DISTANT LOYALTIES: WORLD WAR I AND THE ITALIAN SOUTH ATLANTIC

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This dissertation focuses on the impacts of World War I on Italian immigrant communities in the metropolitan areas of Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo. It uses the period of the war, and the diverse responses to the conflict by immigrants and their institutions of civil society, to highlight patterns of social cohesion and division within Italian overseas communities. It centers its analysis on a pro-war immigrant mobilization influenced by Italian nationalism and an anti-war movement shaped by working-class ideologies that emphasized Internationalism. It therefore considers the tangible connections and sentimental relationships that existed between Italian immigrants in South America and political and intellectual leaders in Italy, a nation-state that existed only from the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, through its study of three immigrant communities, this dissertation reviews interactions and comparisons among those communities as they related to the pro- and anti-war efforts. It uses the transformative period of World War I to trace and track patterns of interaction and "distant loyalties" in an area it refers to as the Italian South Atlantic.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the impacts of World War I on Italian immigrant communities in the metropolitan areas of Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo. It uses the period of the war, and the diverse responses to the conflict by immigrants and their institutions of civil society, to highlight patterns of social cohesion and division within Italian overseas communities. It centers its analysis on a pro-war immigrant mobilization influenced by Italian nationalism and an anti-war movement shaped by working-class ideologies that emphasized Internationalism. It therefore considers the tangible connections and sentimental relationships that existed between Italian immigrants in South America and political and intellectual leaders in Italy, a nation-state that existed only from the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, through its study of three immigrant communities, this dissertation reviews interactions and comparisons among those communities as they related to the pro- and anti-war efforts. It uses the transformative period of World War I to trace and track patterns of interaction and "distant loyalties" in an area it refers to as the Italian South Atlantic.

The roots of this project lie in social history, the study of European immigrant experiences in South America, and the study of Italian mass migration to the Americas. It examines a neglected period of time that migration research often passes over because

migratory flows all but stopped because of the war. Yet the crises associated with the war spurred many migrants into action. The war led institutions and individuals to mobilize existing resources and relationships, while it aggravated rivalries within Italian communities. Immigrant responses to the war created, destroyed and altered social interactions. The period was a critical point in the histories of Italian migration and Latin America as well as the intersection between these two.

In its analysis, this project focuses especially on the contexts in which migration and immigrant lives took place. Alongside recent advances in migration studies highly influenced by the dynamism of present-day migration, this study goes beyond traditional migration histories that review economic push-pull factors, unidirectional movement and assimilation in receiving areas. Instead, it uses methodological influences from a "systems approach" that places migrants in a diverse and dynamic set of contexts that can range from familial obligations to geopolitics. For this study, the most relevant context is Italian nationalism and expansionism, and how they affected the behavior of immigrants after they left Italy. In this way, this project works against the tide of scholarly interests that discounts the "imagined communities" of nations in favor of presumably more "real" entities like families or global capitalism.

Another direction favored by scholars of recent and historical migrations looks more closely at the connections that immigrants maintain across borders. Such studies investigate relationships and networks of interaction that exist between migrants and their homelands. They also consider cross-border interaction among communities of immigrants that share a common place of origin and interact through familial, cultural

and other relations. Interaction along these lines might include ideological, commercial and institutional exchanges that persist well after migration occurs, and that children of migrants may inherit. Greater study of a multitude of cross-border interactions has led scholars to see migrants as active and mobile agents operating in transnational space and through multi-linear diaspora networks.

For Italians residing in South America during World War I, the context of Italian nationalism mattered even (perhaps especially) when they despised it. The war and its ramifications spurred into action immigrants, immigrant institutions and cross-border networks in an "Italian Atlantic." These exchanges were not unique to the Italian experience during World War I. Mobilization initiatives and warfare occurred in British, French, German and Russian international spheres of influence. Anti-war movements linked to anti-imperialism connected Africa, South and Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, Southeastern Europe and the Middle East. Moreover, the use of migrant resources to support or oppose an initiative in their homeland, or assist recovery from a crisis, is not unique to this period of time. Recent examples include responses by Haitian immigrants to the 2010 earthquake, overseas Filipinos to Typhoon Haiyan in 2013 and expatriate Iranians to the Green Movement in 2009. This study refers to such initiatives as "mobilizing diaspora," a term used in economic and social development. Ultimately, while this dissertation contributes to the historiography of Latin America and Italian immigration using innovative methods from migration studies, it offers migration scholars a historical case for the study of migrant networks often referred to as diaspora.

1.1 THE PARENTHESES OF WAR

In 1914, Italian migration to South America ground to a near halt.[1] As Europe's "Great Powers" rattled their sabers and the carnage began, departures from Italy to South America fell from 147,000 in 1913 to 51,000 in 1914 and to 13,000 in 1915. From an annual average of 110,000 in the five years from 1909 to 1913, arrivals fell to just over 4,000 per year in the five-year period 1914-1918. In fact, during the war years, there was net out-migration of Italians from Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, the principal destinations of immigrants residing in South America. A total of about 155,000 Italians left the three countries in 1914-1918, or some 31,000 per year. Yet this figure also represented a decline from the annual average of 58,000 Italian repatriations recorded in the 1909-1913 period.

While migration flows all but stopped as a result of the war, the lives of roughly 2.5 million Italians living in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay certainty did not.[2] Nevertheless, one study of Italian immigrants in Uruguay has dismissed this period as "the parentheses of war."[3] Other important works on the history of Italian immigrants in Argentina and Brazil devote scant attention to these years.[4] To be sure, the three-and-a-half-year span between Italy's declaration of war and its armistice with Austria-Hungary represents a

[1] The following numbers come from Italian government statistics: Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico della emigrazione italiana dal 1876 al 1925* (Rome: Edizione del Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, 1926).
[2] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 1540.
[3] Fernando Devoto, et al., *L'emigrazione italiana e la formazione dell'Uruguay moderno* (Turin: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1993), 440.
[4] Angelo Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: Um século de imigração italiana no Brasil* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1989); Fernando Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2006).

brief interval during roughly a century of mass Italian migration to the Americas. However, Italians living in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo—the principal cities where Italian immigrants resided—confronted a number of critical challenges during the war. Some of these challenges were typical of Italian immigrant experiences throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to immigrant experiences more broadly. Italians continued their struggle for economic and social advancement and sought to integrate themselves into the cultural and political life of their adopted cities. Yet they also faced new challenges, or substantially aggravated existing ones, related to the war. As the following chapters will show, the conflict and its corresponding crises created and heightened elements of impassioned solidarity and acute division in immigrant society.[5]

This study is a history of immigrants rather than a history of immigration, focusing primarily on the reactions by Italians in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo to Italy's participation in World War I. How did Italian immigrants respond to the experience of "total war" in the country from which they originated? Did they feel compelled to offer patriotic, material or corporeal support to the Italian war effort? Were they instead motivated to oppose the belligerence of the Italian government and military as well as

[5] Indeed, two short papers on the subject of Italians in Argentina during the war have reached contradictory conclusions. Emilio Franzina found that the war generated solidarity within the Italian community, while María Inés Tato concluded that ethnic and ideological divisions among immigrants constrained the war effort. Emilio Franzina, "La guerra lontana: Il primo conflitto mondiale e gli italiani d'Argentina," *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos* 15 (2000), 57-84; María Inés Tato, "El llamado de la patria. Británicos e italianos residents en la Argentina frente a la Prima Guerra Mundial," *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos* 25 (2011), 273-292.

any pro-war sentiment that existed within immigrant communities? And what factors shaped their response to a war an ocean away?

As primarily a project of social history, this study pays close attention to institutions of civil society within Italian immigrant communities and to the leaders of those institutions. They included labor unions and confederations, mutual-aid societies, social welfare and cultural foundations, and committees established precisely to take action in response to Italy's war effort. Many of these institutions published newspapers, bulletins and periodic reports that reviewed their activities and opinions related to the war in Italy and the response to the war in their communities. Other Italian-language newspapers existed independently of any organization and served as additional important elements of immigrant civil society. Together, these publications make up the bulk of the sources used in this study.[6] Other sources include documents from Italian government agencies, Italy-based publications that focused on emigration, monographs printed in Italy and South America, and propaganda pamphlets that supported or opposed the war.

In the 1910s, the Italian communities of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay contained immigrants who ranged from indigent new arrivals to business magnates running their city's leading industries. They also included children of immigrants, whose status as "Italians" was often ambiguous. Italian institutions in South America, therefore, varied from long-established societies with grand *Belle Époque* meeting halls located in city

[6] For a review of the role of newspapers in Italian-language immigrant communities around the globe, see Pantaleone Sergi, *Stampa migrante: Giornali della diaspora italiana e dell'immigrazione in Italia* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 2010).

centers to neighborhood associations whose meetings took place in a member's workshop or living room. Immigrant institutions, meanwhile, represented a diverse set of ideological, regional ethnic, craft guild and other groups that together constituted the foundational infrastructure of Italian immigrant society. The period of the war, however, was a time when structures and institutions as large as the Ottoman Empire and as small as an immigrant family could be ripped apart, reordered or reinforced by crisis. To understand more fully the history of Italian immigration in South America, then, it is imperative to understand what happened inside these parentheses of the war.

1.2 IMMIGRANTS IN CONTEXT: A NATIONAL TWIST ON THE "SYSTEMS APPROACH"

Studying the period of the war, and immigrant responses to a conflict centered an ocean away, requires a perspective that extends well beyond those immigrants' immediate social environments. To conduct its analysis, this project draws on methods associated with the "systems approach" to migration research. Those methods "permit comprehensive analysis of the structures, institutions and discursive frames of the societies of origin and of arrival" that shape migrants' behavior.[7] It embraces rather than filters the diverse set of small and large-scale circumstances and structures with which

[7] Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 87. See also Jan Luccasen and Leo Luccasen, eds., *Globalising Migration History: The Eurasian Experience (16th-21st Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Jeffrey H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci, *Cultures of Migration: The Global Nature of Contemporary Mobility* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Giovanni Gozzini, "The Global System of International Migrations, 1900 and 2000," *Journal of Global History*, 1:3 (2006), 321-341; Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History," *OAH Magazine of History*, 14:1 (1999), 5-11.

immigrants contend. It considers contexts that range from immediate social relationships and institutional involvement to legal frameworks and global economic conditions. It similarly accepts the need for historians of migration to use methods from across the social sciences, challenging the use of perspectives drawn from a single discipline such as anthropology or economics.[8]

Work by José Moya and Adam McKeown has been important to the practice of the systems approach, and to this project. In his groundbreaking study of Spanish migration to Argentina, Moya combined a micro-level analysis of socio-economic, cultural and other conditions in Spanish villages and Buenos Aires neighborhoods with macro-level analysis of demographic, political, agricultural, industrial and transportation-related "revolutions."[9] The result was an exceedingly comprehensive understanding of these immigrants' lives. McKeown used a similar approach to connect Atlantic migrations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to mass movements of workers in Asia and Africa. "The rise of a global economy centered on European, North American, and Japanese industrialization was the context for increased long-distance migration of settlers and workers" the world over, he argued.[10] In this way, McKeown seems to embed a social history of migratory flows into Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory.[11] Migrants in the African and Asian "periphery" relocate as a result of global transformative processes rooted in the industrializing "core" of the global economy.

