of ethnic heritage, were critical in influencing the beliefs and behaviour of their children. Women spent more time in the home talking to the children, preparing their meals, making and mending their clothes. They were more likely to assist at important events, such as births and deaths, and to explain the significance of such happenings to their children. They sang familiar songs to their offspring and guided them in their moral and religious development. Wives of

Italian speakers, thus, had the power -- either intentionally or unintentionally -- to weaken the cultural bonds between father and child. This was not, however, the experience of most goldfields' families and children grew up in an atmosphere which recognised their Swiss, Italian, Irish or other ethnic roots. Their lives were a rich blend of languages, culinary habits, customs and beliefs, all bringing a multicultural face to Australia -- long before the emergence of multiculturalism as it is understood by Australians at the end of the twentieth century. The opportunity was there for all immigrant families to maintain -- albeit in different contexts -- valuable aspects of their culture while, at the same time, respond to the needs and pressures of a new environment.

As noted, the transmission of the Italian speakers' culture was most strongly preserved within its endogamous marriages. Caterina Rodoni, on her first day of school at age six, (reportedly) spoke only the dialect of her Swiss parents (cf. above p. 414). Margherita Lafranchi sang Swiss lullabies to her children which remain part of the family's ethnic heritage today (cf. above pp. 167-168). It was, however, in the maintenance of a traditional life-style, with patterns of communal cooperation based on kinship and village bonds, that the Italian speakers demonstrated their greatest commitment to their ethnic ties. Utilising the family unit in production, and relying upon an interaction of the resources of land, family and home -- the triangle which formed the basis of peasant social structure (cf. above p. 27) -- the Italian speakers built the foundations of their new life in Australia. Their small and often inhospitable blocks of land were farmed to provide a self-sufficient life-style and their homes were of immensely practical design.

It was their homes which became one of the most important expressions of the Italian speakers' cultural heritage in Australia. It was here that they lived and raised their children, exercised inventiveness and frugality, and performed the many tasks which enabled them not only to overcome poverty and deprivation but also to retain a rich social life. Mainly constructed from local stone or handmade bricks, they usually comprised two stories and had large stone cellars. They were surrounded by barns (often of similar proportions to the house), dairies, blacksmith shops and other shedding which enabled the families to achieve self-sufficiency. Designed and built in a manner which reflected the expertise of their makers, they provided Anglo-Australians with a positive view of Europe's emigrants. With their particular architectural features, such as dovecote chimney-pots (cf. figure 12) and exposed rear stonework to enable future extensions to the home (cf. figure 14), they also made fresh contributions to the Colony's pool of building knowledge. Similarly, the Italian speakers learnt to incorporate new features, more suited to Australia's climate and geography, into their constructions; while some continued to build large dairy barns to house the cattle at night, even though it was no longer practical, or to erect vertical-style housing, despite the vast expanses of land, others added verandahs and similar useful features. It was only after many years in Australia, however, that the Italian speakers added any decorative features to their homes. For example, the Righetti house at Yandoit (cf. figure 12) originally had a wooden balcony on the top floor, which was later replaced with a fancy wrought iron verandah on both levels. Such changes might have reflected the immigrants' new-found prosperity; they may also have symbolised their desire to exchange alpine decoration for a more 'Australian' expression of culture.

Around their homes the Italian speakers planted the vegetables, crops and fruit trees which supplied most of their food needs. Small and not especially fertile, the blocks were farmed with the same intensive methods which they had adopted in Europe; every last centimetre of soil was placed under cultivation, a minimum of livestock (fed on milk and fruit scraps) supplied animal fertiliser, and ingenious irrigation systems were adopted. In these ways, the Italian speakers provided an alternative to the more extensive farming methods of the Anglo-Australians. The vegetable garden, which was placed within easy reach of the kitchen, provided carrots, onions, potatoes, peas, beans and other basic food items. Some families had their own herb gardens and, like the Pozzis at Hepburn, requested flower and fruit seeds from their families in Europe (cf. above p. 48); new plant species were thus introduced to Australia (just as some Australian species would have been sent back to Europe) broadening knowledge of culinary habits around the world. Many Italian speakers planted extensive vineyards, translating another important ethnic tradition. With a cow for milk, a few pigs for meat and some hens for eggs, the Italian speakers achieved an independent and self-sufficient life-style and, excluding those families (like the Righettis at Yandoit) who developed relatively large, commercially viable farms (cf. above pp. 124-125), this was the picture most often presented to Anglo-Australian settlers -- one of well-run, efficient farms operated on a system of kinship ties.

Under the guidance (according to family descendants) of the patriarchal head, Italian-speaking families were organised to help clear the land for farming -- often working in conjunction with other families (as was seen with the Tomasetti and

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Morganti clans at Eastern Hill) -- plant the crops, and attend to all matters related to the farm. Each family member possessed the skills necessary to perform these tasks, there being minimal specialisation of labour. Men, women and children knew how to tend the crops, care for the animals and make and mend things economically; the Morganti children were, for example, skilled as blacksmiths (cf. above p. 74). If the family owned a business, the family all helped to run it, many of the thirteen Righetti daughters being principal operators of their butter factory (cf. above p. 124). The non-specialisation of labour -- a mechanism which enabled widows such as Margherita Lafranchi and Giuseppa Vanina to assume the working roles of their husbands (cf. above pp. 169 & 283) -- together with a harnessing of family labour in production, gave a new perspective on workplace organisation to the Australian community. Prospering where some other immigrants failed, Italian speakers earned increased recognition for their survival skills -- and helped lay the groundwork for a more tolerant Australia.

Not settling into ghettos, where the structure of their family lives might have gone unnoticed, the Italian speakers were also influential as business people. While catering to their own needs as a distinct ethnic group -- with, for example, its own macaroni factory (cf. above p. 357) -- they also traded with members of the Anglo-Australian business community: Vincenzo Perini's business ledger at Spring Creek listed a number of Anglo-Celtic customers (cf. above pp. 187-189) and, during the 1850s, the Pozzi brothers attracted English speakers to their store with a sign advertising 'cider'. Through these business transactions, Anglo-Celts were exposed to the Italian speakers' dialects (Luigi Gervasoni at Yandoit kept all his business records

in his native language, cf. above pp. 324), products reflecting Swiss-Italian cultural heritage and a system of barter. At the same time, Italian speakers grew more aware of Anglo-Celtic culture and language and introduced new anglicisms -- words, such as *giumper* (jumper) and *balenso* (balance), which entered the Gervasoni business ledger (cf. above p. 324) -- into their speech. The Pozzis learned to pluralise words with an 's' (cf. above p. 44). As English grew in importance as a tool for settlement, those Italian speakers who found its mastery difficult, relied on their more educated or smarter compatriots for help -- reinforcing the bonds which had been established in the early years on the goldfields. (Many parents also relied upon their children's help in dealing with language difficulties, thereby reversing the traditional power structure within the family and, to some extent, hastening its transformation.) Men like Vincenzo Perini, who had learned to speak English in Switzerland and maintained all his business records in English, were called upon to mediate in business and legal dealings (cf. above p. 190). They emerged, in the absence of a professional élite, as informal leaders within their immigrant community, mediating the community's interaction with the prevailing Anglo-Australian society.

One business practice which Italian speakers translated to Australia, and which was seen to be efficient by the Anglo-Australian community, was the seeking of security through a diversity of income sources. Believing that this reduced the risk of economic failure, Italian speakers opened hotels from which they also ran grocery shops, grocery shops which supplemented an interest in the mines and winebars which also served as food outlets. The Pozzis' store at Hepburn combined a jewellery shop, winebar, photographers and grocers (cf. above p. 43). The Lafranchis operated a store

from one end of the bar at their Blampied hotel and stabled horses overnight for customers (cf. above p. 162). Many Italian speakers ran businesses while at the same time investing money in mining ventures. Better-educated immigrants marketed their translating skills as a side-line to a business. A diversity of enterprises retained its value in the Australian setting because of its usefulness as a survival tool. Reliance on the family farm remained, however, at the core of their existence and the Italian speakers, despite the wealth which some inevitably achieved, continued to labour in their fields, live a frugal and hard life and rely upon traditional methods of food preparation.

As described earlier, centuries of living in a harsh alpine terrain and climate had taught the Italian speakers, not only how to grow foods for an adequate diet, but also how to prepare and preserve them for a year-round food supply. Dried sausages, bacon, cheese, bottled vegetables and fruits were among the many foods to which they had become accustomed -- and continued to enjoy in Australia. Despite the range of new foods available in the Colony, and the recipes acquired through contact with other ethnic groups, many continued to prepare and consume traditional foods: vegetable soups in which bread topped with cheese might be floated, sausage meat, bacon, eggs, pasta cooked with onions and cheese, *polenta* (corn porridge), fresh fruit and vegetables. Some families cooked *risotto*, rice being one of the few items acquired outside the home. As typical peasant foods, most were prepared in a manner preserving fuel and cooking time. The foods of the Italian speakers were an important expression of their ethnicity on the goldfields: a slice of sausage and a piece of cheese was the school lunch many immigrant children shared with their Anglo-Celtic

playmates; Lucinis' pasta factory in Spring Creek sold the macaroni of which they were so fond and vineyards for home-made wine surrounded the hillsides. The Italian speakers did, however, make some adjustments to their diet, adapting the traditional *cudeghini* (pork-based sausages) to create the *bullboar*, an Australian sausage combining near equal amounts of pork and beef. Some second generation Italian speakers learned to make cakes, Olimpia Lafranchi taking these Anglo-Australian recipes back to her mother's village in Ticino (and thus participating in an international exchange of culinary habits (cf. above p. 172). The Perini family served Anglo-Australian foods to their customers at *Locarno*, providing one diet for themselves and another for their middle-class non-Italian-speaking clientele (cf. above p. 197). Some of the Italian speakers' foods, and their methods of preparation, also made welcome contributions to the culinary habits of Anglo-Australians, many of whom enjoyed pasta with fried onions, *bullboars* and 'Yandoit plonk'. The sharing of foods and culinary ideas symbolised a broader cultural exchange -- a means by which people from different ethnic backgrounds learnt to appreciate and adapt to new ways and traditions. This was a two-way process which served both to blend and to maintain ethnic difference.

It was not only through their foods, but in their communal enjoyment of food, that Italian speakers won the approval of Anglo-Australians. Drawing on their southern European traditions, the Italian speakers viewed the preparation and consumption of food as an opportunity for strengthening kin and village ties through cooperative labour. Working together on a grape harvest, wine-making or in the preparation and storage of sausages, they traditionally celebrated the completion of

their labours with a festive gathering to consume part of the produce. Cooperation meant sharing tools and equipment, space in their cellars, labour and ideas, all of which reinforced the bonds of family and village. Because various activities were tied to certain seasons of the year, there was a ritual aspect to food preparation -- a ritual which Australia's southern seasonal patterns reversed but did not interrupt. The Vanina and Gaggioni families worked together on the annual grape harvest then celebrated the completion of their labours with a party. The Rodonis made their supplies of *bullboars* and signalled the work's end with a 'pot night'. Anglo-Australians who attended these events saw a table laden with peasant foods: freshly cooked sausages, home-made cheeses and wine, bowls of steaming pasta and bread. They saw families, despite their poverty, arrive with donations of home-made bread or wine. They heard laughter and singing and the sounds of a foreign language freely expressed. They danced to the music of piano-accordions and violins. They learned that food was not only a source of nourishment but a means of bringing and keeping together one's family, enjoying the company of friends and relishing life' simple pleasures.

Through their 'pot nights' and family gatherings, the Italian speakers earned a reputation as generous hosts and fine musicians. They were welcomed at public social gatherings, such as the Friday night dances in Hepburn, and were often employed to provide music on the violin or piano-accordion; members of the Rodoni family would perform traditional Swiss and Italian, as well as English and Irish, numbers for the crowd (cf. above p. 404), bringing together the musical heritage of different cultures. To the suppers (which were provided on a voluntary basis) the Vanzettas were among

other Italian-speaking families donating home-made produce. But the social occasions which most often brought together the Italian-speaking and Celtic populations were those centred around their shared Catholic faith. The weekly Mass, weddings, christening, funerals and feast-days in the liturgical calendar enabled Italian speakers to socialise, not only among themselves, but also with members of the Irish community (to whom they were often related through marriage). The Church and its rituals provided opportunities to reinforce traditional beliefs, values and customs while at the same time challenging attitudes toward the culture and practices of others. It enabled the immigrants to feel united in their struggles -- as immigrants and as 'Australians'.

Following on from the early mining years, there remained, however, some lasting conflict between the Irish and Italian-speaking members of the Catholic community. By the 1860s many Italian speakers, with a return to family life, had renewed their religious vows and set themselves to raising their children in the Catholic faith. As noted previously, two Italian-speaking priests had arrived in the district in the early 1870s (cf. above p. 142) but, after only a few months, during which time they had argued with the local Irish clergy on matters of religious practice, they had been transferred to other parishes. Served by only Irish clergy, who disapproved of some of what they perceived to be the flamboyant religious customs and mystic beliefs of the southern Europeans, many Italian speakers had felt neglected and misunderstood in their religious faith (reinforcing an already existent scepticism of the clergy). Inevitable scenes of conflict had erupted, the incidents involving Maddalena Morganti (cf. above pp. 80-81) and Gaetano Tomasetti (cf. above p. 147) with their parish priests, being examples. The friction between the Church's ethnic communities was, however, part

of a broader process of change occurring within Australian colonial society -- a process whereby people were being challenged in their beliefs and values and, in many cases, developing the tolerance which would underpin the nation's multicultural future.

The gradual integration of Italian speakers into a broader Anglo-Australian society -- through shared religious beliefs, inter-marriage, trade and personal relationships -- was accompanied by an increase in their financial security and, hence, status. Added to this, greater leisure time enabled participation in the public life of their communities, many becoming interested in fund-raising activities or (as in the case of Serafino and Giuseppe Righetti) in standing for their local shire councils. This active involvement in political affairs symbolised a distancing from small village values and was partly attributable to a sense of empowerment through increased wealth. (Recall also the formation of the Committee Established for the Mineral Springs of Hepburn which aimed to influence government policy in the 1860s, cf. above p. 186.) Some Italian speakers became members of Anglo-Australian, non-Catholic organisations like the I.O.O.F. or joined the Daylesford Hospital Board, the volunteer fire-brigade or the local brass band, all of which attracted a diverse ethnic membership. A number distinguished themselves through their charitable deeds, Severino Guscetti donating wine each year to the Daylesford Benevolent Society (cf. above p. 271), and other families giving land for the erection of churches and schools. The raised public profile of the Italian speakers increased community awareness of the positive contribution they were making to the developing Victorian colony. A strong community consciousness also persisted into the second generation, Leonard Righetti becoming mayor of the Malvern Shire Council in 1934 (cf. above p. 222). While family

cooperativeness had formed the basis of peasant society, in Australia, Italian speakers (and their offspring) had found a new survival mechanism in community cooperativeness.