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[8] Caroline Brettell and James Frank Hollifield, "Introduction: Migration Theory, Talking across Disciplines," in *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-24.
[9] José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
[10] Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15 (2004), 166.
[11] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

Scholarship using this systems approach has carved a small niche in the historiography of Italian mass migration. An edited volume by Donna Gabaccia and Fraser Ottanelli on working-class migrants from Italy provides evidence of the ways Italian republicanism, fascism and international ideological movements impacted workers and institutions of organized labor from Buenos Aires to Harlem and from São Paulo to Lawrence, Massachusetts.[12] Their collection of cases from North and South America parallels the comparative work of Samuel Baily, who contrasted Italian immigrant experiences in Buenos Aires and New York.[13] Gabaccia's influential monograph, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, skillfully moves beyond comparison and juxtaposition toward an integrated and "systemic" analysis of immigrants' immediate social relationships, their institutions of civil society, their relationships with nation-states and their position relative to macroeconomic phenomena.[14]

The above work builds on more conventional studies of Italian migrants' movement, settlement and assimilation.[15] Among studies of Italians in South America, the works of Antonio Devoto and Angelo Trento stand out for their breadth and detail.[16] These influential monographs share many descriptive and empirical elements. They

[12] Donna Gabaccia and Fraser Ottanelli, eds., *Italian Workers of the World: Labor, Migration, and the Making of Multi-Ethnic Nations* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
[13] For an overview of his argument, see Samuel Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 14.
[14] For an overview of her argument, see Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (London: University College of London Press, 2000), 12.
[15] Torcuato Di Tella, "Italianos en la Argentina. Los últimos doscientos años," *Storicamente* 7 (June 2011), 1-11; Michael Goebel, "Gauchos, Gringos and Gallegos: The Assimilation of Italian and Spanish Immigrants in the Making of Modern Uruguay, 1880-1930," *Past & Present* 208 (August 2010), 191-229; Marco Antonio Brandão, "A mobilidade social do imigrante italiano pobre no Brasil (1890-1930): Uma contribuição à historiografia da imigração em São Paulo," *História e Cultura* 4:1 (March 2015), 319-337.
[16] See note 5.

discuss the long history of migration from the Italian peninsula to South America, even before the founding of Argentina, Italy and independent Brazil. They identify push-pull factors that existed between disadvantaged regions of Italy and the emerging agricultural and industrial sectors of Argentina and Brazil. They review Italian immigrants' economic activities, social and cultural institutions, and interactions with mainstream society. Yet their analysis largely cordons immigrant lives from developments occurring outside those nations. Italy serves largely as a place of origin and a point of reference to the authors and their subjects rather than a place that could have a direct impact on immigrant lives and livelihoods after they left. Many other histories of immigration in South America similarly focus mainly on migratory patterns, settlement, assimilation and the impacts of migration on national histories in the region.[17]

As the historiography of Italian immigration has moved beyond the work mentioned above, it has tended to pursue more ethnographic and micro-level analyses that investigate individual experiences or particular cultural behaviors.[18] Recent studies have examined, for example, an immigrant wedding, memoirs written by an overseas

[17] Noteworthy scholarship on South America includes Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); May Bletz, *Immigration and Acculturation in Brazil and Argentina: 1890-1929* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Cristina Escobar, "Immigrant Enfranchisement in Latin America: From Strongmen to Universal Citizenship," *Democratization* 22:5 (July 2015), 927-950; Jürgen Buchenau, "Immigration, Identity, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1850-1950," in Nicola Foote and Michael Goebel, eds., *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 66-90.

[18] Teresa Fava Thomas, *The Reluctant Migrants: Migration from the Italian Veneto to Central Massachusetts* (Amherst: Teneo Press, 2015); John E. Zucchi, "The Glionna Clan and Toronto's First Little Italy," in John Lorinc, etal, eds., *The Ward: The Life and Loss of Toronto's First Immigrant Neighbourhood* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2015), 239-243; Camilla Cattarulla, "Cibo e donna nell'Argentina migratoria: dall'ecletticismo al mosaico culturale," *Oltreoceano*, 4 (2010), 143-150; Emilio Franzina, *Storia dell'emigrazione veneta: Dall'unità al fascismo* (Sommacampagna: Cierre, 2005).

Italian, and groups of immigrant doctors and "leaders."[19] As they zoom in toward the individual, such analyses sometimes recast immigrants as *Friulani* from the same region, *paesani* from the same village, or Cusi from the same family.[20] Notions of belonging like these can serve as an alternative to an "Italian" one, especially if scholars perceive Italy only as an "imagined community."[21] These studies sometimes question how "real" Italy was as a point of reference for immigrant identification and solidarity.

This dissertation argues that it is just as valuable to look outside of immigrants' immediate environment and social relations as it is to examine more closely a small set of individuals or aspect of migrant behavior. In other words, we can bring into clearer focus the historiographical picture of immigrant motivations, behaviors and daily lives by zooming out as well as in. This study tracks how immigrants can alter their behavior and perspectives in response to events overseas that might be immaterial to their quotidian needs. For immigrants were not merely wage earners trying to feed their families or entrepreneurs trying to find stability and success in their adopted communities. They also had souls. They had emotions and notions of belonging, sometimes to communities that

[19] Ros Pesman, "The Marriage of Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi," in Loretta Baldassar and Donna Gabaccia, eds., *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World* (The Bronx: Fordham University Press, 2010), 25-36; Emilio Franzina, ed., *Giulio Lorenzoni: Memorie di un emigrante italiano* (Rome: Viella, 2008); Maria do Rosário R. Salles and Luiz A. de Castro Santos, "Migração e médicos italianos em São Paulo na primeira república," *Estudos de Sociologia* 10 (2001), 63-95; Alicia Bernasconi and Carina Frid, *De Europa a las Américas: Dirigentes y liderazgos, 1880-1960* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios, 2006); Emilio Franzina, *Traversate: Le grandi migrazioni transatlantiche e i racconti italiani del viaggio per mare* (Foligno, Perugia: Editoriale Umbra, 2003).

[20] Silvana Serafin, *Immigrazione friulana in Argentina: Syria Poletti racconta...* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2004); Martino Contu, "L'emigrazione in America del Sud da un piccolo paese della Sardegna centrale attraverso fonti scritte e orali. Il caso del comune di Sedilo," *AMMENTU - Bollettino storico e archivistico del Mediterraneo e delle Americhe*, 5:2 (July-December 2014), 122-140; Beatrice D. Gurwitz, "Italian Immigrants and the Mexican Nation: The Cusi Family in Michoacán (1885–1938)," *Immigrants & Minorities*, 33:2 (May 2015), 93-116.

[21] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

they or others had indeed "imagined." In fact, even when they opposed the government of the nation-state from which they left, they likely did so because they remained connected to its affairs. Reed Ueda notes how the systems approach "has brought the state back into the heart of international migration research."[22] The effort here is not to discount the important scholarship done on migrant families and other micro-level migratory experiences. Rather, it seeks to supplement that scholarship by looking at broader circumstances that often reach across borders. Ultimately, different scales and methods of analysis should be used together rather than set in opposition.

The presence (or not) of Italy in the imagination of its citizens was a pressing concern for many Italians in the 1910s. The country arose only in the 1860s from the unification of several sovereign states on and around the Italian peninsula.[23] During this time, the famous turn of phrase, "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians," began to circulate.[24] Scholars largely see this making of Italians as a process rather than an event.[25] It was a process that took place simultaneously with the departure of millions of Italians overseas.[26] In an effort to connect the two, Mark Choate describes the ways

[22] Reed Ueda, "Introduction: State Development and International Migration," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41:1 (Summer 2010), 6.
[23] For recent work on problematic aspects of Italy's unification and *Risorgimento*, see: Marco Meriggi, "Legitimism, Liberalism and Nationalism: The Nature of the Relationship between North and South in Italian Unification," *Modern Italy* 19:1 (2014), 69-79. The article was published in a special volume, entitled "The Italian Risorgimento: Transnational Perspectives," that offers additional history of the period.
[24] For a review of the history of this phrase, see: Stephanie Malia Hom, "On the Origins of Making Italy: Massimo D'Azeglio and 'Fatta l'Italia, bisogna fare gli Italiani," *Italian Culture* 31:1 (2013), 1-16.
[25] Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, *The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians, 1860-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
[26] For a close examination of the juxtaposition of migratory and nation-building phenomena, see Emilio Franzina, *La storia altrove: Casi nazionali e casi regionali nelle moderne migrazioni di massa* (Verona: Cierre, 1998).

the Italian government sought to "nationalize" emigration and wield influence overseas through Italian immigrant communities.[27] His work also illustrates the value of placing immigration in a wider context, in this case a political one. This dissertation, in turn, considers how overseas Italians might be stirred (or not) by "nationalizing" efforts on the part of government agencies, intellectuals in Italy and self-proclaimed leaders of Italian immigrant communities. This study does not overly problematize its use of the word "Italian" in large part because it looks precisely at those immigrants who considered themselves "Italian" either in their support for or opposition to the war. Italy had "many diasporas" based on immigrants' varying associations and notions of belonging, as Gabbacia suggests. One of them was "Italian" in the sense that it was built around the country and the idea of Italy, Italian nationalism and targeted opposition to the Italian government.

To enrich the Italian immigration historiography in this way, this study examines points of intersection in three metropolitan areas situated on the Atlantic coast of South America, where a global conflict met a globally dispersed migrant population. In those metropolitan areas, World War I produced several different responses from overseas Italians. For some immigrants, the conflict prompted an outpouring of nationalist solidarity for the Italian war effort. It led significant factions within the Italian communities of Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo to offer emotional and material support to military, economic and humanitarian crises in Italy. Yet within those same

[27] Mark Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

communities the war also triggered the rise of virulent anti-war movements and more passive opposition through actions like draft dodging.

This spectrum of behaviors highlights patterns of social cohesion and social division within Italian communities and provides an opportunity to investigate further many relationships and attitudes present among overseas Italians in the 1910s. The period of the war was short, at least in terms of many historical inquiries, but filled with intense responses and impassioned exchanges. The conflict, centered an ocean away, forced many immigrants to act and react. It exposed underlying circumstances within Italian immigrant communities, introduced new elements and patterns into the fabric of the immigrant experience and accelerated the pace of historical change—as many wars do. In other words, the war revealed, challenged and reorganized the "structures, institutions and discursive frames" identified by Harzig and Hoerder as part of the systems approach to migration analysis. The experience of the war also underscores that as much as immigrants may have sought a new life—or as Italians at the time put it, to "*fare l'America*," or "make it in America"—many continued to gaze back across the Atlantic Ocean toward Italy. Homeland ties endured and came to the fore especially during crises, whether personal, familial, social, national or global in nature. These ties helped to shape uneven processes of adjustment and integration in a new environment, and could reverse them in some instances, at least momentarily.

By looking outward to investigate a period of crisis in the immigrants' country of origin, this project contends with fresh questions related to Italian mass migration as well as immigrant experiences more generally. Would a crisis like a war in an immigrant's

homeland arouse greater feelings of national belonging or even nationalist fervor among those who left their country of origin? Might it cause them to return or at least collectively organize resources to help their homeland manage the crisis? Could it lead immigrants to look beyond ethnic, cultural, social or political divides within their community, or does it exacerbate such divisions? Does crisis draw immigrants closer to their place or origin or does it instead underscore the distance between them and their homeland? Are homeland crises and immigrant responses to those crises a fundamental stage in the immigrant experience?