This cooperativeness had also strengthened within their own ethnic community, with more formal support networks and services having evolved from the less sophisticated ones of the mining years. Along with the macaroni factory, which fulfilled their need for traditional foods, and the wine bars which supplied home-made wine, by 1875 they had established an active Swiss and Italian Association in Daylesford and, in Hepburn, an Italian reading society. The reading room, which gave access to Italian newspapers and other reading matter, was recognition of a more educated stratum within the immigrant community; Dr Guscetti, and other compatriots who maintained an interest in the events and politics of their homeland, were able to discuss issues and relax among friends. So too were the hotels and wine bars owned by Italian speakers venues where compatriots could gather, play traditional card games and talk in their own language. At weekends, Italian-speaking families came together for regular *bocce* matches (cf. for example p. 125), many having their own *bocce* pitches and handmade balls. Through these clubs and social activities, Italian speakers reasserted their ethnic ties and the interests which defined them as a separate group on the goldfields.

These ethnic ties remained strong, well into the twentieth century. Identifying with a (possibly idealised) peasant past, few immigrants, despite their improved financial circumstances, sought a higher education or professional career for their

children. Like Alessandro Quanchi, who was once fined by the authorities for not sending one of his children to school (cf. above p. 126), Italian-speaking parents continued to keep their offspring at home to help run the family farm or business. The expectation was that sons and daughters would learn the skills of their parents: he with the prospect of taking over the family property, she of marrying and raising children. Breakdown of this pattern threatened the Italian speakers' way of life, the constant change and risk-taking which characterises capitalist economies (of which they were now a part) challenging more traditional way of thinking. Most second generation Italian speakers thus continued in the occupations of their parents -- becoming farmers, hoteliers, bakers, blacksmiths or grocers. Some moved away from the district to further these pursuits but the majority remained close to the family home and the security of kinship ties. A number ended in poorly paid jobs as labourers and shop assistants. It was only in the third and fourth generations that significant occupation change occurred, some looking to professional careers as teachers, doctors and economists. The acquisition of a formal education -- and the ability to change and improve which its attainment implies -- had emerged as a new survival tool.

It is difficult to know if, at the end of their lives, the Italian speakers still yearned for return to their homelands. Certainly the majority had only chosen British citizenship (in the 1860s) in order to acquire land or hotel licences or (in the 1880s and 1890s) to receive a government pension and, well into the next century, the Ticinesi were celebrating Swiss National Day (a holiday introduced in Switzerland at the turn of the nineteenth century) as a symbol of their lasting patriotism (cf. above p. 87). During the many decades they had been resident in Australia, Italian speakers had

struggled to preserve important aspects of their culture and to retain their independence as a non-English-speaking community. Despite the dominating influence of the Anglo-Celtic population, they had successfully established homes, farms, businesses and a way of life which reflected their pre-Australian backgrounds. They had drawn upon their skills as farmers and labourers to maximise use of limited resources and to set up powerful support networks. They had become a significant presence in the business world -- their public face to the Australian community -- and had contributed to the social life of the district through their dances and parties. They had also taken an active role in community activities and organisations and had performed many philanthropical deeds. They had demonstrated that a non-English-speaking culture could successfully establish itself within an Anglo-Celtic environment without forsaking its own identity.

Even after their deaths there remained in the Daylesford district tangible evidence of the Italian speakers' former presence and influence: the homes which they had named *Gordevio* (cf. above p.352) or *Biasca* (cf. above p.278) in memory of their villages; the places and street names which recalled where families had lived (Italian Hill, Morganti's Road, Borsa Avenue); the newspaper articles which recorded their participation in local events (including a dramatic performance of 'William Tell', cf. above p.218) and the names of gold mines which revealed their Swiss-Italian ties (Spillaci's Tunnel, the Florence and Garibaldi Mines, cf. above pp.237). Also left to posterity were their guest houses and hotels -- *Bellinzona, Locarno* and The Swiss Mountain Hotel -- which had been taken over by their offspring and operated into the next century. By the 1990s this evidence linked Italian speakers, not only to the past,

but also to the present. It had inspired a 'renaissance' of interest in Swiss-Italian culture in the local population. Many of Daylesford's restaurants -- through their names, decor and menus -- expressed the region's Italian heritage and *bullboar* sausages were sold from a number of local butcher shops.[3] The sausage's popularity was evident in tourist events such as the following which featured in the Daylesford press in 1991:

> *Bull Boars* are flavour of the day. Glenlyon Sports Day has programmed an unusual event for its New Year's Day event the World Title *Bull Boar* Eating Contest.[4]

This widely enjoyed and advertised activity had helped carry Daylesford's ethnic history beyond its regional borders and into the general community.

Along with the many restaurants and cafes which today recall the region's ethnic history, buildings such as *Villa Parma* and *Bellinzona*,[5] offer tourist accommodation in the renovated or re-built premises of the Italian settlers. In recent years, a group of local tradespeople have initiated a Swiss-Italian Festa at Hepburn Springs celebrating Italian foods, wine, history, film, art and sports. Fourth and fifth generation descendants are encouraged to participate, one member of the Lucini family opening the old macaroni factory to the public and marketing pasta sauce made to an authentic family recipe.[6] The rebirth of interest in Daylesford's ethnic heritage is, of course, part of a broader appreciation of Australia's Italian immigrants -- reflected, for example, in similar tourist attractions in Lygon Street, Carlton (Melbourne). The impact of Italian immigration did not, therefore, end with the colonial period but was continued by subsequent waves of Italian immigrants who settled in other regions of the continent.

Following the influx of Ticinesi and northern Italians into Daylesford in the 1850s, no further significant numbers of Italian-speaking Swiss arrived in Australia, future Italian-speaking immigrants mostly coming (after the Second World War) from the southern regions of Italy, fleeing a life of poverty and poor job opportunities. The first sizeable group of Italians arrived on Australian shores in the 1880s from the northern region of Veneto. The survivors of a failed New Guinean colonising expedition of the Marquis de Rays, they settled near Woodburn in New South Wales, in an area which came to be known as New Italy.[7] By the end of the nineteenth century many of the immigrants who had arrived in Australia during the gold rush years had begun settling in factory jobs in the larger urban centres where a fear of foreign labour taking work from Australians began to gather strength.[8] New South Wales and Victorian politicians warned that there would be no place for 'Asiatics or coloureds'[9] in Australia, lending fuel to a fire of racial discrimination which had been gradually building since early white settlement, both through fear of the aboriginal population and resentment of the Chinese success on the goldfields. It culminated in the introduction of a 'White Australia Policy' which, based upon the 'Immigration Act' of 1901, introduced a dictation test which effectively excluded non-Europeans from entering Australia.[10] It was still finding approval in 1919, when the then Prime Minister William Morris hailed the 'White Australia Policy' as the greatest thing the nation had achieved.[11] Even at the outbreak of war with Japan, Prime Minister John Curtin expressed hope that Australia would, 'remain for ever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race',[12] reasserting the pervading Anglo-Celtic prejudice

of the times. Despite these racial tensions, Italians continued to arrive on Australian shores in the late nineteenth century, fishermen from Italy's southern regions of Sicily and Puglia, building up strong communities on the southern tip of Western Australia.[13] In 1891, Italians from Lombardy and Piedmont arrived in Queensland to work the cane fields, the last major immigrant wave from Italy that century.[14]

Between 1905 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, some 390,000 new settlers arrived in Australia, principally from the British Isles.[15] The Commonwealth Government, anxious to maintain Australia's 'racial purity', established the rules for citizenship in the Naturalisation Act of 1903. Under this Act, which did not apply to natives of Asia, Africa or the Pacific Islands (except New Zealand), all residents previously naturalised under Colonial Acts were regarded as having been naturalised under the Commonwealth Act.[16] Reactions to Italian immigration were mixed as Anglo-Australians tried to reconcile their image of Italy as a nation of artists and musicians with that of the apparently illiterate peasants then arriving on Australian shores in search of work. (Knowledge of the Italian-speaking settlement at Daylesford was still limited at that time and chiefly confined to its regional boundaries.) Many of the wealthy, who traditionally decorated their homes with Italian art, made a distinction between two types of Italians -- those of the north, who were tall, fair-skinned and educated, and those of the south, who had dark skins, stocky builds and were less educated. In the oft-quoted words of the 1925 report of the Ferry Royal Commission into immigration:

> [The] northern Italian is a very desirable class of immigrant. He is thrifty and industrious, law-abiding and honest ... and is much superior to the southern Italians and the Mediterranean races.[17]

Skin colour had (as many years before) effectively become an issue in deciding who should receive work and who should not, leaving the non-professional Italians largely excluded from the work-force.

Such negative attitudes did not, however, deter Italians from arriving in Australia in large numbers. Instead, the sudden imposition of quotas on Italian immigration in the United States of America in the 1920s led to an increased number of applications to Australia: 36,000 in that decade, mostly from single men -- agricultural workers, miners, labourers, fishermen and tradesmen.[18] More than 300,000 immigrants of all nationalities arrived in Australia during the period, the majority from Britain but many also from Greece and what was then Yugoslavia.[19] It was not, however, until the years following the 1950s that Italian immigration reached its peak. In March of 1951 the Australian government concluded a new assisted passage scheme with Italy which attracted large numbers to settle by 1953.[20] In the years following the Second World War, Australia again faced severe labour shortages and increased its immigration levels. Italians began arriving from the poorer regions of southern Italy to be incorporated into the ranks of the lower working classes.[21] This accentuated the gap between the Italians of the middle-class ideal and the poor and uneducated peasant and rekindled the racism of early generations. Fears that Italians would accept lower rates of pay and thus reduce working conditions brought conflict with Australian workers and an increase in racial tension.[22] During the Second World War Italians were interned as a threat to national security and, at its conclusion in 1945, found themselves victims of scare campaigns which aimed to discredit them as workers. Their

language and customs were held up for ridicule and some felt themselves ostracised from mainstream society.

Due to the number of family reunions in Australia, the Italian immigrant population was by this time large and organised into well established communities in many parts of the continent.[23] Seeking to defend themselves from the racist attitudes of Anglo-Australians, many Italians had withdrawn into the strength and security of their ethnic communities -- a response not unlike that of the Italian-speaking settlers in colonial Daylesford. Like the Daylesford community, the post-war Italians clustered in groups seeking physical and emotional support through the familiar sound of their language, the cultural traditions which recalled their homeland and the informal support networks which served their needs. However, unlike their predecessors, the post-war Italians were unable to make the same rapid accommodation with Anglo-Celtic Australia -- possibly because settling in a large industrial city like Melbourne encouraged ghettoisation as well as negative reactions based on their larger numbers.

Like the Ticinesi and northern Italians, who had transferred whole family communities to the goldfield townships, later generations of Italians formed settlements like New Italy in New South Wales; chain migration, which united families after the war, resulted in entire village communities relocating to an industrial town or a farming district in Australia.[24] There, links with the homeland, regional dialects and cultural practices were maintained. In the inner-city areas, immigrants created their own ethnic enclaves with shops, cafes, churches and social and welfare associations catering to their needs -- similar to the earlier Daylesford pattern but larger and more

self-sufficient. Post-war Italians who knew English and mediated in the business and legal affairs of their compatriots emerged as informal leaders within their community -- as had Vincenzo Perini at Spring Creek. Those who struggled with the English language adopted various anglicisms (especially those Italians forced to live outside their ethnic community on Queensland cane fields and similar areas), words like *la ganga* (gang/working party) and *il fait* (fight),[25] reflecting their lived experience -- as had the anglicisms which entered the language of the Colony's Italian speakers.

Just as the Italian speakers at Daylesford had sought security in owning their own homes, so too did the immigrants of later generations. By 1986, no less than 70 per cent of Italian households owned their own dwelling outright, this being one of the highest rates of home ownership for any group in Australia at that time.[26] The influence of their peasant backgrounds was evident in the economical running of their homes, the women who settled in the isolated New South Wales township of Griffith keeping frugal and self-sufficient households which provided most of their food needs.[27] Also similar to the Daylesford settlers, families earned their livings through the occupations which had supported them in their homelands -- as farmers, grocers, fruiterers -- and remained loyal to these occupations over several generations; by 1991, Italians were represented in all areas of trade and commerce but most noticeably in the farming sector, where they held the majority of the small-to-medium-size horticultural farms and some of the large-area rice, wheat and sheep farms.[28] In a survey of Italian businessmen living in Sydney in the late 1980s, it was revealed that many had chosen their occupations because it reflected a family business tradition.[29]

Traditions of family cooperation also remained strong among the post-war Italian immigrants. Women and children were a critical source of labour, their employment on family-owned farms and businesses on low rates of pay, being the factor which helped many families to prosper.[30] Those Australians who recognised that the key to the Italians' success was their strong family ties and the way in which the family unit could be used in production, shared an insight gained by earlier Anglo-Celtic generations at Daylesford. Like their nineteenth century counterparts, post-war Italians were also seen as successful farmers and business people, as honest and hard-working. Italian men were considered good workers by the majority of Australian employers; for this reason, during the war Italian Prisoners of War (POWs) were valued by the Australian government over German POWs.[31] Italian women, who came to Australia after the turn of the century were readily absorbed into the work-force as cooks, cleaners, boarding house managers and workers in textile factories.[32] Similar to the women of the goldfields, however, many experienced the pain of being displaced from their traditional roles and of losing the support of their extended families; but like those earlier women, many faced the prospect of settlement in a new land with courage and determination.

Another feature which linked the women of the gold rush years with those of later generations was their tendency to marry from within their own ethnic community: in 1961, only 21 per cent of men and three per cent of women wed Australian-born partners. By 1976, however, these figures had increased to 51 per cent and 23 per cent, and by 1986 to 64 per cent and 49 per cent respectively.[33] Between 1987 and 1990, around 49 per cent of women and 47.5 per cent of men married outside their

ethnic culture.[34] While a shortage of Italian-speaking women on the goldfields had left men little option but to seek a partner in the wider community -- choosing from among the Irish who most closely shared their religious and moral values -- the later generations did not face such restrictions. It was their Australian-born sons and daughters who broke with marital tradition, often doing so as a symbol of their independence.