An additional analytical benefit that comes from a broader view of the impacts of World War I on Italian communities in South America relates to its study of three metropolitan areas simultaneously. By extending its frame to cover multiple centers of Italian immigration, the project can review and compare pro- and anti-war experiences across cities. Such comparisons are rare in Italian immigration historiography.[28] This dissertation makes use of its relatively short time frame to integrate and compare three closely related cases within a single piece of scholarship. That the same trigger sparked the behaviors studied in each case increases the value of such a comparison. The immigrant communities in these cities maintained important relationships across borders with Italy. Italians in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo also had connections with one another.

[28] Two notable, but dated examples are João Fabio Bertonha, "Fascismo, antifascismo y las comunidades italianas en Brasil, Argentina y Uruguay: Una perspectiva comparada," *Estudios migratorios latinoamericanos* 42 (1999), 111-133; Samuel Baily, "The Role of Two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, 1893-1913," *International Migration Review* 12:3 (Autumn 1978), 321-340.

1.3 CROSS-BORDER EXCHANGE WITHIN MIGRATION NETWORKS

This project's turn outward from the communities of its immigrant subjects relates to two other intellectual "turns" in migration research: the transnational turn and the mobilities turn. The surge of international migratory flows in recent decades has generated important advances in the study of transnational phenomena. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller explain the emergence of transnational theory in the 1990s as a response to technological innovations that made it "increasingly easy for migrants to maintain close links with their areas of origin." [29] Technological advance alongside a surge in migratory flows led to closer examination of cross-border interactions built around networks of migration and through movement, communications, commerce and other methods of exchange. Dense networks of exchange permit actors to participate in familial interaction, institutions of civil society, commercial relationships, social and political movements and cultural exchanges in "transnational space." [30] Such space can be the mental and emotional "place" that individuals and groups inhabit when they participate in networks

[29] Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2003), 30-32. See also Stefan Köngeter and Wendy Smith, eds*., Transnational Agency and Migration: Actors, Movements, and Social Support* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Pirkko Pitkänen, Ahmet Içduygu and Deniz Sert, eds., *Migration and Transformation: Multi-level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism* (New York: Springer, 2012).

[30] Useful case studies on migrant creation of and participation in transnational space include Terrence Lyons and Peter Mandaville, eds., *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks* (London: Hurst, 2012); Olivia Sheringham, *Transnational Religious Spaces: Faith and the Brazilian Migration Experience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Itaru Nagasaka, *Mobile Childhoods in Filipino Transnational Families: Migrant Children with Similar Roots in Different Routes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Maggi Wai-Han Leung, *Chinese Migration in Germany: Making Home in Transnational Space* (Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2004).

of exchange that reach across borders. Immigrants can inhabit these places and participate in their immediate social environment, at times altering customs, language and other behaviors as they traverse local and transnational spaces.

Migration history has absorbed scholarly innovations related to research on transnational migrant networks and migrant participation in transnational space. Case studies have looked at the role of Irish-Catholic newspapers in maintaining solidarity among overseas communities; connections between Jewish Americans and Jewish communities around the world; and the participation of Chinese workers in Cuba in transnational migrant networks.[31] Studies of international labor networks represent an important piece of transnational migration historiography. One collection of labor history cases includes a review of the *bracero* program from which cross-border migrant networks grew between Mexico and the United States, and a study of cross-border networks built by fugitive slaves from the US.[32] One conclusion that we can draw from these studies is that long-distance connections that we often perceive as relatively new and recent developments are in fact not so new and recent. Because of advances in communications and transportation technologies, they occur more quickly than in previous periods, but the faster pace of connection may not make them fundamentally

[31] Stephanie James, "'From Beyond the Sea:' The Irish-Catholic Press in the Southern Hemisphere," in Angela McCarthy, ed., *Ireland in the World: Comparative, Transnational, and Personal Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 81-109; Ava F. Kahn and Adam D. Mendelsohn, *Transnational Traditions: New Perspectives on American Jewish History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2014); Kathleen López, *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
[32] Jeffrey Kerr-Ritchie, "Fugitive Slaves across North America," and Michael Snodgrass, "Patronage and Progress: The Bracero Program from the Perspective of Mexico," in Leon Fink, ed., *Workers across the Americas: The Transnational Turn in Labor History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 263-283 and 245-266. See also Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, eds., *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

different. Before satellite television, for example, there were newspapers that published news articles, editorials, poems, advertisements and other content written an ocean away and transferred through transatlantic telegraph cables, often in immigrants' native languages. Such communication supported the participation of immigrants in transnational space (and could provoke discrimination because native-born residents believed immigrants would not assimilate appropriately as a result). Equally, a century ago, immigrants residing far from their homeland could not fly between places of origin and settlement in a matter of hours, but they could (and some did) travel on a steamship between them in a matter of weeks.

An important subfield within transnational research is the study of diasporas and diasporic networks that connect migrants who share (or claim to share) common origins or characteristics. Diaspora networks can evolve from connections based on "language, religion, culture, and a sense of common fate," Robin Cohen suggests.[33] He views these elements as the threads that together create a diasporic rope that unites migrants across borders and serves as the basis of cross-border interaction. Expanding on the types of threads that contribute to such a rope, Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, in their edited volume, explore the formation of diasporic networks based on counter-cultures that respond to exclusions based on race, sexuality or other factors.[34] Other bases for

[33] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 25.
[34] For counter-culture, see Paul Gilroy, "The Black Atlantic as a Counterculture of Modernity"; for queer diaspora, see Gayatri Gopinath, "Nostalgia, Desire, Diaspora: South Asian Sexualities in Motion," in Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, eds., *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader* (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), Chapters 2 and 11.

interaction within a diaspora include religious sect, expulsion, conquest and slavery.[35] Politics and political opposition can also be at the center of a diaspora or "diasporic consciousness."[36] While built around a diverse set of circumstances, the concept of diaspora appears most useful as it facilitates the interpretation of cross-border migratory regimes as multi-linear networks rather than a single (often unidirectional) line between place of origin and place of residence. In this way, the study of overseas migration can overlap with other work on cross-border exchanges, including those that occur across bodies of water or "within" an ocean basin.[37]

Analytical approaches that traverse borders and maritime basins are increasingly prevalent in the study of migrations to, from and within Latin America and the Caribbean. Karen Fog Olwig's work follows the networks created and maintained by three families as their members moved among Caribbean islands, the United Kingdom and North America.[38] Frank Andre Guridy has described how elements of an African diaspora were "forged" by intellectuals who developed relationships between the United States and

[35] John W. Catron, *Embracing Protestantism: Black Identities in the Atlantic World* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016); John Tolan, ed., *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Tunhout: Brepols, 2015); Judith Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).
[36] Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire,' 1871-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Michel S. Laguerre, *Diaspora, Politics, and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Anna D. Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939-1956* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004).
[37] Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanou, eds., *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Francesca Trivellato, *The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker, eds., *Many Middle Passages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[38] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

Cuba.[39] Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof has examined the occupation by Dominicans of transnational space whether they reside in Manhattan or Santo Domingo.[40] Adam McKeown has studied the commercial networks that Chinese migrants to Chicago, Hawaii and Peru maintained around the Pacific.[41] Lara Putnam has traced the routes traveled by migrants from the British Caribbean around parts of South, Central and North America, and the popular religious practices, musical styles and other cultural forms that followed their movements.[42] In each of these studies, migrant subjects did far more than travel, settle and assimilate. They remained "mobile," or continued to move through much of their lives. These studies constitute a further "turn" in migration studies that focuses on constant and continuing mobility within migratory networks.[43]

Recent research on Italian immigration has been influenced by each of these turns and moved toward the study of transnational phenomena, diaspora and mobilities.[44] One important avenue of research has focused on connections through fascist and anti-fascist movements between Italy and Italian immigrants in South America from the 1920s to the

[39] Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
[40] Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
[41] Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, and Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
[42] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
[43] Noteworthy recent examples of mobilities research include Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Loretta Baldassar and Laura Merla, eds., *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
[44] A recent study that touches on all of these themes is Maurizio Isabella, "Mediterranean Liberals?: Italian Revolutionaries and the Making of a Colonial Sea, ca. 1800-1830," in Isabella and Zanou, *Mediterranean Diasporas*, Chapter 4.

1950s.[45] Studies of Italian immigrant women and families especially have found utility in the concept of diaspora.[46] Considerable work has been done on the international mobility of Italian anarchists around the Atlantic.[47]

Many of these studies end in 1915 or begin in 1919, perhaps because they feel cross-border interaction, diaspora networks and mobility largely stopped during the war. By reconstructing the cross-border networks of interaction and exchange among Italian communities in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo, this study makes clear that this was not the case. On the one hand, through the experience of Italy's war, it looks at the transatlantic relationships that immigrants and immigrant institutions based in South America had with Italian government agencies and non-government institutions based in Italy. It asks, how did these agencies and institutions view Italian overseas communities immediately before and during the war? Could individuals and groups based in Italy persuade overseas Italians and their institutions in South America to support or oppose the war effort? Did immigrants change their behaviors or opinions in response to calls for

[45] Federico Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence, and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Federica Bertagna, *La patria di riserva: L'emigrazione fascista in Argentina* (Rome: Donzelli, 2006); João Fabio Bertonha, "Fascism and the Italian Immigrant Experience in Brazil and Canada: A Comparative Perspective," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 25 (April 2002), 169-193; Clara Aldrighi, *Antifascismo italiano en Montevideo: El diálogo político entre Luigi Fabbri y Carlo Rosselli* (Montevideo: Universidad de la Republica, 1996).

[46] Stefano Luconi and Mario Varricchio*, Lontane da casa: Donne italiane e diaspora globale dall'inizio del Novecento a oggi* (Turin: Accademia University Press, 2015); Edvige Giunta, *Embroidered Stories: Interpreting Women's Domestic Needlework from the Italian Diaspora* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014); Adalgisa Giorgio, "The Italian Family, Motherhood and Italianness in New Zealand: The Case of the Italian Community of Wellington," *Women's Studies International Forum* 52 (Sept-Oct 2015), 53–62.

[47] Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Franca Iacovetta and Lorenza Stradiotti, "Betrayal, Vengence, and the Anarchist Ideal: Virgilia D'Andrea's Radical Antifascism in (American) Exile, 1928-1933," *Journal of Women's History* 25:1 (Spring 2013), 85-111; Davide Turcato, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," *International Review of Social History* 52 (2007), 407-444.

Italians to mobilize wherever they resided? Or were they instead dismissive, unaware or too busy managing quotidian concerns to respond to the crises affecting their homeland? If immigrants did take action, how did they use transatlantic relationships to further their efforts? Because immigrants were not a homogeneous community behaving as a single entity, how and why did individuals and groups respond differently to the war, the mobilization effort and the anti-war movement? Finally, how did these responses compare across the cities the dissertation investigates?

This project goes a step further than most studies of Italian immigration, however, by focusing on interactions among overseas Italian communities in the Americas. It considers the extent to which immigrants and institutions of overseas Italian civil society in one city interacted with counterparts in other cities and countries. Through its examination of pro and anti-war efforts, it asks to what degree Italian immigrants were aware of similar undertakings elsewhere in South America? Did newspapers, mutual-aid societies, labor federations, chambers of commerce, cultural institutions and other organizations cooperate across borders in the region to advance their cause? Was this interaction based only on expressions of solidarity, or were there tangible and material aspects to inter-American collaboration in relation to Italy's war? Were existing networks mobilized or were connections formed expressly because of the conflict? Addressing these questions adds depth to our understanding of multi-linear cross-border networks of exchange among Italian communities and Italy. Many studies look only at the spokes of the wheel of a migratory network, or the relationships that exist between places or

origin and settlement. This study traces a portion of the wheel's rim along the Atlantic coast of South America to learn more about the entire system.

1.4 "GLOBAL" WORLD WAR AND THE ITALIAN SOUTH ATLANTIC

In line with its scope and objectives, this dissertation conceptualizes a geographic space referred to as the Italian South Atlantic. The conception means to advance historical understandings of the time, place and phenomena under review in similar ways that expressions like the British Atlantic, French Atlantic and Spanish Atlantic have.[48] From a top-down perspective, the frame of an Italian South Atlantic (or a broader Italian Atlantic) allows for the placement of a nascent Italian "empire," as a portion of Italy's nationalist leadership envisioned the country's overseas expansion, into the context of other European empires during the period of "high" or "late" imperialism.[49] The study interrogates uses of terms like "*colonia*" and "*missioni"* by Italian authorities to describe immigrant communities in South America. The Italian government often characterized immigrant settlement in Latin America as a civilizing campaign on a par with the development of Italy's colonial projects in Africa.[50] Italian officials did not intend to

[48] David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Christopher L. Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Kenneth J. Andrien and Allen J. Kuethe, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713-1796* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Malyn Newitt, *Emigration and the Sea: An Alternative History of Portugal and the Portuguese* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[49] For a review of Italy's outward ambitions during this period, see R.J.B. Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World, 1860-1960* (London, UK: Routledge, 1996).

[50] An interrogation of the term "*colonia*" in the case of Italian immigration to Australia can be found in Catherine Dewhirst, "Colonising Italians: Italian Imperialism and Agricultural 'Colonies' in Australia, 1881-1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (December 18, 2015), 23-47; Mark Choate's

conquer territory in the Latin America, but they believed Italy could replace British, French, German and U.S. influence in the region.[51] Ultimately, Italy expected both formal and informal "colonies" to assist its ascendancy as a Great Power that could rival its neighbors.

By applying this perspective to Italy's relationship with Italian immigrants in South America, and studying government attempts to mobilize resources within overseas Italian communities for its war effort, this dissertation seeks to contribute to a growing historiography on the study of World War I outside of Europe. Such scholarship seeks to understand the war from the perspective of World History.[52] The experience of "total war" led many of its European participants to scour their vast empires for resources that could support their mobilization drives. These activities included the well-known recruitments of Senegalese soldiers by the French and West Indian regiments by the British.[53] They involved the use of colonial armies filled with "non-white" soldiers in a conflict that spread beyond the confines of Europe to the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia.[54] They also led to the sending of more than 100,000 Chinese laborers to Europe to dig trenches, construct roads and facilitate transport for the British, French and U.S.

Emigrant Nation, referenced earlier, similarly discusses the conflation by Italian authorizes of migration and imperial advance.

[51] On nineteenth and early twentieth century "informal empires" in Latin America see Matthew Brown, ed., *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce, and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

[52] One recent conception of World War I as a subject of world historical or "macrohistorical" analysis is available in Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (Basingstoke: Pelgrave Macmillian, 2014), 157-183.

[53] Joe Lunn, *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War* (Portsmouth: David Phillip, 1999); Richard Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity and the Development of National Consciousness* (New York: Pelgrave, 2004).

[54] Heike Liebau, ed., *The World in World Wars: Experiences, Perceptions and Perspectives from Africa and Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Kaushik Roy, ed., *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Timothy Stapleton, *No Insignificant Part: The Rhodesia Native Regiment and the East African Campaign of the First World War* (Waterloo: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Cornelius van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).

militaries.[55] While subject to a great degree of coercion, these non-white participants in the war not infrequently volunteered for service, these studies find. Soldiers enlisted to defend an empire against its enemies, because they lacked other employment opportunities or wanted to satisfy a restless sense of adventure. As the Italian government encouraged (and even demanded) that its subjects residing around the globe contribute to the mobilization drive, its activities look quite similar to those of its European rivals.

From a bottom-up perspective, meanwhile, a social history of Italian immigrants living in the Italian South Atlantic during World War I has much in common with others that examine the experiences of European migrants living in South America. Hernán Otero's work has focused on the transformation of French residents of Argentina into soldiers through the efforts of consular officials and immigrant civil society, and despite those recruits' advanced "Argentinization."[56] Álvaro Cuenca has looked at the patriotic fervor and pro-war activities (from the boycott of German goods to the veneration of dead soldiers) of British residents of Uruguay.[57] Frederick Luebke has examined the violent repression of German immigrants in Brazil during the war.[58] Such studies are not unique to the three countries this study investigates, with Christopher Sterba's investigation of the responses to the war by Jewish and Italian immigrants living in New

[55] Guoqi Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[56] Hernán Otero, *La guerra en la sangre: Los franco-argentinos ante la Primera Guerra Mundial* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2009).
[57] Álvaro Cuenca, *La colonia británica de Montevideo y la Gran Guerra* (Montevideo: Torre del Vigía Ediciones, 2006).
[58] Frederick Luebke, *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

Haven, Connecticut, a noteworthy example from the United States.[59] Together with the cases of "non-white" colonial subjects in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean mentioned earlier, one can begin to see how the immigrant experiences mentioned above, and that are the focus of this project, together present a clearer picture of how a global proletariat was conditioned by and responded to a period of immense and widespread crisis that would upend entrenched political, economic and social structures and systems around the globe.

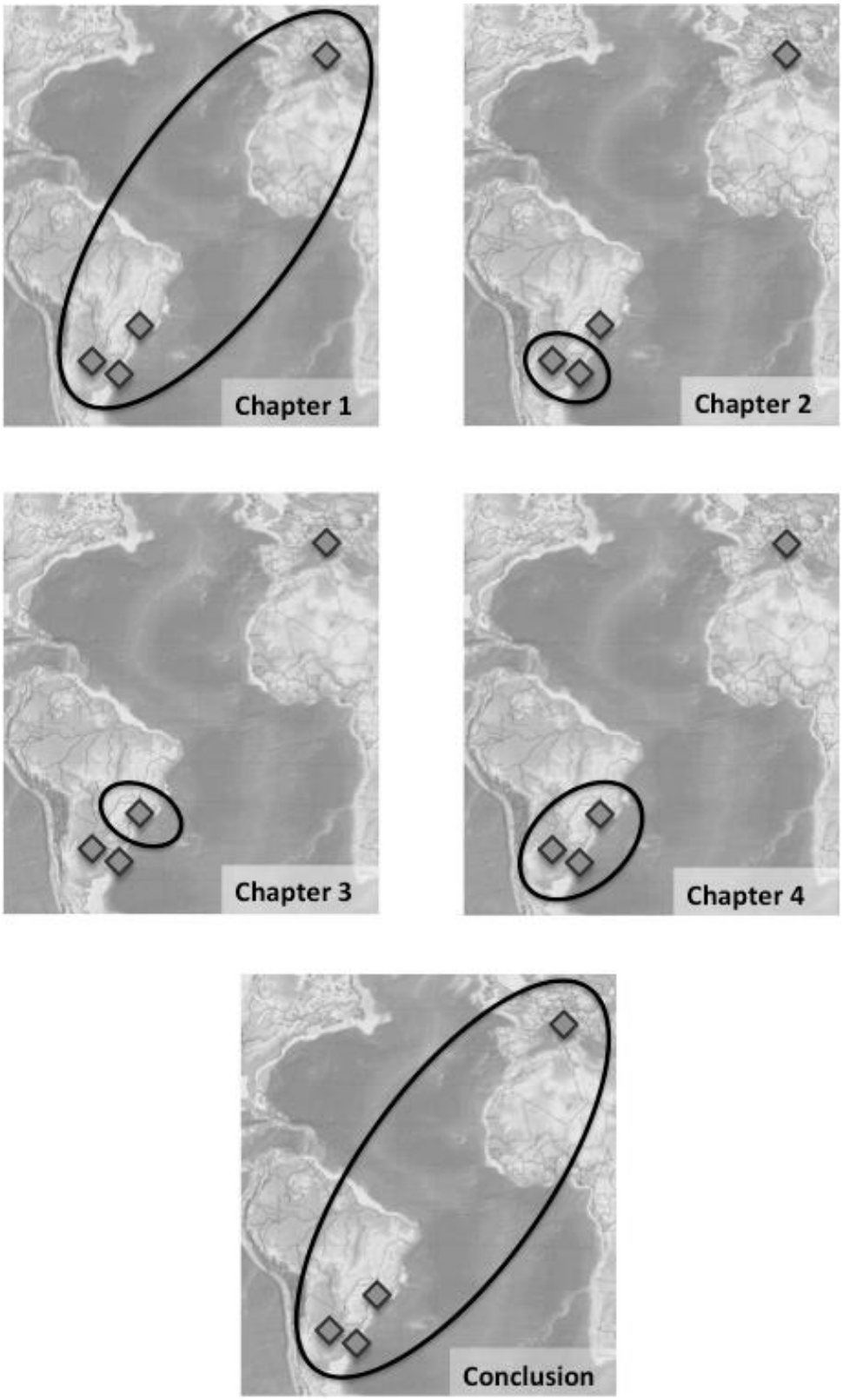
Review of the "global World War I" sources referenced above provides a guide to some valuable outcomes that can emerge from a study, like this one, that focuses on the period of World War I. In fact, these works share a number of research methods, narrative strategies, insights and conclusions. Newspapers, for example, were a central component of local and transnational communication and organization at the time, and they provide researchers with critical insight into the drivers and mechanisms of different responses to the conflict. Similarly, the mobilization and expansion of institutions of civil society representing many different points of view occurred in many instances during World War I, when a global wave of unrest could trigger any number of local reactions. Those reactions built upon a vast range of allegiances that could fall along ethnic, racial, linguistic, cultural, ideological, socio-economic, political, national, imperial or other lines. They might also change in radical ways during the brief period of the war and its immediate aftermath, most notably for these studies in the ways people living outside of Europe viewed citizenship, the nation-state and colonialism.

[59] Christopher Sterba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

1.5 RECONSTRUCTING A NETWORK

This study is divided into four chapters that seek to address the topics and questions—and employ the methods—outlined above. As it proceeds, it constructs transnational networks that linked Buenos Aires, Montevideo, São Paulo and locations in Italy that include Rome (the administrative capital), Genoa (the principal gateway to South America) and the Alpine front lines of the Italian military. In moving across borders, it also moves among different institutions and individuals that took positions supporting or opposing the Italian war effort. As such, the chapters present a variety of responses to the war, from the most nationalistic pro-war stances and actions to the most virulent anti-war opinions as well as more moderate views that lay somewhere in between. This was a time when even the most passive actions could be viewed as powerful statements about the war and immigrants' relationships to it.