Just as many of the Italian speakers living in the Colony of Victoria had drawn strength and support from their Catholic faith, so too did a significant number of Italians arriving in the 1950s and 1960s, for whom the Catholic Church provided a set of rules and values which determined the pattern of their daily lives. The Church offered financial help to those in need and supported immigrants in the adjustment to a new life. As on the goldfields, the Church's rituals provided the opportunity to socialise with other Italians as well as to integrate with members of the broader Australian community. The conflict between Italian-speaking and Irish Catholics had not, however, been resolved and there was some reporting of racist incidents directed towards Italian immigrants by Irish Catholic priests, officials and congregations.[35] The resulting integration of new approaches and ethnic traditions, has today, however, led to a more diverse Catholic congregation, both culturally and theologically, and given a new face to Catholicism in Australia. The influx of Italians and other immigrants of Catholic background has meant a decline of the Irish stranglehold. At the same time, there has been a growth in the Catholic community's size and influence among young Australians -- Catholics, with 28 per cent of the population (according to census figures) by the 1990s outnumbering Anglicans.[36]

Along with the support which the Catholic Church offered its post-war immigrants, the Italian speakers established private clubs -- each representing a different region of Italy -- and other associations catering to their needs.[37] More highly organised and better financed than the informal networks of the goldfields, they nevertheless reflected a similar pattern of adjustment to a new environment. In adapting to this new environment, the post-war immigrants also sought security through familiar patterns of behaviour and peasant survival mechanisms. Like the colonial settlers, they had a low regard for institutionalised learning which threatened the basis of their cooperative family work structures; and the attitude which viewed literacy among the women folk or the children as unnecessary or undesirable saw children being encouraged to stay at home and work in the family business. In later years, however, the Italians, especially the women, expected more for their children and saved to enrol them in tertiary colleges. By the second generation of the post-war immigrant (as compared with the third and fourth generation of the Daylesford settler) Italo-Australians were graduating from universities and, during the 1980s and 1990s, going on to highly paid professional careers or distinguishing themselves in the arts or business. More aware of their growing influence and power within the community, the Italians also sought political roles and a more active involvement in local, state and national affairs[38] -- mirroring the community involvement of Daylesford settlers years before.

As a result of the ridicule levelled at them after the war by Anglo-Australian workers, who felt their jobs threatened, many Italian immigrants were more diffident

about using their mother-tongue in public places than had been the case with immigrants on the goldfields. Post-war children were ashamed to admit speaking Italian in the home, and women were often handicapped in the struggle to obtain work. In later years, however, as Australians began to realise the value of immigrant language skills in terms of international trade, these attitudes slowly changed. By the early 1970s Italians were insisting that their language or dialect be spoken at home and that community language schools be established. Throughout the latter years of the twentieth century, the number of students studying a language other than English (LOTE) increased (96.5 per cent of government-run secondary colleges in Victoria provided a LOTE program in 1994),[39] and organisations such as the *Comitato Assistenza Italiani* (COASIT) funded by the Italian Government, were introducing Italian to large numbers of primary schools.[40] Daylesford Secondary College introduced Italian to its curriculum in 1988.[41]

Like the Italian-speaking settlers of Daylesford, Italian immigrants who arrived at the end of the Second World War won the respect and approval of Australians through their foods and restaurant life. Similar to the *bullboar* sausages and home-made wine of Daylesford, food became a force for ethnic acceptance and social change. The central Melbourne suburb of Carlton, for example, grew lively with cafes and delicatessens and developed into one of the most popular eating areas in the city. Words like *spumante* (a sparkling wine), *focaccia* (a type of bread made with olive oil) and *gelato* (ice-cream) entered the English vocabulary and Australians learned to cook from traditional Italian recipes. The Italians had established a way of life in Carlton which was new, exciting and attractive to Anglo-Australians.

Many groups and individuals have contributed to the move away from a monocultural definition of Australian identity: Anglo-Celts, Italians, Swiss, Chinese, Greeks, Vietnamese and other immigrant groups have all played a significant role in the nation's immigration history. As this study has demonstrated, the Italian speakers in colonial Daylesford -- families like the Pozzis, Morgantis, Quanchis, Tomasettis, Lafranchis, Perinis, Righettis, Milesis, Guscettis, Vaninas, Gervasonis, Caligaris, Gaggionis, Vanzettas and Rodonis -- have played their own vital role in helping to shape the values and attitudes of a nation which embraces multiculturalism as it moves towards a post-European future.

The post-European context is radically new but the reshaping of values and attitudes builds on earlier phases of Australia's history. As this study has demonstrated in relation to the Italian-speaking settlers of nineteenth century Daylesford, accommodating to new cultural frameworks implies a 'rewriting' of even the most firmly held 'traditional' values and attitudes in the light of the new contexts in which they function. As Homi Bhabha has observed, cultural engagements should not be 'hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition.'[42] As this study of fifteen Italian-speaking families has suggested, such engagements -- especially in a cross-cultural setting -- represent a dynamic process of negotiations between various cross-cutting identities: 'Italian-speaking', 'Giumagliesi', 'peasant', 'man', 'woman', 'doctor', 'British', 'Victorian' et al. As Stuart Hall has observed,

> every identity is placed, positioned, in a culture, a language, a history.
> Every statement comes from somewhere, from somebody in particular.

It insists on specificity, on conjuncture. But it is not necessarily armour-plated against other identities.[43]

One of striking features of the fifteen Italian-speaking families dealt with in this study was the manner in which they negotiated (not always willingly) their way between their cross-cutting identities, to give rise to new hybridised narratives of identity which celebrated the past at the same time as they took control of the future. Achieving both these outcomes is the challenge currently facing Australia as it increasingly orientates itself towards Asia. In successfully meeting this challenge, the nation will be building on the achievements of those, like the families featured in this study, who helped lay the foundations for multicultural identity.

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

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25. Denis Mack Smith, *Italy: A Modern History*, U.S.A. University of Michigan Press, 1969.

26. Fontana and Pieretti (1980) p. 4.

27. John B. Thompson, 'Tradition and Self in a Mediated World', in Paul Heelas, Scott Lash and Paul Morris, eds, *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996, p. 90.

28. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World*, London, Methuen, 1987, p. 1.

29. ibid., p. 11.

30. ibid., pp. 33 & 47.

31. Greg Dening, *Performances*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1996, p. 36.

32. Jonathan Rutherford, 'A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference', in Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, London, Lawrence and Wisehart, 1990, p. 19.

33. ibid.

34. Antonio Gramsci, 'Notes for an Introduction and Approach to the Study of Philosophy and the History of Culture', in David Forgacs, ed., *A Gramsci Reader*, London, Lawrence and Wisehart, 1988, p. 326.

35. Rutherford (1990) p. 19.

36. Hall (1994) p. 15.

37. Caroline Alcorso, 'Early Italian Migration and the Construction of European Australia 1788-1939', in Stephen Castles et al., eds, *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, North Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1992, p. 4.

38. D. Fitzpatrick, 'Irish Immigration 1840-1914' in J. Jupp ed., *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1988, p. 560.

THE EMIGRANTS

1. Henry T. Maddicks, *100 years of Daylesford Gold Mining History*, Daylesford Historical Society, 1981, p. 7.

2. Spring Creek became Hepburn Springs after 1906.

3. Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty. Ltd. in association with Andrew Ward, *Daylesford and Hepburn Springs Conservation Study*, Shire of Daylesford and Glenlyon, December 1985, p. 6.

4. ibid.

5. Jill Eastwood, *Melbourne: the Growth of a Metropolis Commentary and Documents*, Melbourne, Nelson, 1986, p. 9.

6. Maddicks (1981) p. 4.

7. ibid., p. 6.

8. In the early mining years Hepburn was referred to as Old Racecourse.

9. Maddicks (1981) p. 8.

10. Much of the general framework provided in this section draws from Giorgio Cheda's, *L'emigrazione Ticinese in Australia*, Vol. I, Locarno, Armando Dado' Editore, 1979, a comprehensive and generally thorough account of the Ticinese emigration to Australia in this period.

11. ibid., pp. 133-138.

12. Denis Mack Smith (1969) p. 1.

13. Jacqueline Templeton, 'The Swiss Connections: The origins of the Valtellina - Australia Migrations', *Australian Historical Studies*, No. 104, April 1995, p. 406.

14.   Joseph Gentilli, *Swiss Poschiavini in Australia*, Geowest No. 25, Occasional Papers of the Department of Geography, University of Western Australia, August 1989, p. i.

15.   ibid.

16.   Templeton (1995) p. 406.

17.   None of these Poschiavini families appear in this sample.

18.   Fabrizio Panzera, *Società religiosa e società civile nel Ticino del primo ottocento: le origini del movimento cattolico nel cantone Ticino (1798-1855)*, Bologna, Cappelli Editore, 1989, p. 22.

19.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, and Joseph Gentilli, *The Settlement of Swiss Ticino Immigrants in Australia*, Occasional Papers of the Department of Geography, University of Western Australia, 1988. A search of sources available in Australia enabled Gentilli to add over 600 Ticinesi to Cheda's total.

20.   A number, some of whom are included in this study, emigrated from Riviera's capital Biasca.

21.   Cheda (1979) Vol. I, p. 29.

22.   ibid., p. 130.

23.   ibid., p. 124.

24.   ibid., p. 31.

25.   ibid., p. 130.

26.   Giovanni Arpino, preface to Alberto Fumagalli, *La casa e il contadino*, Milano, Fertimont, 1985, p. 7.

27.	May N. Diaz and Jack M. Potter, 'Introduction: The Social Life of Peasants', in Jack M. Potter et al., *Peasant Society: A Reader*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1967, p. 155.

28.	Daniel Thorner, 'Peasant Economy as a Category of History', in Teodor Shanin, *Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989, p. 66.

29.	Sutti Ortiz, 'Peasant Culture, Peasant Economy' in ibid., pp. 300-301.

30.	Susanne Wegmann, *The Swiss in Australia*, Grusch, Verlag Ruegger, 1989, p.15.

31.	Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 41-45.

32.	ibid., p. 46.

33.	ibid.

34.	From the end of the seventeenth century, *polenta* had become a flour substitute made from indigenous products such as corn, barley and chestnuts. In time of famine, other less palatable food sources would be used.

35.	Gentilli (1988) p. 2.

36.	ibid.

37.	ibid.

38.	Cheda (1979) Vol. I, p. 113.

39.	Tony Pagliaro, 'The Ticinesi in Australia', in *Conference Proceedings*, Italians in Australia Conference 1985; Australia's Italian Heritage Conference 1986, Melbourne, Vaccari Italian Historical Trust, rev. ed., 1987, p. 23.

40.	G. Tomasetti, *The Swiss at Blampied ... The Irish at Eganstown*, unpublished, 1974. Copy held State Library of Victoria.

41. Cheda (1979) Vol. I, p. 154.

42. Arpino (1985) p. 7.

43. Cheda (1979) p. 258.

44. c.f. above p. 8.

POZZI

1.　　Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

2.　　ibid., p. 2.

3.　　ibid., p. 121. Caporgni and Pozzi's names not included among shipping lists of these vessels.

4.　　ibid.

5.　　R. Reynolds, 15 August 1906, unpublished letter in family archives. (Mr Reynolds was a close friend of Stefano Pozzi. He later became the founder of the famous Rinaldi macaroni company, a name which Stefano coined).

6.　　Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 43.

7.　　ibid., p. 123.

8.　　Alessandro Pozzi, letter 24 October 1853, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 229.

9.　　ibid., p. 230.

10.　　ibid.

11.　　Gentilli (1988) p. 87.

12.　　Stefano Pozzi, letter 25 August 1854, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 328.

13.　　Gentilli (1988) p. 121.

14.　　Stefano Pozzi (letter 25 August 1854) p. 328.

15.　　'In order to come to the mines I have spent four days and in these four days you already know the life of the mines; you leave from Melbourne with two woollen blankets a billy for making the tea, a steel frying-pan for the steak, an axe to get wood, the tin mug, the reserve of tea and bread, for one meal or another, and nothing else not pants nor shirts more than a change. You leave

from Melbourne early in the morning, and you travel all day through great plains and small hills without forest and in the evening you arrive at a thick forest, and you stop and light the fire for dinner and then you pull up a blanket and use it as a tent and then it serves as a room and the ground for the bed. This is the life of all those who come to the mines', ibid., letter 1854, pp. 329-330.

16.   Gentilli (1988) p. 87.

17.   Leonardo Pozzi, letter October 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 303.

18.   Stefano Pozzi, letter 1855, ibid., p. 337.

19.   Maddicks (1981) p. 18.

20.   Pozzi letters 1854-1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2.

21.   Leonardo Pozzi, letter 22 March 1856, ibid., p. 307.

21.   Alessandro Pozzi, letter 4 May 1856, ibid., p. 251.

23.   Twelve years old, the eldest of ten brothers and illiterate, Celeste had arrived in Australia one year earlier. Also from Giumaglio, the Pozzis no doubt felt responsible for his welfare and offered him work.

24.   Di Ottavio Lurati e Stefano Bolla, *L'immagine della tradizione: ideologia e storia nel costume popolare con la riproduzione di rari esempi ticinesi e svizzeri*, Milano, Edizioni il Polifilo, 1990, p. 9.

25.   Alessandro Pozzi, letters 17 September 1856 and 9 October 1856, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, pp. 260 & 263.

26.   ibid., letter 4 April 1857, p. 267.

27.   Nanni Svampa, *La mia morosa cara: canti popolari milanesi e lombardi*, edizione a cura di Mabi Svampa, Milano, Arnaldo Mondadori, 1980, p. 177.

28. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 7 September 1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2.

29. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, illustrazioni.

30. Leonardo Pozzi, letters 10 September 1857 and 29 December 1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, pp. 274 & 282.

31. ibid., p. 276, letter 14 January 1861, p. 286, Alessandro Pozzi, letter 20 November 1854, p. 243.

32. Pozzi letters 1857, ibid., Vol. 2.

33. Dening (1996) p. 36.

34. Alessandro Pozzi, letter 10 September 1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 275.

   It would seem that the Pozzis' interest in education extended only to male participants: when their mother died in Ticino, Alessandro suggested that it was Annamaria's duty to care for the family and, when life in the Colony became too uncomfortable, he invited Carolina to join him as housekeeper (Alessandro Pozzi, letter 21 May 1857, p. 273).

35. 'They [the Ticinesi] won't be troubling him so it would have been better if these religious hadn't taken the trouble. He might as well be telling fairy tales. If he were to tell them how to find gold then they wouldn't waste any time but as for going to hear the tales of once upon a time, they have already come down to earth since they left home. As for confessing themselves, they commit very few sins here in Australia'; ibid., letter 29 December 1857, p. 283. (Translated by T. Pagliaro 1993.)