Figure 1: Chapter Outline



The first chapter begins in Italy, from which it looks outward toward immigrants in South America and elsewhere, just as Italian officials and others interested in "emigrant" affairs did during the early twentieth century. The chapter provides an overview of how individuals and institutions based in Italy viewed their "colonies," especially in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo, immediately prior to the war. It then outlines the ways Italy's experience with "total war" gave rise to an effort to mobilize resources from within emigrant communities. The actors participating in this effort included government ministries and agencies, business-related entities like the Italian Colonial Institute and religious societies like Italica Gens. The chapter seeks to set the war effort in the context of Italy's political, imperial, economic and cultural ambitions and to show how the political and intellectual leadership in Italy tried to pull on any emotional or material strings that might connect emigrants and their homeland.

Chapter 2 shifts the focus to Buenos Aires and Montevideo and the pro-war mobilization in those cities. It uses that mobilization as a vehicle for the study of the configuration and behavior of civil society in Italian communities, with the more mainstream and nationalistic "immigrant" institutions at the center of the analysis. The chapter examines the response by overseas Italians to the appeals by government and non-government institutions based in Italy that called for Italians around the world to support the war effort and help mitigate war-related crises. Assistance could include the movement of money, food, bodies, patriotic zeal and other items across the Atlantic. The chapter also stresses the connections and collaborative efforts that occurred between Italian immigrants and institutions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In doing so, it

imagines and scrutinizes the existence of a transnational region some sources from the period referred to as *Il Plata*, or the collection of Italian communities that lined the Río de la Plata estuary.

The third chapter carries the analysis of the pro-war immigrant mobilization to São Paulo and its surrounding communities. As in chapter 2, it provides details on troop recruitment, fundraising, goods collections, propaganda campaigns and other activities led by institutions of immigrant civil society. Yet the content of chapter 3 differs in ways that reveal both subtle variations and sharp distinctions between the experiences of Italians residing in greater São Paulo and those in immigrant communities to the south. This chapter also examines the relationships that developed between overseas Italians in São Paulo and *Il Plata*, and ties together these inter-American relationships with transatlantic ones to develop a wider network of interaction. Through this analysis, the conceptions of diasporic consciousness and an Italian South Atlantic begin to take more concrete form.

Chapter 4 examines the anti-war movement in the three cities. It begins with a brief review of the social and ideological conflicts that shaped the lives of many Italian residents of the region during the 1910s and discusses how the ideologies professed by institutions of organized labor predisposed them to oppose the war. Radical anarchist and socialist groups in the Italian communities of South America described a very different reality in their newspapers and other publications from the one portrayed by more mainstream immigrant groups, institutions and media. Most immigrants opposing the war believed Italian nationalism was a hostile malignancy, the Italian government a

travesty and the war the product of bourgeois opportunism carried out at the expense of the proletariat. Responses by the anti-war movement to Italy's war effort included desertion, participation in anti-war rallies and condemnation of the perceived venality of pro-war immigrant elites, their institutions and their mobilization drive.

Like the two previous chapters, Chapter 4 looks at the anti-war movement from a transnational perspective. It similarly focuses on inter-American interactions among Italian immigrants in the metropolitan areas that are the focus of this study, and it connects the anti-war movement in Atlantic South America with its counterparts in Italy and elsewhere in the Italian Atlantic. Participants in the anti-war movement faced a number of obstacles, including censorship and a limited ability to travel. They nevertheless circulated Italian-language anti-war newspapers and manifestos around the region, reported on activities of Italian immigrant opposition groups elsewhere in the region and in places such as La Spezia and New York, and attempted to coordinate their efforts across borders through attendance at international anti-war meetings arranged by confederations of organized labor. Despite their direct opposition to the pro-war camp, opponents of the war participated in broadly similar cross-border networks of transatlantic and inter-American exchange.

The conclusion synthesizes the content from those chapters and returns to the historical and analytical questions raised in this introduction.

2.0 MOBILIZING DIASPORA

On May 4, 1915, just a few weeks before Italy's official entrance into World War I, leading Italian nationalist writer (and eventual fighter pilot and rogue military leader) Gabriele d'Annunzio gave a speech in Genoa. In it, he sought to connect the port city's long history of emigration with contemporary efforts to build "*un'Italia più grande*," an expression that might be translated as a "greater" or a "bigger" Italy—or, in fact, both.[60] This was a turn of phrase common to the speeches and the writing of Italian politicians and intellectuals during the early twentieth century. In the 1910s, Italian nationalists continued to celebrate the mid-nineteenth-century unification of their peninsula and its nearby islands and the country's ascent as a fledgling European power. Many nationalists remained discontented, however, by *terre irredente*, or unredeemed territories, in the Alps and along the Adriatic coast that they considered "Italian" but that were governed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[61] Nationalists also felt Italy could not achieve true status as a "Great Power" without developing overseas colonies on a par with its European rivals, and beyond existing territorial claims in Libya and Somalia. By 1914, in other words, the

[60] Gabriele d'Annunzio, *Per la più grande Italia: Orazioni e messaggi di Gabriele* d'Annunzio (Milan: Fratelli Treves Editori, 1915), 12.
[61] In Italian, those regions were referred to as "*terre irredente*" and the movement in favor of their annexation was "*irredentismo*."

work of Italy's unification and colonial expansion was not, in the minds of Italian leaders, complete.

In his speech, d'Annunzio praised the Genoese, "the most fertile of the Italian tribes," for their ability to "populate the most remote shores" and their efforts "to carry to the Atlantic the customs of the Mediterranean."[62] Yet he ended this speech by suggesting that contemporary Genoese should achieve *un'Italia più grande* not through "shame" (a reference to emigration) but with "blood and glory," and he urged emigrants to return to Italy to pursue this end. During the next three years, other officials, writers, businessmen and religious leaders in Italy would echo d'Annunzio's words, seeking to draw home overseas Italians to support Italy's war effort and its expansive ambitions.

The language in d'Annunzio's speech was, in some ways, contradictory. On the one hand, he celebrated the long history of the movement of Italians overseas and connected it to Italy's growing influence in international affairs. On the other, he linked this outflow to a sense of shame and called on emigrants to return home in order to advance national interests. Contradictions like this were common among Italian politicians and intellectuals offering opinions on the merits and detriments of Italy's mass migration. However, in another way, d'Annunzio's views made sense because post-unification Italy was "booming" on a number of fronts. This boom included Italy's growing stature in international affairs and its rapid population growth. Both of these phenomena were entangled with the movement of large numbers of Italian emigrants overseas, to places just over the border in Switzerland and as distant as Australia. The Italian

[62] D'Annunzio. *Per la più grande Italia*, 9.

government recorded over 20 million emigrant departures in the 40-year period from 1872 to 1915.[63] Of course many emigrants returned and departed multiple times.

This chapter examines, from the perspective of Italy, the intersection of the Italian war effort during World War I and the presence of large Italian communities overseas. It focuses on Italian emigrants generally and at times pays particular attention to communities in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo that are the subject of subsequent chapters. More specifically, this chapter reviews how individuals and institutions based in Italy sought to mobilize resources within Italian overseas communities in South America and elsewhere in support of the Italian cause. In this way, it serves as an introduction to the study of the transatlantic linkages operating during the war through an examination of the main drivers of such interaction: "total war" and the many crises it spawned. Using government documents, this chapter will describe the specific steps taken by Italian authorities to mobilize resources within emigrant communities. It will also, using published sources from the war and pre-war periods, review the actions and rhetoric of individuals and institutions of civil society based in Italy that encouraged the participation of overseas Italians in pro-war activities. More than this, this chapter will consider the political and intellectual context of these efforts through a discussion of the relationship between Italy's national and colonial ambitions and the millions of Italian citizens that resided outside the country.

[63] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico della emigrazione italiana dal 1876 al 1925* (Rome: Edizione del Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, 1926), 86-88.

2.1 *COLONIALISMO ALL'ITALIANO*: ITALY AND ITS EMIGRANT "COLONIES" IN THE RUN UP TO WORLD WAR

There was not a unified view among Italian politicians and intellectuals on how to interpret, evaluate and exploit Italian mass migration. There was, instead, a spectrum of views. These ranged from opinions that emigration was an embarrassing depletion of Italy's most able citizens and valuable human capital to feelings that emigration was the ultimate demonstration of the nation's expanding influence around the globe. Those in Italy writing about overseas Italian communities in the years immediately preceding World War I discussed at length how connections between Italy and its *colonie* might be studied, sustained and even amplified.[64] Points of view varied considerably on the degree to which Italian emigration and Italian emigrants might be incorporated into projects of national and colonial expansion.

Among the outspoken proponents of Italian expansionism was Roberto Michels, whose support for Italian national causes belied his German upbringing (he was born Robert Michels in Cologne). Michels published a monograph on Italian "imperialism" in 1914, in which he argued that Italy's establishment of overseas communities up to that point had been "bloodless and apolitical" and "a victory of private initiative" rather than state action.[65] He described emigration as an "imperialism of the poor," a notion

[64] The terms *colonia* and *colonizazzione* could, ambiguously, refer to formal "colonies" and "colonization," respectively, or translate to the word "settlement" in English. Italian writers most often referred to overseas Italian communities as *colonie*.
[65] Roberto Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano* (Milan: Società Editrice Libraria, 1914), 76.

propagated by others such as nationalist writer Enrico Corradini, syndicalist Arturo Labriola and poet Giovanni Pascoli.[66] Michels argued, as had Labriola, that "emigration should be transmuted into colonization."[67] In line with Labriola's advocacy for a formal Italian colony in Argentina, Michels argued that Italy should append a "political-juridical" element to its linguistic, intellectual and economic expansion overseas, much of this related to emigration.[68] At their most extreme, Italian nationalists actually perceived the possibility of political annexation of territories inhabited by overseas migrants.

More often, and more realistically, the objective of Italian authorities and writers in Italy was to strengthen and expand existing connections between overseas Italians and their homeland. Contributors to *La vita italiana all'estero*, a monthly published in Rome and edited by avowed nationalist Giovanni Preziosi, repeatedly advocated the strengthening of transatlantic linkages among Italians. In April 1913, the periodical disparaged the insufficient resources of the Emigration Commission, a government agency that was part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With just 56 employees, *La vita italiana all'estero* noted, the commission could not effectively manage responsibilities that included the regulation and monitoring of emigration shipping lines, the provision of medical assistance to emigrants in Italian and foreign ports, and the protection of emigrants against abuses during passage and while living abroad.[69] The publication's contributors proposed an overhaul of an agency whose composition they felt was flawed from its founding in 1901, and called for the establishment of a "Ministry of Labor and

[66] Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano,* 92.
[67] Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano*, 95.
[68] Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano*, 179.
[69] "Il Commissariato dell'Emigrazione," *La vita italiana all'estero*, April 1913, 250-255.

Emigration" with an administrative scope and the financial means necessary to complete the tasks that were required of it.[70]

This publication's objective to strengthen the bureaucratic apparatus around emigration appears more concerned with supporting emigrant livelihoods, however, than transforming the expatriation of hundreds of thousands of Italians each year into a tool for the advancement of national interests. Citing recent expositions in Genoa, Milan and Turin of the commercial and cultural achievements of overseas Italians, *La vita italiana all'estero* contributor Professor Bernardino Frescura felt that "with this display of the overseas Italians one can – in our opinion – integrate together a practical and patriotic purpose."[71] Fescura argued that connections should be built or strengthened between Italy and existing institutions such as emigrant chambers of commerce and mutual-aid societies. He also believed that institutions "of every faith and of every political principle" should be included in this initiative as long as they were "animated by a feeling of *italianità*," a sense of "Italianness" or Italian identity.[72] Emigrant successes could be, as a result, translated into national successes and even serve as evidence of the superiority of "the Italian man." So while Italian emigration did not presage an Italian imperial project, it could lay groundwork for an advance overseas of Italian national objectives.