36. Panzera (1989) p. 253.

37. ibid., p. 240.

38. Stefano Pozzi, letter 17 September 1856, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 340.

39. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 4 January 1905, ibid., p. 324.

40. ibid.

41. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1., p. 124.

42. Gentilli (1988) p. 87.

43. Riva Pozzi, 23 April 1972, unpublished letter to Giorgio Cheda, copy held Daylesford Historical Society.

44. Alessandro Pozzi, letter 2 September 1860, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 285.

45. *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 17 March 1866.

46. Alessandro Pozzi, letter 26 May 1867, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 290.

47. *Daylesford Advocate*, 11 January 1924, 0. 8.

48. *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 9 December 1875.

49. Maddicks (1981) p. 17.

50. Giacomina Pozzi-Pedrazzini, letter 27 January 1874, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 293.

51. Lurati and Bolla (1990) p. 10.

52. *Appearance Book of Mt Franklin Lodge of Hiram*, No. 716 E.C., 10 November 1864 - 28 November 1884. Held Masonic Temple archives, Daylesford.

53. Descendants of Italian speakers would continue to be welcomed members of the Freemasons, one Victor Delmenico becoming Master of the Lodge in 1927. He succeeded in having changed an annual 'Scottish night' -- a social event featuring haggis and bagpipes -- to a 'Garibaldi night' with Italian sausages and wine. At the end of the twentieth century, it remains a popular event (held on the first Saturday in September) in the Newstead branch of the Freemasons. It

is attended by members of the South Melbourne Garibaldi Lodge, many of whom are of Italian descent.

54. *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 23 January 1875.

55. Maddicks (1981) p. 17.

56. Licensing Register, 1886, held Public Records Office, Ballarat.

57. Hall (1994) cf. above comment, p.4.

58. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 4 January 1905, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 326.

59. Kathleen Szonyi (current owner of Pozzi property). Interview at Daylesford, 13 July 1992.

60. ibid.

61. Pozzi-Pedrazzini (letter 27 January 1874) p. 293.

62. Maddicks (1981) p. 46.

63. Maria Triaca, *Amelia*, Richmond, Greenhouse, 1985, pp. 52-53.

64. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 25 May 1886, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, pp. 319-320.

65. ibid., p. 321.

66. ibid., letter, 4 January 1905, p. 322.

67. *Daylesford Advocate*, 22 March 1902.

68. Riva Pozzi (23 April 1972).

69. *Daylesford Advocate*, 11 January 1923.

70. Riva Pozzi (23 April 1972).

71. ibid.

72. cf. above comment p. 8.

MORGANTI

1.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 63.

2.   ibid., p. 124.

3.   ibid., p. 43.

4.   Interview with Sr Marie Therese Morganti (daughter of Dionigi Morganti), Ballarat, 17 July 1990.

5.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 52.

6.   ibid., p. 158.

7.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 72 & 121.

8.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 263.   As these figures are based on the number of people signing their marriage contracts with a cross they can only be used as a guide.

9.   ibid., p. 145.

10.   Tomasetti (1974).

11.   Maddicks (1981) p. 8.

12.   Gentilli (1988) p. 72.

13.   'The Morganti brothers have a good mine, and there are eight companions, Giuseppe Cerini called Cerucchi has also entered, it is already two weeks that they made a pound of gold each', Stefano Pozzi, letter 4 April 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 335.

14.   Joe Cerini, reference in Tomasetti (1974).

15.   cf. above comment p. 13.

16.   Gentilli (1988) p. 72.

17. Lazzaro's name has not been located among the shipping records for these years.

18. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 63.

19. Wegmann (1989) p. 43.

20. Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

21. Gentilli (1988) p. 72.

22. Maddicks (1981) p. 21.

23. Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

24. Gentilli (1988) p. 8.

25. An Act was passed by the Government in 1863 giving aliens the same rights in respect of land purchase as natural-born British subjects.

26. Gentilli (1988) p. 72.

27. Tomasetti (1974) has suggested that the house was not built until after 1870 but this conflicts with family memory.

28. Information regarding the house derives from personal observation and the interview with Sr Marie Therese 17 July 1990.

29. Graham Connah, *Of the Hut I Builded: The Archaeology of Australia's History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 66-67.

30. Fumagalli (1985) pp. 69-70.

31. See further comments in Quanchi and Home and Family sections.

32. The *Maestri Comacini*, known as early as AD643, were masons, architects, sculptors and decorators who spread the Lombard style throughout Italy and over Europe as far as the Lower Rhine. It has been suggested that their name

is derived from Como, but it seems more likely to simply mean associated masons (co-*macini*).

33.　　Personel correspondence with Professor Robert Pascoe, July 1994.

34.　　Gentilli (1988) records twelve children, however, Maddalena Maria Teresa is a grandchild and daughter of Dionigi.

35.　　Information derived from Plan of Allotments Parish of Bullarook, County of Talbot, Crown (State of Victoria) Copyright, Reproduced by Permission of the Surveyor-General of Victoria.

36.　　Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 31.

37.　　Arpino (1985) p. 7.

38.　　Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 36.

39.　　Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990). Most of the information concerning food and eating habits of the Morganti family derives from this interview and subsequent written correspondence.

40.　　*Vision and Realisation: A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria*, Vol. 1, Melbourne, Education Department of Victoria, 1973, p. 633.

41.　　Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

42.　　cf. above comment p. 4.

43.　　Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

44.　　ibid.

45.　　ibid.

46.　　ibid.

47.　　ibid.

48.　　Mick Clohesy, reference in Tomasetti (1974).

49.   Refer to above comment p. 5.

50.   Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

51.   Dionigi's daughter.

52.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, *illustrazioni*

53.   Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

54.   ibid.

55.   ibid.

56.   ibid.

57.   ibid.

58.   ibid.

59.   Later, a granddaughter of Maurizio and Maddalena would enter the teaching profession and become a nun with the Mercy Order in Ballarat, earning Bachelor and Masters degrees. In 1990 she was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia for services to education.

60.   Sr Marie Therese (interview, 17 July 1990).

THE JOURNEY

1. 'The euphoria of the departure and the deep-seated hope of making a fortune and beating the misery of their families, quickly dried the tears of the separation', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 213.

2. 'I would have come away even if I'd had to cross the water on foot', Giovanna Filippini, letter 21 March 1857, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 87.

3. Cheda, ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 158-159.

4. 'At the moment I can not send you money, but I hope soon to make something being in a job where you can make gold then I will send you something, and I hope to pay my debts, that done I hope to come home', Filippo Pasqualini, letter 8 March 1859, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 169.

5. Alessandro Brocchi, letter 10 November 1855, ibid., p. 49.

6. Wegmann (1989) p. 40.

7. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 109.

8. Gentilli (1988) p. 5.

9. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 110.

10. Celestina Sagazio, *Italian Craftsmanship and Building in Victoria*, Melbourne, National Trust of Victoria, 1990, p. 42.

11. cf. above p. 72.

12. Gentilli (1988) pp. 118-120.

13. Charles D'Aprano, *From Gold Rush to Federation - Italian Pioneers in Victoria: 1850-1900*, Pascoe Vale South, Int. Press, 1994, p. 11.

14. Cheda (1979) Vol.1, p. 113.

15.   'Our short trip has up to now been an honourable trip and we are well, except Giuseppe Rossetti son of Pietro Sesante and Pietro Tatti these two are at Dover a little sick, and the reason was the ascent of S. Gotardo which they climbed in a hurry and sweated a moment. And as a consequence they burst a lung. We left them still in bed (?) but it seemed they began to recover', Battista Strozzi, letter 26 March 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 429.

16.   'Our trip was not all happy because not having German, nor French, nor English, to speak we made our journey longer by more than 80 hours not only the slowness of the journey but also the money we have spent', Raimondo Pedroia, letter 7 April 1856, ibid., p. 205.

17.   Bianconi (1989) p. 36.

18.   ibid., p. 67.

19.   ibid., p. 56.

20.   ibid., p. 34.

21.   ibid., p. 217.

22.   By the 1850s elementary education had reached most parts of Ticino but in northern Italy, the population remained largely illiterate (cf. comment p. 252, Milesi section).

23.   Bianconi (1989) p. 218.

24.   ibid., p. 223.

25.   Fontana and Pieretti (1980), p. 57.

26.   'With pleasure we must tell you that our trip was happy, although we almost had the sea ... in furious storm ... It will seem to you ironic to call our trip happy, but it was just the same, and why? because first we have an image of

the sea storm, second the vomiting is already behind us, and third, that which is most important, we have always found good people to help us', Gioachino Respini, letter 2 March 1854, Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 355.

27. 'And who does not see beyond Saint Gotard does not see anything and he who dies without seeing these countries it's like being born and dying', Strozzi (letter 26 March 1855) p. 429.

28. Don Charlwood, *The Long Farewell*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1981, pp. 19-23.

29. 'The food was so bad that we could not taste it, Monday morning it was coffee at midday a type of minestrone, and Tuesday beans with water, Wednesday flour soup, Thursday potatoes and meat, Friday beans black as charcoal, Saturday fatty soup, and Sunday meat and pasta cooked in a bag, so that since the 19th day I haven't even tasted it, in 19 days my food was only two pounds of sugar and 4 of cheese which I took from Hamburg, I put it three times in my mouth per day only to stay alive, I was so weak that I could barely stand on my feet, I thought I would never recover', Tranquillo Patà, letter 13 April 1856, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 178.

30. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 24 September 1855, ibid., p. 301.

31. Charlwood (1981) p. 210.

32. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 220.

33. 'The day 5 October the Rebora Society landed in Port Sydney in Australia a company of 176 passengers so thin and wasted from hunger and distress, that we others ... hardly knew our dear compatriots, and we all began to cry loudly at seeing them so sad', Brocchi (letter 10 November 1855) p. 49.

34. 'immediately we made an appeal to the Police, to arrest that rogue of a captain; and immediately a trial was opened', ibid.

35. 'And before binding to a contract with some Society, it is necessary to open well your eyes, because there have been many and then so many the mistreated and the deceived by those traffickers in human meat', ibid.

36. Examples of such clubs and societies are evident in many of the case studies.

37. R. A. Cage, *Poverty Abounding Charity Aplenty: the Charity Network in Colonial Victoria*, Sydney, Hale Ironmonger, 1992, p. 34.

38. ibid., p. 24.

39. ibid., p. 16.

40. Gentilli (1988) p. 5.

41. 'to find work for 85 foreigners in a country like this, was not too easy a thing, especially for those who did not have the experience or the habits of the Colony, nor the necessary training to get to work in the mines', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 224.

42. 'When we disembarked I roamed the streets of Melbourne looking for work, but in vain. I spent some days knocking from door to door to turn my labour to profit but everywhere I heard the reply that there was no work of any sort'. This letter also appears in Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 33.

43. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 October 1855.

44. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 225.

45. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1989, p. 87.

46. Giovan Pietro Scascighini, letter 3 August 1854, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 400. Giovan is a commonly used abbreviation of the name Giovanni.

47. 'don't listen any more to those hateful schemers, who promise 25 to 30 francs a day to any type of labourer: don't believe this, because we left trusting that we would work in our trade, but instead we have to adopt the hoe and mattock and work in the mines', Brocchi (letter 10 November 1855) p. 49.

48. *Daylesford and District Historical Society Inc. Newsletter*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1990, p. 1.

QUANCHI

1. Maggia Municipal Records indicate that Alessandro was the second eldest of seven children; however, Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 323, claims he was the eldest of eight children.

2. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 43.

3. Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

4. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 63 & 124.

5. ibid., p. 135.

6. ibid., p. 323.

7. ibid., p. 317.

8. ibid., p. 145.

9. V. W. Quanchi, *From Ticino, Switzerland to Australia*, Melbourne, A Family Tree Publication, 1987, p. 26.

10. ibid., p. 27.

11. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 323.

12. Gentilli (1988) pp. 24, 101, 74 & 51.

13. Domenico Bonetti, letter 2 November 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 40.

14. Refer also to Pozzi section for similar examples of anglicization of the Italian speakers' language.

15. Pietro Leoni, letter January 1857, ibid., p. 146.

16. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 265.

17. Gentilli (1988) p. 88.

18. Quanchi (1987) p. 30.

19.   Chi sounds as ki in Italian.

20.   Much of the information related to Maddalena Quanchi is derived from Quanchi (1987) pp. 172-175.

21.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 260.

22.   Gentilli (1988) p. 88. While in Australian, Venezia would marry three times to Italian speakers and be widowed twice. Her husbands were Tobia Bonetti (who had accompanied Alessandro to Australia), Giuseppe Leoni of Cerentino and Giuseppe Pincini of Moghegno. Margherita would marry Andrea Lafranchi and their story is told in more detail later.

23.   ibid., p. 97.

24.   Quanchi (1987) p. 173.

25.   Sagazio (1990) p. 27 claims the house was built in 1879 but this is not supported by Gentilli (1988) p. 97.

26.   Interview with Gloria Sartori, Yandoit, 3 September 1992.

27.   ibid. Much of the information relating to the house and its construction derives from personal observation and interview with Gloria Sartori.

28.   Alberto Fumagalli, 'Architettura contadina nel terittorio di Bergamo', in Roberto Leydi, *Bergamo e il suo territorio*. Mondo Popolare in Lombardia I, Milano, Silvana Editoriale d'Arte, 1977, p. 109.

29.   The children Mary and James may originally have been christened with Italian names which have become anglicised in the family records.

30.   Plan of Allotments in Yandoit Creek area, Parish of Yandoit, Crown (State of Victoria) Copyright, Reproduced by Permission of the Surveyc,-General of Victoria.

31. Much of the information regarding the Righetti property derives from an interview with Lawrence Righetti, Yandoit, 6 June 1992.

32. Reynolds (letter, 1906). See Pozzi section.

33. Gable roofs, though best suited to alpine climates, were an architectural feature adopted by many settlers.

34. Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien, *Australia's Italians 1788-1988*, Melbourne, Italian Historical Society and State Library of Victoria, 1989, p. 17.

35. Lawrence Righetti (interview, Yandoit, 6 June 1992).

36. Examples may be found with descendants of both the Sartori and Gervasoni families of Yandoit.

37. Gloria Sartori (interview, 3 September 1992).

38. Quanchi (1987) p. 31.

39. ibid.

40. O'Brien (1989) p. 17.

41. Poorly positioned behind the dairy, the vineyard would only receive the afternoon sun and not prove productive.

42. Reference to the *bullboar* occurs in many of the case studies. Note in particular the Home and Family and Rodoni sections.