A slightly more benevolent perspective is visible in *Italica Gens*, which was published in Turin by an eponymous federation of emigrant assistance institutions with roots in Catholic missionary work. This institution and its publication took great interest

[70] Ibid, 271.
[71] "La mostra coloniale e degli italiani all'estero all'Istituto per gli Scambi Internazionali di Genova," *La vita italiana all'estero*, June 30, 1913, 442.
[72] Ibid, 470.

in the daily lives of overseas Italians. The group maintained service centers near the ports of Genoa and Naples to provide temporary lodging, food, medical care and assistance with baggage to those in need as well as special services for women emigrants and indigent returnees.[73] It had hundreds of chapters in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, British India, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Mozambique, the Ottoman Empire, Paraguay, Peru, South Africa, the United States and Uruguay.[74] The vast majority of these chapters were in the Americas.

The establishment and upkeep of social welfare institutions in emigrant communities received most of *Italica Gens'* attention. This included a focus on the construction of hospitals and schools, and the publication of reports on housing conditions, salaries and the costs of basic provisions.[75] As an Italian priest in Argentina's province of Córdoba warned,

> Fortunes are made with great effort, and it's good not to delude oneself, believing that in America one comes to collect gold in shovelfuls, one travels down streets cobbled with silver, and one lives in houses decorated in the most expensive metals. The harsh reality is quite different.[76]

Though their main focus was on social assistance, contributors to *Italica Gens* were not void of nationalistic fervor. In the January-February 1914 issue, Ranieri Venerosi reported that even after the recent approval by the Italian parliament of additional funding for Italian-language schools in the Americas, financing remained inadequate.[77]

[73] "I segretariati dell'Italica Gens ai porti di Genova e di Napoli," *Italica Gens*, January-February 1914, 65.
[74] *Italica Gens*, March-August 1914, 177-184.
[75] For example, "L'assistenza igienico-sanitaria degli emigrati nello Stato di S. Paolo," *Italica Gens*, March-August 1914, 114-127.
[76] "La Colonia Italiana di Marcos Juárez," *Italica* Gens, January-February 1914, 53.
[77] "I sussidi alle scuole italiane in America," *Italica* Gens, January-February 1914, 5.

He believed prior funding had been spent poorly and Italian schools were inferior in comparison to educational institutions established by German emigrants and financed by the German government.[78] As a result, Venerosi felt that "our ethnic expansion in America" was instead a "denationalization" of Italian emigrants, a process he felt grew stronger every day.[79] Later that year, another contributor to *Italica Gens* (many articles in these publications did not have a byline) commented on the outbreak of war in Europe, which had launched a "war of races" for which Italy and its overseas citizens needed to prepare.[80] By the end of 1914, Paolo Cesare Rinaudo advocated the creation of more robust and active connections within the *Italica Gens* federation in line with national goals. Under the direction of the Central Secretariat, he felt greater collaboration would support "scholastic, sanitary, [and] moral conditions, the spirit of a cooperative, mutualistic and welfare-oriented organization, in a word the national-social conditions of our brothers."[81]

Figure 2: "The Italian school of Padri Salesiani in Cordoba"

Italica Gens, September-December 1914, p. 229

[78] Ibid, 4.
[79] Ibid, 2 and 6.
[80] "La guerra europea e gli interessi italiani," *Italica Gens*, March-August, 1914, 170.
[81] "Le inchieste sociali dell'Italica Gens nelle Americhe," *Italica Gens*, September-December, 1914, 189.

Other writers and publications concerned with emigration focused on economic issues, but retained a nationalistic bent. Emigrants were the creators and holders of large amounts of wealth that even when earned overseas remained "Italian."[82] They were also consumers of Italian products, who helped increase demand for Italy's exports.[83] Economic and commercial commentators felt that transnational connections of this sort needed to be fortified and cultivated by the Italian state and economic leaders in Italy, just as the writers mentioned above spoke of Italy's need to nurture existing political, social and cultural ties with emigrants.

In the publications mentioned thus far, and others, emigrants residing in South America were of great interest. Italians living in Argentina and Brazil, along with those in the United States, received the most attention among intellectuals and politicians in Italy concerned with emigration. Italians in Uruguay featured less prominently but were nevertheless mentioned, often in a more general context of the River Plate region, South America or the Americas. In any case, the issues that writers in Italy raised about all overseas communities matched closely the specific views of emigrants in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

In his 1914 study of the history of European "colonization" and Italian emigration to São Paulo, Vincenzo Grossi (a professor, former emigration official and honorary consul of Brazil in Rome, who was also associated with the periodical *Italia e Brasile*) presented a tumultous history of migration from Italy to Brazil. Migrant flows began to increase in

[82] "Come sviluppare i nostri rapporti commerciali coll'Argentina," *Patrie e colonie*, August 1913, 3.
[83] Eugenio Bonardelli, *Lo Stato di S. Paolo del Brasile e l'emigrazione italiana* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1916), 12.

the 1870s, but occurred especially during coffee industry booms in the 1880s and 1890s. Brazil reported more than 100,000 arrivals from Italy in each of the years 1888, 1891 and 1895.[84] Over 440,000 Italians migrated to São Paulo in the 1894-1901 period, when some 70 percent of European passages to the state were subsidized.[85] Following Italian prohibitions on subsidized transit of its citizens to Brazil in March 1902, arrivals to São Paulo quickly dropped, falling below 10,000 in 1903.[86] As most Italian emigrants became salaried workers on coffee plantations rather than owners of their own land, Grossi referred to the notion of landownership for emigrants as an "illusory mirage."[87] Nevertheless, he at times discussed positive elements of political collaboration and economic exchange between Italy and Brazil that emerged because of emigration, including Italians' eventual ownership of large landholdings and businesses in São Paulo.[88]

Looking forward, Grossi encouraged a strengthening of ties between Italy and Brazil, and between Italy and Italians residing in Brazil, through the creation of "colonization projects."[89] Among these were proposals to expand administrative connections across the Atlantic, which prominent Rome politician Ernesto Nathan and

[84] Vincenzo Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione europea al Brasile e della emigrazione italiana nello Stato di S. Paulo* (Milan : Società Editrice Dante Alighieri di Albrighi, Segati & C., 1914), 472.
[85] Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 356.
[86] Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 43; In 1920, according to Brazil's census, Italian-born emigrants represented 16 percent of residents of São Paulo city and 9 percent in São Paulo state. The 558,405 Italians counted by the census were roughly one-third of the foreign population. The 398,797 Italians in São Paulo state were nearly half of the foreign-born total.
[87] Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 364.
[88] Thomas Holloway discusses the work by Italians, especially newly arrived immigrants, on Brazilian-owned coffee plantations as well as Italian ownership and cultivation of lands along the coffee belt frontier in Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
[89] Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 522-553.

Angelo Scalabrini had designed and advocated.[90] Grossi proposed increased protections of Italian capital in Brazil, including "human capital;" the creation of emigrant labor contracts regulated by legal arrangements between the Italian Emigration Commission and the government of São Paulo state; and Brazil's participation in an international agricultural institute proposed by the Italian government. He also favored the establishment of a "Treaty of Trade and Labor, which reconciles and harmonizes the pressing needs and imperious demands of our ethnic and commercial expansion, with the legitimate economic, political and social interests of the great South American republic."[91] This included land reforms that facilitated ownership by Italian emigrants. Failing all this, Grossi argued that, at a minimum, improvements in communication and transport should be made between these "sister nations" in order to avoid an economic disaster and a popular revolution in Brazil.

Italica Gens in particular focused its attention on Italians in Brazil and São Paulo. Early in 1914, the publication announced a trip by Dr. Eugenio Bonardelli to São Paulo to assess "material and moral conditions" among emigrants.[92] The São Paulo chapter of the institution (led by Benedictine abbot Michele Kruse and at times referred to as a "mission") reported on its concerns about poor conditions on coffee estates, a lack of social solidarity in these communities and the withering of Italian nationalist sentiment among emigrants. It also criticized the poor quality of Italian-language instruction in Italian emigrant schools,

[90] One initiative suggested by Nathan was the establishment of a National Colonization Society that would provide financing to immigrants for business ventures especially in rural areas. Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 524.
[91] Grossi, *Storia della colonizzazione*, 302.
[92] "L'Italica Gens nello Stato di San Paolo del Brasile," *Italica* Gens, January-February 1914, 7-8.

comparing them unfavorably to those in Brazil's German communities. Later that year, Bonardelli wrote in *Italica Gens* about health and hygiene resources in São Paulo state. He argued that when emigrants fell ill they had difficulty recovering and that greater collaboration was needed between Italian and Brazilian authorities as well as between Italian doctors in Brazil and Brazilian industrialists and agriculturalists.[93] He also reported on his experiences in smaller towns in the countryside and provided a review of Brazil's coffee industry. Bonardelli traced poor conditions within emigrant communities to an often-adversarial relationship between Italian and Brazilian migration authorities, including the Italian government's refusal to open a direct steamer line between the two countries.[94] In 1916, Bonardelli published a monograph about his experiences in Brazil. In it, he blamed Italy's government for not working harder to strengthen transatlantic ties, but believed the war presented an opportunity to fortify those ties.[95]

[93] "L'assistenza igienico-sanitaria degli emigrati nello Stato di S. Paolo," *Italica Gens*, March-August 1914, 126-127.
[94] "Interessi commerciali e interessi d'emigrazione; La questione della linea diretta al Brasile," *Italica Gens*, September-December 1914, 182.
[95] Bonardelli, *Lo Stato di S. Paolo*, 16.

Figure 3: “The handling of coffee in the farmyard”

La manipolazione del caffè sull'aia

Italica Gens, September-December, p. 210

Figure 4: “The Italian church on the *‘fazenda*’ of Saint Gertrude”

La chiesa italiana nella " fazenda ,, di S. Geltrude

Italica Gens, September-December, p. 219

Bonardelli was not the only contributor to *Italica Gens* who focused on Italian emigrants in Brazil. Venerosi was critical of efforts to build connections between Italy and

its citizens in Brazil, describing emigrants' "isolation or near [isolation] from the motherland."[96] Economic ties were fundamental to maintaining *italianità* within overseas communities, Venerosi felt.

> The development of commercial relations between Italy and the colonies of our emigrants is one of the most important national interests connected to the migratory phenomenon: providing secure outlets for their own products is one of the most advantaged purviews promised to industrial countries by their own colonies…[and] commercial relations with the motherland contribute in a most effective manner to conserving nationalist sentiment in those same colonies…[97]

Venerosi ended his article with the English quotation, "trade follows the flag," which was at the heart of Britain's colonial strategy. He emphasized the need for Italy to safeguard its commercial interests not only in Brazil, but all of South America.[98]

Around the time of the publication in Turin of Bondarelli's manuscript on Italians in São Paulo, Luigi Bertora dei Pedevilla released in Milan a volume about emigration to—and the experience of Italians in—Argentina. Bertora wrote similarly of the need, in his words, for "preventative redemption" of Italian emigrants.[99] Describing the history of migration between Italy and Argentina, he paired "the colonizing genius of the Italians" with "Buenos Aires, the absorbing and devouring city of productive work."[100] He described Italians in Argentina as a progressive force because of their contributions to the country's architecture, theater and schools, in addition to the "arms" of workers that

[96] "Per gli scambi commerciali colle Colonie italiane del Brasile Meridionale," *Italica Gens*, March-August, 1914, 65.
[97] Ibid, 75.
[98] Ibid, 76.
[99] Luigi Bertora dei Pedevilla, *Emigrazione e Argentina nella realtà delle cose* (Milan: Casa Editrice <<Vittorino da Feltre>> di Pietro Salvini, 1915), 13.
[100] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 27-30.

Bertora called "a treasure more valuable than gold…creative elements of a new civilization."[101] A more positive perception of Italian emigration to Argentina relative to Brazil was quite common. Bertora nevertheless felt that Italian authorities needed to take a more aggressive approach to building transatlantic links through construction of more Italian-language schools and libraries, a push for greater work and land guarantees for newly arrived emigrants, and the build out of services to facilitate remittance transfers.

Arguing that "the now antiquated form is that of conquest," Bertora proposed a new type of colonization. [102] As "Latin" countries on opposite sides of the ocean, Argentina and Italy should be partners helping one another through periods of economic instability. But even more than this,

> Italy should assume the position of a great power in terms of foreign influence in Argentina, and it should assume it for the future of the children that it has given to this transatlantic virgin land, for the future of its own commercial and industrial expansion in the world.[103]

There was, in Bertora's view, a battle coming that would test the strength of the "Latin blood" shared by Argentina and Italy.[104] A set of previously published articles in the back of his manuscript, written by the author and others about emigration to Argentina and dating back as far as 1912, illustrated he was not the only Italian thinker who viewed emigration to Argentina in this way before and at the outset of World War I.

Demographics were a major justification given by Bertora and others for the potential for Italy to expand its influence in and connections to Argentina. Some 3.4

[101] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 34.
[102] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 174.
[103] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 195.
[104] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 199.

million European immigrants arrived in Argentina between 1857 and 1910 and about 2 million of these came from Italy.[105] The Italian government counted almost one million Italian citizens residing in the country prior to the outbreak of the war.[106] In 1914, Italians represented 39 percent of foreign-born residents in Argentina and 12 percent of the entire country's population.[107] According to Uruguay's 1908 census, Italians represented 6 percent of the country's residents and 13 percent in Montevideo.[108] Italians were 34 percent and 43 percent of foreigners in the country and capital, respectively. Many more of Argentina's citizens were children of Italian emigrants. One estimate found that together with their children Italians made up 28 percent of Argentina's residents in 1910, when Italian nationals represented 25 percent of the population of Buenos Aires.[109]

Contributions to *La vita italiana all'estero* published other opinions on Italian emigration to Argentina, and South America more broadly. One contributor in 1913 suggested that "Italo-Argentine" brotherhood was a "myth" because the Italian government failed to cultivate relationships across the ocean and left emigrants to pursue only individual interests.[110] For contributor Giacomo Pavoni, the anemic response by Italians in Buenos Aires to Italy's 1911-1912 war with the Ottoman Empire was evidence of the pale support for Italian national causes among emigrants.[111] Nevertheless, Pavoni

[105] Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos statistics accessible online at http://cemla.com/buscador/.
[106] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 1540.
[107] Herbert Klein, "The Integration of Italian Immigrants into the United States and Argentina: A Comparative Analysis," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983), 306-329.
[108] Devoto, et al., *L'emigrazione italiana*, 47.
[109] Samuel Baily, "The Italians and Organized Labor in the United States and Argentina: 1880-1910," *International Migration Review* 1 (1967): 59.
[110] "La fratellanza italo-argentina," *La vita italiana all'estero*, April 1913, 312.
[111] "Gl'italiani dell'Argentina nell'anno della guerra," *La vita italiana all'estero*, July 1913, 49.

believed Italy's victory in that conflict had renewed nationalistic sentiment among overseas Italians. It showed emigrants that Italy was strong enough to protect its "distant children." And like Gossi, he felt it would lead to greater economic penetration by Italy in Argentina, Brazil and the rest of South America.[112]

In 1914 and early 1915, contributors to *La vita italiana all'estero* remained concerned about issues like assimilation and Italian-language schooling in South America, trade relations and transportation across the Atlantic, and the presence of *italianità* in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo. Increasingly, however, discussion turned to how the war in Europe could impact emigrant welfare. The conflict cut off the flow of European capital into South America and destabilized the region's economies. Even before Italy entered the conflict, the war had the potential to reshape relations between emigrants and their homeland.[113]

During the early part of the 1910s, intellectuals and politicians in Italy wrote extensively about Italian emigrants and their relationship to Italy's national and colonial ambitions. The comments by sources outlined above could be quite negative in their interpretation of emigration. Such opinions might view the expatriation of millions of citizens as the loss by Italy of one of its most vital resources: labor. Or they might contend that connections between Italy and its citizens overseas eroded over time because the Italian government's mismanagement of emigration policy accelerated assimilation to foreign ways of life. Just as often, writers in Italy expressed positive opinions of emigration.

[112] Ibid, 53.
[113] "L'Argentina e la guerra europea; Fra supposizioni e pronostici" and "Il pericolo del Brasile si riaffaccia; Un dannoso provvedimento del Ministero degli Esteri," *La vita italiana all'estero*, April 1915, 283 and 294.

They saw emigrants as a vehicle for Italian advances on the international stage through the spread of economic, cultural and political influences. Italian leaders often framed such influences as "colonial" expansion that could help confirm the country's status as a Great Power.

Emigration-minded writers in Italy felt that demographic trends, economic conditions, cultural affinities and political expediencies in South America, and in Argentina and Brazil especially, had laid the ground for the advance of Italian interests in the region. In this sense, the drive toward *un'Italia piu grande* might extend beyond the annexation of *terre irredente* in Europe and imperial conquest in Africa to the development of thicker ties with overseas "colonies" where millions of emigrants had settled. The potential for such development lay in the belief that notions of *italianità* could sustain meaningful connections between Italy and its emigrants, and even emigrant children. To build material benefits on top of this, writers thought government agencies and non-government institutions in Italy needed to provide greater support to overseas Italians. Emigrants would, meanwhile, need to transform any feelings of connection into tangible action. The mobilization for war provided an opportunity to see what results might come from such efforts, and whether *italianità* was indeed present in the very "blood" of emigrants and emigrant children. Could the arms of a "greater" and "bigger" Italy effectively reach across the Atlantic to Italian communities in the metropolitan areas of Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo? Could Italy spur emigrants to action to support the advance of a national cause?

2.2 *LA MOBILITAZIONE ALL'ESTERO*: THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT'S EMIGRANT RECRUITMENT DRIVE

On July 26, 1915, the Italian Ministry of War received a message from the Head of the Transportation Management Delegation in Rome regarding the steamship *Lombardo*.[114] The transportation official relayed a telegram he had received from Dakar, in French Senegal, reporting that the ship now flew an Italian rather than an Austrian flag following its "consular seizure" in Buenos Aires. On the ship were 1,025 *richiamati*, or recalled Italian soldiers, from Argentina. The message said that the *Lombardo* had left Dakar on July 24 and would stop at British Gibraltar because the Ministry of the Navy feared that it could be attacked in the Mediterranean. It also reported unrest on the ship, including "riots" among the recruits and general discontent with conditions on board. The transportation office requested that an official from the *carabinieri* military police and weapons be sent to Gibraltar on the *Sardegna*. That ship would depart Genoa for Gibraltar on July 27 to retrieve another 500 overseas Italian recruits stranded there on the *Regina d'Italia*. The Ministry of War complied by sending the official and arms on the *Sardegna* in order to maintain order among the disgruntled recruits.

The above correspondence sheds light on a number of attributes of the Italian government's efforts to mobilize its overseas citizens during World War I. It shows that there was, in fact, a quick response by some emigrants to directives from Rome that called

[114] Capo della Delegazione Direzione Trasporti, letter to Segretario Generale Divisione Stato Maggiore of the Ministero della Guerra, July 26, 1915 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).

for Italians residing around the world to join the nation's struggle against Austria-Hungary. These recruits arrived in Europe just two months after Italy's declaration of war. Nor were they the first group to make the trip. This correspondence also illustrates the complexity of the recruitment efforts, which required the coordination of multiple ships (at least one seized from an enemy government) that had to navigate dangerous routes between the ports of Italy's allies. In addition, it provides evidence of the Italian military's limited resources for the transport of returnees and the capacity for discord among returnees despite perceptions of nationalist solidarity associated with their journey back to Italy. Such discourse suggests there was a less-than-voluntary aspect to the return of the recruits once they signed on. They needed an armed military escort to accompany their passage to Genoa partly so they would not desert.

As the rest of this chapter shows, there was a complex and arguably bold effort undertaken by the Italian government to convince its overseas citizens to enlist in the armed forces and corresponding initiative to provide financial assistance to the families of overseas recruits. Italian politicians and writers, meanwhile, encouraged other emigrants to contribute to the mobilization effort through financial assistance and demonstrations of patriotic support wherever they resided. This was no less the case in the large concentrations of Italian emigrants in South America. In many ways, the Italian authorities had little choice, with more than 10 percent of its citizenry living outside the country. Moreover, when Italy entered the conflict in 1915, World War I was already a "total war." There was, by that time, no mistaking it for a small-scale and short-lived conflict over Serbian independence or even a cyclical reconfiguration of the balance of

power among Europe's serial belligerents. It was an existential contest that required the mobilization of every resource at the disposal of combatant countries, whose war-related activities extended well beyond the European continent—and in fact around the globe. Italy was no exception.

The first objective of the Italian government's mobilization efforts among overseas populations was the organization of the passage back to Italy of reservists and volunteers living outside the country. Italian authorities had made some preparations for the recruitment of soldiers in emigrant communities prior to the war. In March 1909, the Ministry of War sent a questionnaire to consular agents about the conscription of overseas Italians. A memo related to that questionnaire discussed the legal exemption from service of military-age men living overseas in times of peace and special provisions for the return of those servicemen in case of war.[115] It sought to limit recruitment efforts to those deemed most likely to assist the overall mobilization drive, asking which "transoceanic" countries were the best targets for overseas recruitment. It specifically discussed how recruitment might occur in places like Argentina, Brazil, France, Tunisia and the United States, the locations of particularly large Italian communities.