43. Gentilli (1988) p. 10.

44. Quanchi (1987) p. 32.

45. ibid., p. 33.

46. Interview with Lawrence Righetti, Yandoit, 6 June 1992.

47. Quanchi (1987) p. 174.

48. ibid., p. 85.

49. The existence of this condition has been questioned by some members of the medical profession due to its high profile in workers' compensation claims. Phone interview with Geoffrey Mackay, official physiotherapist to the Davis Cup, June 1992.

TOMASETTI

1.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 43.

2.   ibid.

3.   Reynolds (letter, 1906) See Pozzi section.

4.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 124.

5.   ibid., p. 63.

6.   Tomasetti (1974). According to this author, there is also a possibility Gaetano was born 21 October. Much of the information in this section derives from this Tomasetti family history held in manuscript form at the VSL.

7.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 158.

8.   ibid., pp. 135 & 145.

9.   Gentilli (1988) p. 107.

10.   ibid.

11.   Tomasetti (1974).

12.   ibid.

13.   ibid.

14.   ibid.

15.   ibid.

16.   ibid.

17.   ibid. Gaetano's block was described as being in the Parish of Bullarook, County of Talbot, on the left side of the road towards Creswick and nearly seven miles west of Daylesford.

18.   ibid.

19. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, Kensington, New South Wales University Press, 1987, p. 63.

20. Tomasetti (1974).

21. Gentilli (1988) p. 122.

22. Tomasetti (1974).

23. Information derived from discussions with information Officers Sovereign Hill Historical Park, Ballarat, 13 February 1992.

24. Tomasetti (1974).

25. ibid.

26. Tomasetti (1974).

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

29. ibid.

30. ibid.

31. Fr Barsanti, who served as a Missionary in both Australia and New Zealand from 1860, wrote a book describing Australia's indigenous people. Published in Italy in 1868, *I selvaggi dell' Australia*, reflects an understanding of the aboriginal way of life which few Anglo-Celtic settlers in the nineteenth century would have shared. His writings, like those of fellow countryman Raffaello Carboni in the 1850s (see Perini endnotes), may have helped build tolerance towards Australia's native population.

32. Tomasetti (1974).

33. ibid.

34. ibid.

35.   ibid.

36.   ibid.

37.   ibid.

38.   Lurati and Bolla (1990) p. 11.

39.   Tomasetti (1974).

40.   ibid.

41.   Giovanni Tassoni, *Proverbi lombardi commentati*, Palermo, Edikronos, 1981,

        p. 15.

42.   Tomasetti (1974).

43.   ibid.

44.   Gentilli (1988) p. 107.

45.   Tomasetti (1974).

46.   ibid.

47.   The writer will continue to research the meaning of this song.

48.   Tomasetti (1974).

49.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 328.

50.   Tomasetti (1974).

51.   ibid.

52.   ibid.

53.   ibid. Refer also to comment in Home and Family p. 382.

54.   ibid.

55.   Tomasetti (1974).

56. One descendant of the Tomasetti family prospered in the commercial world to the extent that he gave his name to the building at 279 Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

LAFRANCHI

1.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 59-60.

2.   Cheda (1970) Vol. 1, p. 43.

3.   ibid., p. 336.

4.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 59-60.

5.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 336.

6.   Gentilli (1988) p. 124.

7.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 135 & 145.

8.   ibid., p. 158.

9.   Interview with Marie Lewis (daughter of Giglia Lafranchi), Blampied, 6 January 1991.

10.   The purchase was dated 13 August 1872. It is possible that he may have sold his land in the Bullarook Forest or at Deep Creek in order to finance it.

11.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 124 & 260.

12.   Gentilli (1988) p. 45.

13.   Cheda (1979) p. 269.

14.   Information provided by Professor Robert Pascoe, April 1993.

15.   Gentilli (1988) p. 59.

16.   Interview with Giuseppina Bourke (Lafranchi) at Ballarat, 5 May 1991.

17.   Gentilli (1988) p. 59 and information from Plan of Allotments Parish of Bullarook, County of Talbot, Crown (State of Victoria) Copyright, Reproduced by Permission of the Surveyor-General of Victoria.

18.   Copy of inventory can still be seen at Swiss Mountain Hotel, Blampied.

19. ibid.

20. Information obtained through personal observation and interviews with both the hotel's current owners and Lafranchi family descendants.

21. Despite the advantage of attracting customers, it appears that this arrangement expired early in the hotel's operation: descendants living in the late twentieth century had no recollection of its existence and it seems unlikely that a peasant household would tolerate for long having a non-family member working in such close proximity.

22. This term was used by several of the people interviewed during the course of my research.

23. The omission of the name Lafranchi in Victoria. Royal Commission on Vegetable Producers, *Handbook of Viticulture for Victoria*, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1891, suggests that the family's vineyard was too small to rate a mention.

24. Hobsbawm (1992) p, 11, cf. comment p. 11.

25. Interview with Olive Bourke (daughter of Giuseppina Lafranchi) Ballarat, 5 May 1991.

26. Giuseppina Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

27. ibid.

28. This comment was made by several of the family descendants interviewed during the course of my research.

29. This view is commonly expressed by many people in the Daylesford area today.

30. Giuseppina Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

31. Marie Lewis (interview, 6 January 1991).

32. The tricolour flag

   It always was the most beautiful

   It always was the most beautiful

   We will always want that

   We will always want that

   To enjoy Liberty

   To enjoy Liberty

   Emilio Jona, red., *Le canzonette che fecero l'italia*, I Marmi, Vol. 33, Milano, Longanesi e C., 1962.

33. Svampa (1980) p. 349.

34. ibid., p. 350.

35. Giuseppina Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

36. Information derives from personal observation.

37. Subsequent owners of the Swiss Mountain Hotel found several empty opium bottles buried about the property indicating Anchigi or his father may have used opium as a pain-killer. Interview with Daryl Hawksworth, Blampied, 4 January 1996.

38. Tomasetti (1974).

39. Information dervies from personal observation.

40. Information regarding Olimpia and Giuseppina's journey to and time in Ticino derives largely from the interview with Giuseppina Bourke (5 May 1991).

41. Property of Giuseppina Bourke (Lafranchi), Ballarat.

42. Giuseppina Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

43. Religion, civic and moral education, calligraphy, drawing, arithmetic, accounting, geography, history, natural sciences and hygiene, singing, gymnastics, needlework and domestic science. Giuseppina's Swiss report book 1905-1909, ibid.

44. Many writers, such as Cresciani (1985: 101) and Pascoe (1985: 16) have made similar observations of other immigrant communities.

45. Olive Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991). Refer also to comments in Lurati and Bolla (1990) p. 27.

46. Giuseppina bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

47. Marie Lewis (interview, 6 January 1991).

48. Olive Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

49. The 1906 licensing document confirms the original name as Swiss Mountain Hotel.

50. Olive Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

51. Marie Lewis (interview, 6 January 1991).

52. Information gained from personal observation.

53. Olive Bourke (Interview, 5 May 1991).

54. Giuseppina Bourke (interview, 5 May 1991).

55. ibid.

PERINI

1.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 126.

2.   ibid., pp. 124-127.

3.   'my sisters Mariorsola and her children and Angiolina ... brother Giuseppe and sister', Vincenzo Perini, letter 9 August 1859, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 218.   Second letter dated 1870 is the property of Mr and Mrs Cass, family archives.

4.   ibid., letter 8 May 1870.

5.   Vincenzo Perini, hand written note, property of Marie Butler, Hepburn Springs.

6.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 159.

7.   Gentilli (1988) p. 122.

8.   Gentilli (1988) p. 81.

9.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 423.

10.   Vincenzo Perini, letter 8 August 1859, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 217.

11.   'As long as we work in this trade we are all subject to the risk of death', ibid., p. 218.

12.   ibid., p. 218.

13.   Maddicks (1981) p. 11.

14.   Interview with Marie Butler (Perini descendant) at Hepburn Springs, 30 October 1990.

15.   Vincenzo Perini, letter 11 August 1859, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 219.

16.   The tolerance of some Italian speakers towards ethnic minorities may have resulted from their own alienating experiences as immigrants.   Raffaello

Carboni, another Italian settler who documented the events of the Eureka uprising in his well-known book *The Eureka Stockade*, had similarly been moved by white treatment of the Australian aborigines. His play *Gilburnia*, which told of the clash between whites and Tarrang Aborigines near Maldon in 1854, was one of the first literary works to condemn such action. Raefaello Carboni, *Gilburnia*, Daylesford, Jim Crow Press, 1993. Translated and annotated by Tony Pagliaro.

17. Property of Marie Butler, Hepburn Springs.

18. For more details of the Lucini and Crippa families refer also to comments in the Gaggioni section.

19. *Minutes, Proceedings and Correspondence of Committee Established for the Mineral Springs of Hepburn*, 1864-1869, property of Marie Butler.

20. Gentilli (1988) p. 19.

21. W. Johnson, letter to Government analytical chemist, 10 January 1868, reference in minutes of Committee established for Mineral Springs of Hepburn, 1864-1869.

22. Information obtained from Plan of Allotments Township of Hepburn, Parish of Wombat, County of Talbot, Crown (State of Victoria), Copyright, Reproduced by Permission of the Surveyor-General of Victoria.

23. Photocopy of naturalisation certificate with Marie Butler, Hepburn Springs.

24. Marie Butler (interview, 30 October 1990).

25. ibid.

26. Vincenzo Perini, business ledger circa 1865-1905, property of Marie Butler.

27. cf. p. 190 below for further discussion of this topic.

28. Vincenzo Perini, business ledger circa 1865-1905.

29. ibid.

30. A similar situation will be recalled on the Righetti property at Yandoit where the workers were paid in food and lodging.

31. Tassoni (1981) p. 279.

32. *Daylesford Advocate*, 16 December 1915, p. 8.

33. ibid.

34. Plan of Allotments, Township of Hepburn, Parish of Wombat, County of Talbot (cf. endnote 22).

35. Interview with Marie Butler at Hepburn Springs, 8 November 1990.

36. ibid.

37. Vincent Perini, letter to the Chairman of the Committee, Daylesford Weights and Measures Union, 15 May 1877, property of Marie Butler.

38. *Daylesford Advocate*, 16 December 1915, p. 8.

39. Gentilli (1988) p. 81.

40. Property of Marie Butler. Information obtained from the Associazione del Costume Ticinese (Association of Ticinese Costume) Switzerland indicates that the costume is not of Swiss origin but may have been one designed by Violetta to resemble the traditional dress of her father's village.

41. Marie Butler (interview, 30 October 1990).

42. *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 1902.

43. This Righetti is the member of a branch of the family not appearing in this study.

44. Marie Butler (interview, 8 November 1990).

45.   Peter Gray, *Notable Bushfires in Daylesford District Over More Than a Century*. From a talk given to Daylesford Historical Society, 1976, copy held Daylesford Secondary College.

46   *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 24 May 1864, p. 3.

47.   Marie Butler (interview, 8 November 1990). Information also obtained from photographs of the property.

48.   ibid.

49.   ibid.

50.   ibid.

51.   Copy of the program for this evening's entertainment held by Marie Butler, Hepburn Springs.

52.   Alan McCulloch, *Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, Richmond, Hutchinson, 1968, p. 598.

53.   *Daylesford Advocate*, January 1929.

54.   ibid.

RIGHETTI

1.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 43.

2.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 91-92.

3.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 358.

4.   Gentilli (1988) p. 92.

5.   Clement James (grandson of Serafino), *The Family History of Serafino Righetti*, unpublished family history [circa 1968], property of Righetti family.

6.   Gentilli (1988) p. 92 records also the presence of a second Serafino Righetti in the goldfields at this time. He was a deaf and dumb miner only distantly related to this Righetti family.

7.   'Tell Righetti from Someo that his son is safe and has gone to the mines with Giacomo Sartori, Pezzoni and his son and with his brother-in-law Adamina', Stefano Pozzi, letter August 1854, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 329.

8.   Gentilli (1988) p. 91.

9.   'During all this sea voyage we were treated very badly ... we could have died from hunger and misery', Celestino Righetti, letter circa 1861, ibid., p. 370.

10.   cf. above comment p. 99.

11.   'we disembarked at Sydney in the month of April, and believing to arrive in spring', Aquilino Righetti, letter circa 1858, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 367.

12. ibid., p. 366.

13. ibid., p. 368.

14. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 357.

15. 'Battista Righetti finished a good hole then immediately found another one.', Stefano Pozzi, letter 4 April 1855, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 335. (It is possible this letter refers to their cousin Battista.)

16. Alessandro Pozzi, letter 1 August 1855, ibid., p. 246.

17. Leonardo Pozzi, letter 1 January 1856, ibid., p. 304.

18. Alessandro Pozzi, letter 5 February 1856, ibid., p. 250.

19. ibid.

20. 'Mr Righetti with all the frenzy he had now does less than before, the people in his store are like bees in winter; we have toiled more and we will always toil more than the Righettis, even at Deep Creek they have lost their store and we are still there', ibid., letter 4 August 1856, p. 254.

21. ibid., p. 256.

22. ibid.

23. ibid. letter 4 April 1857, p. 269.

24. 'When one deals with brigands one is always betrayed not by our enemies no, they are our true friends Messrs Righetti, who (at least Giuseppe and Serafino)

have sold us their oven for 30 pounds, with the condition that they should not set up another oven less than two and a half miles from ours', ibid.

25. ibid., p. 270.

26. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 357.

27. Gentilli (1988) p. 91.

28. Plan of Allotments Township of Hepburn, Parish of Wombat, County of Talbot, Crown (State of Victoria) Copyright, Reproduced by permission of the Surveyor-General of Victoria.

29. Original naturalisation papers with family descendants, James (circa 1968) p. 8.

30. Celestino Righetti, letter circa 1861, Cheda (1979), Vol. 2, pp. 37-38.

31. Sidney Righetti (grandson of Serafino), interview at Daylesford, 18 June 1990.

32. Much of the information related to Serafino Righetti derives from my interview with his grandson and reference to two family histories, James (circa 1968) and Boyd (circa 1980).

33. James (circa 1968) p. 2.

34. Valeria Boyd (granddaughter of Serafino), *Family History of Serafino Righetti and Lucy McCord*, unpublished family history, circa 1980, p. 3, property of Righetti family.

35. Gary Vines, 'Report on Dry Stone Wall Workshop/Seminar held by National Trust Victoria at "Parambete" Homestead near Corangamite on 4 & 5 April 1987', *Rural Science*, 8 April 1987.

36. At some stage Lucy also had a stillbirth of twins.

37. Sidney Righeti (interview, 18 June 1990).

38. Boyd (circa 1980) p. 3.

39. In ibid., p. 22.

40. Sidney Righetti (interview, 18 June 1990).

41. *Bullboars* made according to the Righetti recipe were sold to the public during the 1996 Swiss-Italian Festa at Hepburn Springs.

42. Boyd (circa 1980).

43. At the end of the twentieth century, this clock remains a prized family possession. Signey Righetti (interview, 18 June 1990).

44. Boyd (circa 1980) p. 8.

45. Address by F. Rotanzi, Chairman Mount Franklin Shire Council, in ibid.

46. ibid.

47. W. H. Matthews, *They Blazed the Track: A Story of the Pioneers of Heywood and District*, Heywood, the Author, n.d., (xerox copy from Glenelg Regional Library held VSL), p. 22.

48.   ibid.

49.   Sidney Righetti, interview by phone, 22 October, 1990.

50.   *Daylesford Advocate*, 18 January 1924.

51.   Some members of the Righetti clan settled as dairy farmers in the San Luis
        Obispo region of California in the nineteenth century. Family history suggests
        that one of these family members may have imported the hotel to Australia
        from there. Sidney Righetti (interview, 22 October 1990).

52.   Died 30 March 1894, Sidney Righetti (interview, 18 June 1990).

53.   'Tempus Fugit', *Daylesford Advocate*, May 1898.

54.   Boyd (circa 1980) p. 7. Joe Pedrazzi was from Cerentino in the Valle Maggia.

55.   ibid.

56.   ibid., pp. 8-9.

57.   Sidney Righetti (interview, 18 June 1990).

58.   James (circa 1968).

59.   James (circa 1968) p. 6.

60.   ibid., p. 4.

61.   Boyd (circa 1980) p. 10.

62.   Sidney Righetti (interview, 18 June 1990).

63.   Boyd (circa 1980).

64.   Sidney Righetti (interview, 22 October 1990).

SCOUTING

1.   Robert Pascoe, 'Place and Community: the Construction of an Italo-Australian Space', in Stephen Castles et al., eds , *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society,* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1992, p 86.

2.   Tony Pagliaro, '"We Sought Gold and Found Stones": Swiss Italians at the Victorian Gold Rush', *Australian Studies,* No. 5, April 1991, p.87.

3.   Hans-Joachim Hoffman-Nowotny, 'European Migration after World War II' in W. H. McNeil and R. S. Adams, eds. *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies,* London, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1978, p. 101.

4.   Pagliaro (1991) p. 87.

5.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 225.

6.   Wegmann (1989) p. 41.

7.   Geoffrey Searle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861,* Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1977, pp. 69-71.

8.   Don Garden, *Victoria a History,* Melbourne, Nelson, 1985, pp. 70-71.

9.   Perrott Lyon Mathieson and Ward (1985) p. 12.

10.   Gentilli (1988) p. 109.

11.   Wegmann (1989) p.44.

12.   Maddicks (1981) p. 12.

13.   Searle (1977) pp. 73, 218-220, 224.

14.   Reference can be found to such arrangements in several of the above case studies.

15.   Robert Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*, Richmond, Greenhouse, 1987, p.108.

16.   'I had a great loss in Ballarat -- I bought an expensive [puddling] machine and a horse to wash earth and it all went wrong. But it's not surprising because in this country when you earn 1,000 or 2,000 francs you spend it on big jobs and often lose your money and your labour and you can't do otherwise in these countries', Filippo Pasqualini, letter 23 March 1886, Cheda (1979), Vol. 2, p. 171.

17.   Discussion with information officers, Sovereign Hill Historical Park, Ballarat, 13 February 1992.

18.   Searle (1977) pp. 119-121.

19.   Tranquillo Patà, letter 29 November 1858, ibid., p. 187.

20.   'We are sorry however to be so far from our home without being able to have news of everyone in these deserts ... I do not fail to remember her [wife] and my son and that soon we hope to come to our home, as I desire', Giacomo Ceresa, letter 1855, ibid., p. 60.

21.   'I recommend to the wife and sisters to love each other and to bear with one another in turn. Try to make my daughters obey you immediately and don't raise them to be immoral, and Giulia who will begin to go to school make her study', Domenico Respini, letter 2 March 1854, ibid., p. 354.

22.   D'Aprano (1994) p. 47.

23.   Born in Genoa, Andrea Doria (1466-1560) was the most glorious representative of a line of adventurous fighting seamen.

24.   D'Aprano (1994) p. 51.

25.   Maddicks (1981) p. 21

26.   ibid., p. 47.

27.   D'Aprano (1994) pp. 48 & 51.

28.   Gentilli (1988) p. 57.

29.   On projects as diverse as Argentine railroads and French highways, the tunnelling skills of the Italian labourers were already well known.

30.   Maddicks (1981) p. 16. Though Maddicks refers to this miner as G. Cacerote, he is almost certainly the Giuseppe Casarotti listed in Gentilli (1981). As early as 1853, a parliamentary committee estimated that the average digger's income was about 34 shillings per week and slightly more for those working the rich Mt Alexander fields.

31.   Maddicks (1981) p. 25.

32.   'I reached the so-called land of gold, I thought my dreams had come true, I thought I had reached my desired goal, I thought, last of all, that I would find recompense for the sacrifices made and the perils endured. Vain illusions, where I sought gold I found stones, where I sought a living I found hunger and grim eyed misery, and with labour almost disproportionate to the strength of man I can barely gain a crust of bread', anonymous letter 1 April 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2. p. 33.

33.   'sometimes you find it [gold] to the value of one hundred or up to two hundred francs in a single pan but so many times you don't find enough even to touch, they are rare and extremely rare those times that you find so much, some days you find something and some days you don't find anything, not even your costs', Tranquillo Patà, letter 13 April 1856, ibid., p. 180.

34. Charles D'Aprano (1994) p. 45.

35. ibid.

36. ibid.

37. 'In this land justice, as you will already know, is exercised by the English, it is very severe and quick; their code after the judgment of the Commissioner does not permit other appeals except in a supreme court. The general nature of the English people is very rough and vindictive and woe to the person who can't make himself feared. They swear falsely and throw you out of the place where you are finding gold', Gioachimo Respini, letter 26 July 1856, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 357.

38. Maddicks (1981) p.48.

39. *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Subject of Chinese Immigration Together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence*, 1856-7 Victoria, Melbourne, Government Printer, 17 November 1857.

40. Garden (1985) p. 81.

41. Maddicks (1981) p. 39.

42. W. B. Withers, *The History of Ballarat From the First Pastoral Settlement to the Present Time*, Ballarat, F. W. Niven and Co., 1980, p. 214.

43. 'In the goldfields, the days passed monotonously and deprived of all family affection which in the Ticinese valleys contributed to rendering at least bearable the bleakest poverty and most tiring work', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 234.

44. 'the soup no longer had the aroma of home-grown parsley', ibid.

45.   'to earn bread it was necessary to toil all day in the mines where, some large pits paid well, but others absolutely nothing except stones and gravel', ibid., p. 235.

46.   Pagliaro (1991) p. 83.

47.   Giovanna Filippini, letter 21 March 1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 88.

48.   'Now that God has put us at our destiny', Leonardo Pozzi, letter 29 March 1855; 'thanks to God we have recovered our health and are ready, hoping better for the future', Daniele Dedini, letter 28 October 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, pp. 299 & 63.

49.   'Here in Australia they have the Protestant religion but the Catholics are more numerous, churches everywhere of wood or stone and a good portion of priests and a bishop resident in Melbourne with other priests', Alessandro Pozzi, letter 24 October 1853, ibid., p. 233.

50.   'I don't know who would want to go to Melbourne to confession and lose 15 days, and spend 15 or 18 pounds, its not like in our home where they pay nothing for confession, but here they must pay one pound to the confessor and to a needy man he thinks about this before spending so much money which he earns toiling if his family needs it', ibid., letter 4 August 1856, p. 257.

51.   'One can almost say that Australia is for the body not for the soul', ibid.

52.   Martin Short, *Inside the Brotherhood: Further Secrets of the Freemasons*, London, Harper-Collins, 1990, p. 150.

53.   Mack Smith (1969), p. 81.

54.   Short (1990) p. 150.

55.   'pray to God for me', Antonio Bronz, letter 1860, Cheda (1979) p. 52.

56. 'We can't hear the Mass on Sunday because there isn't one. It is necessary to commend ourselves to God and to the Holy Virgin', Ceresa (1855) p. 60.

57. 'I entreat you . . .to make them [the children] go to Mass on Sunday', Carlo Sartori, letter 13 August 1854, Cheda (1979) p. 387.

58. cf. above p. 48, 'They [the Ticinesi] won't be troubling him [a Catholic priest] so it would have been better if these religious hadn't taken the trouble'.

59. Language examples are drawn from a broad sample of letters of Ticinese settlers in Cheda (1979) Vol. 2.

MILESI

1. Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

2. Refer to above discussion by Brunn (1992) p. 7.

3. Michael Milesi, *The Milesi-Tinetti Family Tree*. December 1989, unpublished family history, family archives. Over 100 hundred years later, and evidence of the village's deep conservatism, family descendant Domenico Milesi recorded further instances of grace received from 1883 to the beginning of the twentieth century.

4. ibid.

5. Giacomina's surname is not known.

6. Documents held by the family state that Giacomina came from the Cantaldo Superiore province of Lombardy but as no such place exists, the reference may have been to Cornello or Cantello in the province of Novara.

7. Milesi (1989).

8. Information supplied by Professor Robert Pascoe, April 1993.

9. Gentilli (1988) pp.118-120.

10. Milesi (1989).

11. Gentilli (1988) pp. 118-120.

12. 'We found an Italian and he said to us: come to my hotel where I have a book with the names of all our Italians and where they are', Giacomo Ceresa, letter 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 58.

13. Tullio De Mauro and Mario Lodi, *Lingua e dialetti*, Roma, Riuniti, 1986, p. 28. Refer also to above comment pp. 98-99.

14. Mack Smith (1969) p. 55.

15. Information derived from Milesi (1989).

16. Mack Smith (1969) p. 39.

17. Shipping records indicate that A. & G. Milesi, both some years older than Angelo, left Liverpool aboard the *Harmonides* on 31 March 1858.

18. Shire of Mount Franklin rates books. Held Daylesford Historical Society Museum.

19. Milesi (1989).

20. Information derived from ibid.

21. ibid.

22. ibid.

23. Gentilli (1988) p. 104.

24. Interview with Andrew Rodoni (see Rodoni section) Basalt, 26 May 1991.

25. Milesi (1989).

GUSCETTI

1. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p.147.

2. Caroline Alcorso, 'Early Italian Migration and the Construction of European Australia 1788-1939', in Castles et al. (1992) p. 5.

3. Cheda (1979) Vol 1, p. 66.

4. ibid., p.132.

5. ibid., p. 43.

6. *Daylesford Mercury and Express*, 22 april 1871, p. 24.

7. Gentilli (1988) p. 57.

8. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 147-8.

9. ibid., p. 495.

10. Gentilli (1988) p. 57.

11. Giuseppe Marini, letter 1 June 1855, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 130.

12. 'After three days I have finally had a letter from Severino, who writes to me from Jim Crow Diggings bringing me news from the 6 March. He gives me the details of his journey, which in total were happy, he and his family always finding themselves well', ibid.

13. 'We lead a rustic life, but we are at peace without dependency, without fear being here more safety than elsewhere. I hope if not soon to accumulate great riches, to be able without difficulty to see to the maintenance of the family and in the meantime I will keep looking around to acquire a more stable and suitable position', ibid.

14. Tony Pagliaro, (April 1991) p. 86.

15. 'Among the fortune-hunters there weren't just farmers and shepherds, but a crowd of lawyers, doctors, engineers and poets: all came to Australia, not with the idea of digging for gold but of fleecing the few lucky ones who found it', Aquilino Righetti, autobiographical notes, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 368.

16. 'yesterday a few of our Ticinesi arrived with Guscetti ... Of this Guscetti what in the devil does he want to do here, one couldn't say, the least bread maker can be the luckiest, but generally this happens to those who use the shovel and hoe', Alessandro Pozzi, letter 25 February 1855, ibid., p. 245.

17. ibid., letter 10 September 1857, p. 275.

18. ibid., letter 14 April 1857, p. 269.

19. 'Dr Pagnamenta has gone to Bendigo but he seems to me a fool; I believe he is short of money and won't last long in Australia', ibid., letter 17 September 1856, p. 260.

20. 'I believe Dr Guscetti is doing fairly well, but the large piece of gold that they are saying he has in Ticino, it would be good for him if he had it', ibid.

21. 'who is that wooden head who has come from Melbourne? oh it's Mr Guscetti, and here in Australia? but sure; hasn't he just finished exploiting the poor monks and Cappuccini [Capuchin friars] now he decides to come here in Australia to exploit the miners', Stefano Pozzi, letter 1855, ibid., p. 337.

22. The naming of the Switzerland Store is another example of the immigrants courting business from both Italian-speaking and Anglo-Celtic members of the public.

23. Cheda (1979) Vol 2, letter 7 February 1855, p. 332.

24. 'Most of the Swiss are here, a good quantity are at Bendigo where you'll find Doctor Guscetti with a store', Alessandro Pozzi, letter 14 April 1857, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 271.

25. 'Guscetti is going to put up a store at Bendigo but he'll make a poor investment' ibid., letter 1856, p. 341.

26. Letter from Glenda Ward (great, great granddaughter Severino Guscutti) 22 August 1983. Copy held Daylesford Historical Society.

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

29. *Birtchnell's Daylesford Directory*, 1865. Copy held Daylesford Historical Society Museum.

30. Stefano Pozzi, letter 25 June 1867, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 342.

31. 'I paid an English doctor £5:5 for only one visit, Guscetti I think will take around £15 or £20', Alessandro Pozzi, letter 25 June 1867, ibid., p. 343. (Presumably this was for the entire course of treatments.)

32. Gentilli (1988) p. 94.

33. *Daylesford Hospital Subscribers: Minutes Book, 1860-1871*, Held archives Daylesford Hospital.

34. 'my leg has been left short and will be in the same state until I die thanks to that disgraceful Dr Pagnamenta', Tranquillo Patà, letter 8 April 1859, ibid., p.188.

35. Ward (22 August 1983).

36. ibid.

37. ibid.

38. *Daylesford Hospital Subscribers: Minutes Book*, 1860-1871.

39. ibid.

40. ibid.

41. *Daylesford Mercury and Express,* 8 September 1870.

42. ibid., 22 April 1871, p. 24.

43. ibid., 8 November 1870.

44. ibid., 22 April 1871, p. 24.

45. ibid.

46. ibid.

47. 'Dr Guscetti ... wasted away in Australia through home-sickness', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 495.

48. *Daylesford Mercury and Express,* 25 April 1871.

49. ibid. If an accurate report, the Italian (rather than the Swiss) flag at the funeral of someone born in Switzerland points to an apparent indifference to such distinctions.

50. *Daylesford Mercury and Express,* 22 April 1871, p. 24.

51. Gentilli (1988) p. 57.

VANINA

1. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 131

2. Information provided by Fred Gheeman (Vanina family descendant), Hepburn, 14 March 1991.

3. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 110.

4. ibid., p. 129. The very low rate of emigration from the Riviera is partly explained by its many village councils' refusal to grant travel assistance.

5. Gentilli (1988) p.122.

6. *History of Vanina Family of Hepburn,* personal recollections of a family descendant. Copy held Daylesford Historical Society Museum.

7. 'The emigrants of Biasca -- at least from the affirmations of the commissioner of Riviera -- would have sent rather consoling news from Australia'. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 253.

8. Letters received as late as 1925 from relatives in Biasca indicate that the economic problems in Biasca had not abated. Family archives, property of F. Gheeman.

9. Gentilli (1988) p. 110.

10. Purchase from Monighetti conjecture of family descendants, interview Fred Gheeman, 14 March 1991. If true may suggest the site of Leonard Pozzi's 1859 billiard saloon.

11. Much of the information relating to the Vanina house derives from interviews with Fred Gheeman and written correspondence from another family descendant Betty Johns.

12.   Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

13.   ibid.

14.   *History of Vanina Family of Hepburn.*

15.   Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

16.   Licensing Court, *Licensing Register 1861-1872,* March 1871. Held Public Records Office, Ballarat.

17.   Plan of Allotments, Township of Hepburn, Parish of Wombat, County of Talbot, Crown (State of Victoria) Copyright, Reproduced by permission of Sureyor-General of Victoria.

18.   Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

19.   Refer also to comments in Home and Family, pp. 387-388.

20.   Gentilli (1988) p. 110.

21.   Marriage certificate Andrea and Luigia Ferrari, 28 May 1872. Property of J. McEwan, Hepburn.

22.   Gentilli (1988) p. 110.

23.   *Vision and realisation,* Vol. 2, p. 686.

24.   Family archives only record names in Anglo-Celtic form.

25.   Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

26.   Shire of Mount Franklin rates books. Held Daylesford Historical Society Museum.

27.   Leila Richards (see Gaggioni section), interview at Melbourne, 10 February 1991.

28.   ibid.

29.   Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

30.	The small weatherboard house remains standing up to the present.

31.	Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

32.	ibid.

33.	*Handbook of Viticulture for Victoria* (1891).

34.	Interview with Joan McEwan (Ferrari family descendant) at Hepburn, 21 April 1991.

35.	Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

36.	Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

37.	Leila Richards interview, 22 September 1990.

38.	Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

39.	ibid.

40.	Joan McEwan (interview, 21 April 1991).

41.	ibid.

42.	*Daylesford Advocate*, 31 December 1904.

43.	Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

44.	ibid.

45.	'Fifty Years of Solid Silent Work', *St Peter's Church Newsletter*, copy with J. McEwan, Hepburn.

46.	*Daylesford Advocate*, 21 June 1956.

47.	ibid., 6 July 1930.

48.	Fred Gheeman (interview, 14 March 1991).

49.	ibid.

50.	ibid.

51.	ibid.

SETTLING

1. Gentilli (1988) p. 6.

2. 'an adventure of swindled desperates who not only did not become rich, but at the finish found themselves poorer than when they had left', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 241.

3. Pascoe (1992) p. 86.

4. 'we will never again have the money to come home, the hope is lost', Filippo Tunzi, letter 17 March 1873, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 435.

5. Cheda, ibid , Vol. 1, p. 449.

6. 'Between 1858 and 1866 we found tens of mortgage loans and of property sales underwritten by the same emigrants themselves or their families to settle the initial debt', ibid., p. 250.

7. 'It is impossible for me to pay them but however you could pay with my property not in the house but in some piece of land' Giovanni Tartaglia, letter 13 August 1883, ibid., Vol. 2, p. 432.

8. At the end of the twentieth century, some Daylesford descendants continued to discuss the possibility of bigamous marriages among their forebears.

9. Charles D'Aprano, 'Questions for a History of Italians in the Colony of Victoria', (*Conference Proceedings*) 1987, p. 33.

10. 'Australia will be like the other countries, that is, in the hands of the capitalists, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.' Giuseppe Ferrari, letter 12 June 1889, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 70.

11. 'Scarce was the number of labourers who emigrated in 1855, even more scarce those of the liberal arts or professions; the emigration was composed almost entirely of the peasant class.' Cheda, ibid., Vol. 1, p. 252.

12. cf. above pp. 98-99.

13. D'Aprano, (*Conference Proceedings*) 1987, p. 34.

14. R. P. Ringrose, 'Land Settlement' in *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 3, Sydney, The Grolier Society of Australia, 1977, p. 486.

15. ibid., pp. 486-488.

16. 'The mines are becoming exhausted, the work scarce, and the income extremely limited . . . it seems that the condition of our emigrants is deteriorating, because the fortunes are becoming more scarce and limited, such that the Commissioner making the report, is beginning to fear that this mass emigration mania will succeed in damaging and producing unhappiness and the poverty of so many peasants who would have had enough to survive on in their own country', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 254.

17. John McQuilton, *The Kelly Outbreak, 1878-1880,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979, p. 16.

18. ibid., (1979) pp. 18-20.

19. Gentilli (1988) p. 8.

20. Victorian Parliament, Act No. 156, An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Aliens, 10 April 1863.

21. Gentilli (1988) p. 8.

22. Land Titles Records, Lands offices, Daylesford.

23. McQuilton (1979) p. 22.

24. Barry Donchi, cited in Jenny Brown, 'A Timber Cutter who Thinks Conservation', *Age*, Melbourne, Home Supplement, 13 August 1991, p. 3.

25. Wegmann (1989) p. 45.

26. Tassoni (1981) p. xii.

27. Lidio Bertelli, 'The Regional Origin of Italian Emigrants', *(Conference Proceedings)* 1987, p. 17.

28. Herbert Meier, *Switzerland*, Berne, Co-ordinating Commission for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad, 1990.

29. Interview with Cliff Prentice (husband of Louise, who is a descendant of Martino Pedretti from Poschiavo) at Daylesford, 22 August 1990.

30. Information derived from personal observation and discussion with current owner of property R. Lee, 24 June 1990, Yandoit.

31. Roslyn Maguire, 'Italians in Evidence in Nineteenth Century Australia', *Heritage*, Autumn 1987.

32. Maddicks (1981) p. 54.

33. *Daylesford Hospital Subscribers: Minutes Book*, 1860-1871. Held Daylesford Hospital archives.

34. Borough of Daylesford rates books, 1871. Held Daylesford Town Hall archives.

35. Pascoe (1992), p. 89.

36. Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, pp. 21-29.

37. ibid., p 209.

38. Pascoe (1992) p. 86.

GERVASONI

1. Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

2. Claude Culvenor (great grandson of Carlo), *The Gervasonis and the Settlement of Yandoit Creek*, Daylesford, Jim Crow Press, 1995, p. 3. Much of the information related to the activities of the family derive from this text, my conversations with Mr. Culvenor and analysis of letters and documents held by the Vaccari Historical Trust, Melbourne.

3. While Giuseppe wrote fluently from Australia and Luigi was his main correspondent, family history suggests that Carlo was illiterate.

4. Sagazio (1990) p. 25.

5. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 134-138.

6. Gentilli (1988) pp. 118-119.

7. The lack of council loans awarded in 1858, also evidenced in Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, would suggest their cessation by this date.

8. Culvenor (1995) p. 11.

9. ibid., p. 39.

10. Culvenor (1995) pp 39-40, suggests Jack Goponi is probably Carlo Giupponi who travelled to Australia with Carlo and Giuseppe Gervasoni on the *Harmonides* in 1858 and later took up land in Yandoit Creek. Battista Monyang is almost certainly Battista Nani: the Monyang name, unlikely for an Italian, appears nowhere else in the affairs of Yandoit Creek.

11. ibid., p. 40.

12. ibid., p 11.

13. ibid. p. 11.

14. Copy of contracts held by Vaccari Historical Trust, Melbourne.

15. ibid.

16. ibid.

17. Partnership agreement, Yandoit, 12th March 1866, held Claude Culvenor, Melbourne.

18. Fumagalli (1977) p. 123.

19. ibid., p. 109.

20. Similar constructions may be seen in some mountainside communities of central Italy, Fumagalli (1977) pp. 107-120.

21. Schedule of goods and chattels sold by Ambrogio Invernizzi and Antonio Gervasoni, held Claude Culvenor, Melbourne.

22. Copy held Vaccari Historical Trust, Melbourne.

23. Nicola Zingarelli, *Il nuovo zingarelli minore: vocabolario della lingua italiana*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1987, p. 548.

24. Luigi Germano from Asti in the Piedmont region was a close neighbour of the Gervasonis. His stone house remains stanoing at Yandoit Creek today and is much photographed and painted.

25. Interview with Silvia Gervasoni (great granddaughter of Carlo) at Yandoit Creek, 9 July 1991.

26. Copy held Claude Culvenor, Melbourne.

27. ibid.

28. cf. above p. 99.

29. Culvenor (1995) p. 88.

30.   *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 2, p. 812.

31.   Culvenor (1995) p. 46.

32.   ibid., p. 45.

33.   Silvia Gervasoni (interview, 9 July 1991).

34.   ibid.

35.   Interview with Annie O'Conner (great granddaughter of Carlo) at Yandoit Creek, 9 July 1991.

36.   Fumagalli (1977) p. 113.

37.   Annie O'Conner (interview, 9 July 1991).

38.   Silvia Gervasoni (interview, 9 July 1991).

39.   D. Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard! A History of Wine in Victoria*, Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing and the Museum of Victoria, 1994.

40.   *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria, 1888-1892.* Held State Library, Melbourne.

41.   Culvenor (1995) p. 91.

42.   ibid., p. 65.

43.   Annie O'Conner (interview, 9 July 1991).

44.   Copies of documents held Vaccari Historical Trust, Melbourne.

45.   *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 2, p. 812.

46.   Copies held Claude Culvenor, Melbourne.

47.   ibid.

48.   Silvia Gervasoni (interview, 9 July 1991).

CALIGARI

1. Despite contradictory evidence in Gentilli (1988), family history suggests these three were brothers.

2. Pascoe (1987) p. 106.

3. ibid.

4. Gentilli (1988) p. 30.

5. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 124.

6. Interview with William Caligari, Melbourne, 9 January 1992.

7. Gentilli (1988) pp. 121-125.

8. Gentilli (1988) p. 125.

9. ibid.

10. Information derived from L. W. Caligari, *The Caligari Family*, Unpublished family history, 1972, pp. 2-3.

11. Even today it is not uncommon for local people to express surprise at the Swiss origin of the Italian speakers.

12. Gentilli (1988) pp. 52, 91 & 108.

13. ibid., p. 92.

14. ibid., pp. 72 & 92.

15. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

16. Licensing Court, *Licensing Register 1861-1872*. Held Public Records Office, Ballarat.

17. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

18. ibid.

19. Caligari (1972) p. 3.

20. Information obtained from marriage certificate, property of L. W. Caligari, Malvern.

21. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

22. Naturalisation papers property of L. W. Caligari, Malvern.

23. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

24. *Sun*, Melbourne, 5 June 1947.

25. Gentilli (1988) p. 30.

26. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

27. *Daylesford Advocate*, 30 May 1907.

28. ibid., 1 June 1907, p. 18.

29. *Sun*, Melbourne, 5 June 1947.

30. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

31. Information regarding this generation of the Caligari family also derives from the above interview.

32. *Daylesford Advocate*, 8 January 1926.

33. ibid.

34. William Caligari (interview, 9 January 1992).

35. Today's laws permit individual plots for a contracted period after which time bodies are transferred to a mass grave.

36. *Brocca* is the Italian word for 'jug' suggesting this was a small version of this item.

GAGGIONI

1.   Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 43.

2.   ibid., pp. 63 & 158.

3.   ibid., p. 124. Gentilli (1988) suggests slightly higher figures than Cheda.

4.   Reynolds (letter, 1906), cf. p. 37. above.

5.   Gentilli (1988) p. 49.

6.   ibid.

7.   ibid.

8.   Joan Endacott, 'The Last Swiss Built Stone House in Hepburn and the Gaggioni Family' (compiled from information supplied by Vera Howell & Donald McKinnon), *Daylesford and District Historical Society Inc. Newsletter*, Vol. 6, No.2, January 1993, p. 6.

9.   Shire of Mount Franklin rates books, 1871 & 1875. Held Daylesford Historical Society Museum.

10.   Endacott (1993) p. 7.

11.   Cheda (1979) p. 269. Between 1855 and 1875 over 80 percent of Gordevio's marriages were between its local families.

12.   Interview with Leila Richards (daughter of Pietro and Loretta Gaggioni) Melbourne, 10 February 1991.

13.   Parish map, Township of Hepburn, Parish of Wombat, County of Talbot.

14.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991). The Gaggioni house is currently occupied by people not related to the Gaggioni family and in recent years has undergone some renovation.   Much of the information related to the

construction of the home was provided by Stephen Henderson who undertook the renovation work (letter to the author, 12 August 1993).

15. At the end of a row of newly planted seeds peasant farmers in Italy would often place a cross made of wood or heaped sticks that had been blessed by a priest.

16. Interview with Leila Richards, Melbourne, 22 September 1990.

17. ibid.

18. ibid.

19. Gentilli (1988) p. 49.

20. Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

21. ibid.

22. ibid.

23. ibid.

24. Guido Bezzola, *La vita quotidiana a Milano ai tempi di Stendahl*, Milano, Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1991, p. 119.

25. This tradition derived from a time in Lombardy when water was either scarce, of poor quality or shrouded in prejudice and when large amounts of wine were thus drunk in preference. Ibid., p. 129.

26. Leila Richards (interview, 22 September 1990).

27. ibid.

28. Sagazio (1990) pp. 23-24.

29. Conversation with Maria Viola (great granddaughter of Giacomo Lucini), Hepburn Springs, 23 January 1994.

30. ibid.

31. Sagazio (1990) pp. 24-25.

32.   Leila Richards (interview, 22 September 1990).

33.   ibid.

34.   Leila Richards has no understanding of the Italian language.

35.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

36.   Interestingly Germaine Greer, whose ancestors also came from Ticino, commented on the role of southern European women in fostering rituals associated with life and death in her book, *The Change: Women, Ageing and the Menopause*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1991.

37.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

38.   *Daylesford Advocate*, 1906.

39.   It was a small oven beneath which wood could be burnt. Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

40.   Giusy Gallo, 'Savoring Lombady', *Italy Italy*, No. 1, January - February 1994, p. 28.

41.   Leila Richards, letter to the author, 24 February 1991.

42.   Leila Richards, (interview, 22 September 1990).

43.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

44.   'traditional dress has reflected for centuries the prohibitions and rules, written and unwritten, which obliged the subordinate classes not to dress in the manner and the clothes reserved for the dominant classes', Lurati and Bolla (1990) p. 9.

45.   Leila Richards, (interview, 22 September 1990).

46.   ibid.

47.   ibid.

48.   ibid.

49.   Information derived from personal observation and conversation with Maria Viola, 23 January 1994.

50.   ibid.

51.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

52.   ibid.

53.   ibid.

54.   ibid.

HOME AND FAMILY

1.   'The choice of partner was undoubtedly an important element of the social and intellectual structure, because it contributed -- like the economic level -- to forming, consolidating, and maintaining the social groups', Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 269-270.

2.   ibid.

3.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 113-117.

4.   D'Aprano *(Conference Proceedings)* 1987, p. 35. These figures are, however, always an understatement -- see Pascoe (1987).

5.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 9, 113-117.

6.   ibid., p. 9.

7.   The wattle and daub hut was also known in Italy. Refer Mack Smith (1969) p. 40.

8.   Gentilli (1988) p. 8.

9.   Patrizio Fusar, 'Como a Pretty Picture', *Italy Italy*, No. 4, July-August 1993, p. 19.

10.   Fumagalli (1977) p. 108.

11.   Fumagalli (1985) p. 59.

12.   ibid., pp. 81-102.

13.   Information provided by Stephen Henderson (cf. endnote 14 Gaggioni section).

14.   Fumagalli (1985) p. 91.

15.   Phillip Cox and John Freeland, *Rude Timber Buildings in Australia*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1969, pp. 37-38.

16. Barbara Walsh, '*Bergamo*', *Italy Italy*, No. 4, July-August, 1993, pp. 10-15.

17. Interview with Lawrence Righetti, Yandoit, 29 May 1994.

18. Pascoe (1987) p. 132

19. Righetti (interview, 29 May 1994).

20. *Swiss Italian Migrants in Australia*, channel 0/28's ("S.C.O.O.P."), 16 February 1982. Copy obtained from Australian Reference Service.

21. While not all the Italian speakers who settled in the Daylesford area were 'peasants', they did share many of the attributes which are identified here as typically peasant.

22. Fumagalli (1985) p. 7.

23. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, p. 262.

24. Fumagalli (1977) p. 113.

25. The making of polenta is described by Tassoni (1981: 241) as an 'art' perfected by the Lombard peasant.

26. Giusy Gallo, 'Savoring Lombardy', *Italy Italy*, No. 1, January-February 1994, p. 28.

27. The making of sausages in the nineteenth century Lombard home is vividly described in Riccardo Bacchelli's *The Mill on the Po*, London, Hutchinson and Co., 1952, p. 235.

28. Bianconi (1989) p. 219.

29. Searle (1977) p. 350.

30. ibid., p. 346.

31. Mack Smith (1969) p. 43. Vivid description of the Italian speakers' religious beliefs and attitudes are also provided in Bacchelli (1952: 575).

32. Chris McConville, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: the Irish in Australia*, Caulfield, Edward Arnold, 1987, p. 63.

33. Federico Formignani, *Parlar lombardo: storia e realtà delle parlate lombarde*, Firenze, Edizioni del Riccio, 1978, p. vi.

34. ibid.

35. This table was placed on public display during Hepburn Springs 1994 Swiss-Italian Festa.

VANZETTA

1. Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

2. Interview with Nancy Vanzetta (family descendant) at Hepburn, 6 February 1991.

3. The names of several members of the Fogliani family appear in Gentilli (1988) p. 46.

4. Cheda (1979) Vol. 1, pp. 481-486.

5. Gentilli (1988) p. 3.

6. Letter from Ferdinando to his parents in 1889 indicates good command of the Italian language. Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 439.

7. Gentilli (1988) p. 110.

8. 'Here is the direction,

    C/o Mrs (?) Vanini

    via Daylesford Victoria

    Australia'.

    Fedinando Vanzetta, letter 7 June 1889, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 439.

9. 'work I found, not only me but also the others, and immediately only a few days after reaching Australia', ibid.

10. 'I regret not being able to help you now, but you know dear father, that if our interests go well, and if God keeps us healthy, by 11 November as much as we can, for our part we won't fail to help', ibid.

11. Such unquestioning faith was also evident in Bergamask sayings, such as, *'Non cade foglia che Dio non voglia'* (Not a leaf falls unless God intends it), Tassoni (1981) p. 4.

12. 'I have too much love of my family home hoping to see it again some day', Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 439.

13. In Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien, *Australia's Italians 1788-1988*, Melbourne. The Italian Historical Society and the State Library of Victoria, 1989, p. 14.

14. Maddicks (1981) p. 43.

15. 'That which would give me great pleasure dear father would be to sacrifice something to make my brothers learn a trade which suits them, which would be for them bread and milk during their lives. Here in Australia he who knows a trade you can call happy and fortunate, for those who have neither skill nor a trade nor a little education for them the work is more harsh and strenuous', Ferdinando Vanzetta, letter 7 June 1889, Cheda (1979) Vol. 2, p. 439.

16. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 6 June 1991).

17. Gentilli (1988) p. 99.

18. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 6 June 1991).

19. Information on marriage certificate, property of Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn.

20. Family bible, property of Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn.

21. Interview with Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn, 25 January 1991.

22. Shire of Mount Franklin rate books. (1894 is the earliest held with reference to the Vanzettas).

23. cf. p. 295 above reference to 'the peasant triangle'.

24. Gentilli (1988) p. 110.

25. Shire of Mount Franklin rate books. Held Daylesford Historical Society.

26. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 25 January 1991).

27. ibid.

28. Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991 - See Gaggioni section).

29. ibid.

30. *Daylesford Advocate*, 25 January 1906.

31. ibid.

32. ibid.

33. ibid.

34. Shire of Mount Franklin rate books.

35. Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

36. ibid.

37. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 6 June 1991).

38. Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

39. This was a view commonly expressed by many of the descendants interviewed.

40. Interview with Vera Howell (local resident) at Hepburn, 14 August 1990.

41. ibid.

42. *Daylesford Advocate*, 29 November 1964.

43. ibid.

44. ibid.

45. Shire of Mount Franklin rate books.

46. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 25 January 1991).

47. Shire of Mount Franklin rate books. 1922.

48. Nancy Vanzetta (interview, 25 January 1991).

49. ibid.

50. ibid.

51. Property of Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn.

52. *Daylesford Advocate*, November 1964.

53. Original letters, property of Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn.

54. 'they dedicate on the festive occasion of his 100th birthday this homage in remembrance of the relatives remaining in the homeland,' property of Nancy Vanzetta, Hepburn.

55. As also stated in the following Rodoni section p. 412, the cypress tree recalled the European landscape.

56. Margherita's house was only sold late this century.

RODONI

1.   Gentilli (1988) p. 93.

2.   Interview with Andrew Rodoni at Basalt, 26 May 1991.

3.   Gentilli (1988) p. 93. It is possible Isidoro had departed some time before this date.

4.   Gentilli (1988) p. 93.

5.   Gabriel Henderson, an extract from 'The Early Days of Shepherds Flat', (1938) *Daylesford and District Historical Society Inc. Newsletter*, Vol. 5, No. 2, December 1991.

6.   Gentilli (1988) pp. 93 & 104.

7.   ibid.

8.   Shepherds Flat Post Office was also at one stage located on the property with its entrance reached by a ford across the creek; the locals would use the swing bridge to get mail when the Jim Crow flooded after heavy rains.

9.   Information derived from personal observation and discussion with current owner, Carol White, who has renovated the property.

10.   Fumagalli (1985) p. 116.

11.   Phone interview with Carol White, 25 July 1993.

12.   The Italian speakers found it possible to replace the traditional stone roof with shingles in Australia's warmer climate.

13.   Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

14.   Information derived from personal observation.

15.   ibid.

16.   Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

17.   ibid.

18.   ibid.

19.   Fred Nicoll, 'Pot Night', *Pointers,* June 1938.

20.   Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

21.   ibid.

22.   Leila Richards (interview, 10 February 1991).

23.   Interview with Marlene Raven (Rodoni family descendant) Ballarat, 7 January
       1991.   Many years later she could still recall Caterina's Italian sayings and
       heavy accent.

24.   ibid.

25.   Gentilli (1988) p. 93.

26.   Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

27.   ibid.

28.   Such fears were echoed in the Lombard proberb: *'In un economia di
       fabbisogno,è da senno provvedere al necessario per l'inverno; venga chi
       vuole, le provviste sono in casa'* (In a subsistence economy, it is wise to
       provide for the winter; come who may, the provisions are there), Tassoni
       (1981) p. 246.

29.   Perini business ledger circa 1865-1905 (see earlier Perini section).

30.   Vera Howell, letter to the author, 12 June 1991.

31.   Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

32.   ibid.

33.   Nicoll (1938).

34. ibid.

35. ibid.

36. ibid.

37. It remained in the family for many generations before being donated to the Daylesford Historical Society. It is currently on display in the Daylesford museum.

38. Nicoll (1938).

39. ibid.

40. Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

41. Nicoll (1938). Isidoro's familiarity with an opera first performed in Italy in 1892 reveals he maintained close contact with events in Europe.

42. Andrew Rodoni (interview, 26 May 1991).

43. ibid.

44. ibid.

45. Conversation with Carol White, Shepherds Flat, 11 January 1991. Lavender is also a small shrub of the genus Lavandula.

LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

1.   H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, Routledge, 1994, p. 2.

2.   Gentilli (1988) p. 1.

3.   *Bullboars* are also sold at a number of outlets in Ballarat.

4.   'Bull Boars are Flavour of the Day', *Courier*, Ballarat, 28 December 1991, p. 56.

5.   *Villa Parma* is the renovated *Parma House* once belonging to Fabrizio Crippa and *Bellinzona* is on the site of what was once the Perini family guest house *Locarno*. Both are in Hepburn Springs.

6.   Maria Viola, great granddaughter of Giacomo Lucini, currently opens up the Macaroni Factory to the public a number of times each year. She was recently awarded a government grant to restore the property.

7.   Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians*, Sydney, ABC Enterprises, 1985, p. 37. This settlement was managed with great success until World War I.

8.   Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, *Australia and Immigration 1788 to 1988*, Canberra, AGPS, 1988, p. 17.

9.   ibid., p. 19.

10.   Department of Immigration (1988) p. 42.

11.   ibid., p. 19.

12.   ibid.

13.   Caroline Alcorso, 'Early Italian Migration and the Construction of European Australia 1788-1939', in Castles et al. (1992) p. 9. One example of racial tension which, in 1934 Kalgoorlie, erupted into an incident of civil disorder is

described by Pascoe and Bertola in 'Italian Miners and the Second-Generation "Britishers" at Kalgoorlie', *Social History*, Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 9-35.

14. Alcorso (1992), pp. 9-10.

15. Department of Immigration (1988) p. 24.

16. ibid.

17. T. A. Ferry, Commissioner, 'Report of Royal Commission on Social and Economic Effect of Increase in Number of Aliens in North Queensland', 1925, in Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia*, Sydney, Knockmore Enterprises, 1988, pp. 65-91.

18. ibid. Joseph Raffa's *The Happy Children* (1984) provides a vivid description of an Italian immigrant boy growing up in 1930s Fremantle.

19. Department of Immigration (1988) p. 25.

20. Cresciani (1985) p. 95.

21. Stephen Castles, 'Italian Migration and Settlement Since 1945', in Castles et al. (1992) pp. 42-43.

22. Pascoe (1987) p. 123.

23. Cresciani (1985) pp. 100-105. Many of these settlements are also described in Pascoe (1987) pp. 157-178.

24. John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration Since 1945*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 78-79.

25. Claudio and Caroline Alcorso, 'Italians in Australia During World War II', in Castles et al. 1992, p. 26.

26.   Stephen Castles, 'Italian Migration and Settlement Since 1945', in ibid., p. 49.

27.   Rina Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova: A Comparative Study of Italian Settlers in Sydney and Griffith*, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1977, p. 75.

28.   Frank Panucci et al., 'Italians Help Build Australia', in Castles et al. (1992).

29.   Jock Collins, 'Cappuccino Capitalism: Italian Immigrants and Australian Business', in ibid., p. 78.

30.   Frank Panucci et al., 'Italians Help Build Australia' in ibid., p. 65.

31.   Claudio and Caroline Alcorso in ibid., p. 32.

32.   Ellie Vasta, 'Italian Migrant Women', in ibid., p. 143.

33.   Stephen Castles in ibid., p. 48.

34.   Martin Daly, 'Melting Pot Theory for Australia', *Age*, Melbourne, 11 March 1993, p. 6.

35.   Caroline Alcorso et al., 'Community Networks and Institutions', in Castles et al. (1992) p. 111.

36.   *Year Book Australia 1996,* No. 78, Canberra, Australia Bureau of Statistics, 1996, p. 348. It may indeed be possible to suggest that this significant group, along with others who have no allegiance to the Church of England nor its titular head, are spearheading Australia's current move toward becoming a republic.

37.   Huber (1977: 96-114). Provides an interesting description of the clubs formed and joined by the Trevisani who settled in Griffith in the twentieth century.

38.   Stephen Castles et al., 'Italo-Australians and Politics', in Castles et al. (1992) pp. 125-139.

39.   Victoria Directorate of School Education, *Languages Other Than English in Government Schools*, Victoria, Quality Programs Divison, Directorate of School Education, 1995, p. 37.

40.   David Bruce, 'Asia Focus of School Boost for Languages', *Age*, Melbourne, 17 March 1993, p. 5.

41.   The author of this thesis piloted the Italian language program to students at Daylesford Secondary College and is presently teaching there. Italian is taught from years seven to twelve and has recently been introduced into a number of the region's local primary schools.

42.   Bhabha (1994) p. 2.

43.   S. Hall, 'Minimal Selves', in L. Appignesi, ed., *Identity: The Real Me*, London, Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986, p. 46.

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