Italian diplomatic agents in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay all expressed reservations about the ability of the Italian military to conduct successful recruitment drives in those countries. The Buenos Aires delegation referred to Argentina as "an essentially anti-militarist country" and the Italian emigrant population's likely "very

[115] Ministero della Guerra, Gabinetto Militare, *Rimpatrio degli emigrati in caso di mobilitazione*, March 25, 1909 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).

limited" response to military enlistment. It felt that agricultural workers in the countryside would hesitate to abandon their farms, while urban workers were mostly socialists and anarchists predisposed to ignore recruitment. It also discussed logistical constraints and expectations that Argentine officials would hesitate to permit a mobilization of foreign soldiers in their country. The Rio de Janeiro delegation argued that the far-flung colonies of Italians in Brazil and poor communication systems among emigrant settlements would restrict enlistment numbers. The São Paulo delegation believed that consular agents would find it difficult to persuade workers to leave their jobs. Finally, the Montevideo delegation felt that the emigrant population in Uruguay was too small for a recruitment effort to have any impact on the Italian war effort. The dependence of Montevideo ship departures on Buenos Aires would also "render impossible" any mobilization.[116]

Officials in the Ministry of War concluded that Argentina required a "competent functionary" to build a central conscription office with contacts around the country, Brazil needed a number of "competent people" sent to its centers of population, and in Uruguay demographic conditions made the dispatch of such personnel unnecessary.[117] Other questionnaires followed as authorities in Rome sought additional information on the potential for overseas recruitment. In mid-1911, a summary report sent by the Ministry of War to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Mail and Telegraph, and Navy outlined the

[116] Commissione per il rimpatrio degli inscritti di leva e dei militari residenti all'estero in caso di mobilitazione, *Risposte della R. Autorità Diplomatiche al 1º Questo concernente la mobilitazione dei militari residenti all'estero*, c. June 1911 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[117] Commissione per il rimpatrio degli inscritti di leva e dei militari residenti all'estero in caso di mobilitazione, *Risposte della R. Autorità Diplomatiche al 2º Questo concernente la mobilitazione dei militari residenti all'estero*, c. June 1911 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).

results of the surveys on emigrant military recruitment. The report stated that reservists residing overseas should not be, *a priori*, exempted from service during times of war as they "will always be useful for the defense of *la patria*," or fatherland. The report did argue that distance should be taken into account when ranking repatriation orders for reservists living overseas.[118]

Just a few months later, Italy went to war against the Ottoman Empire but took little action concerning emigrant enlistment. In January 1913, just after the war ended, officials at the Ministry of War highlighted the "lack of legislative rules and regulations" regarding overseas recruitment. They recalled the 1909-1911 questionnaire process, lamented its slow progress and reiterated the need for better procedures and more personnel in large centers of emigrant population so that recruitment in the future could occur "at the moment of need."[119]

As Italy's next war approached, some clarity emerged on how troop mobilizations might occur. In March 1915, Italian parliamentarians asked representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about existing regulations regarding reservists living overseas. They requested the simplification of those processes given Italy's impending declaration of war.[120] Additionally, the Italian parliament established a fund for the repatriation of emigrants, with an initial focus on support for returnees from European countries that

[118] Commissione per il rimpatrio degli inscritti di leva e dei militari residenti all'estero in caso di mobilitazione, *Risposte al quisitonario sottoposto all'esame della Commissione*, c. June 1911 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito), 2.
[119] Ufficio del Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, *Concorso delle Autorità consolari nel rimpatrio degli emigrati in caso di mobilitazione*, January 29, 1913 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[120] Alfredo Dentice di Frasso, question posed to Luigi Borsarelli di Rifreddo in the Chamber of Deputies, March 2, 1915 (Rome: Atti Parlamentari della Legislatura XXIV), 6645.

were already at war.[121] On May 13, 1915, a royal decree-law outlined a list of guarantees for conscripted soldiers that included stipend payments, assurances of a return to their jobs after the war and the distribution of subsidies for soldiers' wives and dependents.[122]

In addition to these assurances, repatriation of potential soldiers from South America received a lift from the economic crisis that struck South America at the war's outbreak. Italy's Emigration Commission reported in 1914 that emigrants in São Paulo city were working an average of only two to three days per week.[123] In Argentina, a banking crisis and falling land prices produced an economic slowdown and an oversupply of labor, while the cost of living remained high.[124] Throughout Latin America, the economic downturn drove emigrant repatriation[125] The Italian government recorded more than 450,000 Italian emigrant repatriations from transoceanic countries in the period 1914-1918.[126] In 1913, net out-migration to the Americas was about 240,000. In 1914, the balance flipped to a roughly 57,000 net in-migration. In 1915, net in-migration grew to just under 130,000.[127] Although it is difficult to conclude with certainty, the economic crises in South America were likely among the greatest sources of emigrant recruits from the region. Young men who returned for economic reasons would eventually enlist in the Italian army from their hometowns in Italy rather than at consular offices overseas.

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[121] Camera dei Diputati, *Disegno di legge, Conversione del Regio decreto 29 aprile 1915, n. 567*. Jujne 4, 1914 (Rome: Atti Parlamentari della Legislatura XXIV), 1.
[122] "R. Decreto-Legge 13 maggio 1915, n. 620 riguardante provvedimenti a favore dei militari trattenuti o richiamati alle armi," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1915, 38-41.
[123] "Ufficio di patronato per gli emigranti di S. Paolo (Brasile)," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1915.
[124] Bertora, *Emigrazione e Argentina*, 201-206.
[125] "Dopo I rimpatri," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), April 1915, 202.
[126] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 671.
[127] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Il contributo dato alla vittoria dal Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione; Mobilitazione e smobilitazione degli emigrati italiani in occasione della guerra 1915-1922* (Rome: Tipografia Cartiere Centrali, 1924), 16.

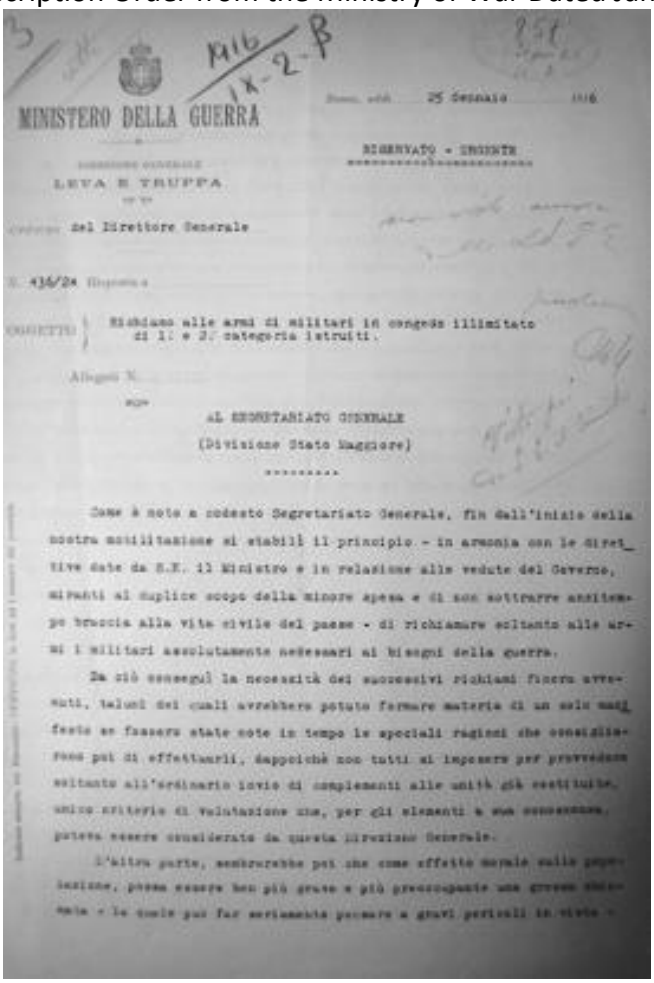
When Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, the Italian government nevertheless launched a global effort to encourage reservists and volunteers living overseas to enlist in the armed forces. The army helped to manage enlistment efforts in neutral and allied countries and territories as varied as Albania, Egypt, France, Great Britain, Morocco, Romania, Russia, Scandinavian countries, the United States and South America.[128] In one case, a British officer H. Wakefield wrote to Italian officers regarding a group of Italians who resided in Australia but had arrived to Southampton, England on two ships and would be escorted across France to the Italian border for transfer into the Italian army.[129] Amidst total war, Italian authorities over-ruled any reservations their diplomatic agents voiced about logistical or other challenges that could impact recruitment. The responsibility for the administration of the recruitment effort lay mostly with the Emigration Commission. That agency received from the Ministry of War information about the different birth years, specialties and military categories being called to service throughout the war period.[130]

With Italy's decree of military mobilization, the Emigration Commission immediately sent a telegram to Italian diplomatic and consular officials announcing the launch of the recruitment drive and lists of the soldiers being called up.[131] Soon after, it distributed a circular provided by the Ministry of War that contained detailed instructions

[128] Documents from the "F3" collection, Fasciolo 1, "Reclutamento ed inquadramento degli italiani residenti all'estero e vari accordi altri Stati per il servizio di leva (1916-1917)" and Fasciolo 10 "Rimpatrio militari provenenti dall'estero, marzo 1917-maggio 1919" (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[129] Major H. Wakefield, letter to the Ufficio Ordinamento e Mobilitazione, Comando Supremo, July 16, 1918 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[130] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Il contributo dato alla vittoria*, 9.
[131] "Servizio della leva all'estero. Rimpatrio di emigranti pel servizio militare," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1916, 72.

about the recruitment efforts. The Emigration Commission had managed large-scale repatriation from European countries since the start of the conflict in 1914, but a decree in May 1915 provided the office with funds to finance return trips from transoceanic countries.[132] Other recruitment orders followed, while the Italian government placed restrictions on the out-migration from Italy of men of military age and younger.

Figure 5: Conscription Order from the Ministry of War Dated January 25, 1916



MINISTERO DELLA GUERRA

25 Gennaio

RISERVATO - URGENTE

LEVA E TRUPPA

del Direttore Generale

Richiamo alle armi di militari in congedo illimitato di 1ª e 2ª categoria istruiti.

AL SEGRETARIATO GENERALE

(Divisione Stato Maggiore)

Come è noto a codesto Segretariato Generale, fin dall'inizio della nostra mobilitazione si stabilì il principio - in armonia con le direttive date da S.E. il Ministro e in relazione alle vedute del Governo, ispirati al duplice scopo della minore spesa e di non sottrarre anzitempo truppe alla vita civile del paese - di richiamare soltanto alle armi i militari assolutamente necessari ai bisogni della guerra.

Da ciò conseguì la necessità dei successivi richiami finora avvenuti, taluni dei quali avrebbero potuto formare materia di un solo raggruppamento se fossero state note in tempo le speciali ragioni che consigliarono poi di effettuarli, dappoichè non tutti si imposero per provvedere soltanto all'ordinario invio di complementi alle unità già costituite, unico criterio di valutazione che, per gli elementi a mia conoscenza, potesse essere considerato da questa Direzione Generale.

Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Rome

The Head Office of the Merchant Marine took charge of arranging the transport of recruits, while military officials in Italian ports managed them upon arrival in Italy. The Emigration

[132] "Assistenza e rimpatrio in seguito alla guerra europea," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1916, 74.

Commission later counted roughly 300,000 soldiers returning from around the world. Just over half came from the Americas and a third of those from South America. This number, again, omits those emigrants who returned prior to the declaration of war and later signed up.[133] Chapters 2 and 3 will provide further detail on recruitment efforts in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

In Italy, institutions of civil society and writers contributing to publications with an interest in emigration issues assisted the overseas recruitment drive. The Italian Colonial Institute, through its monthly publication *Rivista coloniale*, argued for the transformation of overseas charitable organizations known as *patronati* and other institutions into agencies that encourage and arrange greater enlistment.[134] It called for more "control" by Italy's government of Italian workers wherever they resided. *Rivista coloniale* published articles urging emigrants to report to consular offices. A particularly bombastic article published in June 1915 referred to returning soldiers as "the best blood in our ethnographic colonies."[135] Recruits were lining up in train stations and ports on all continents, the article claimed, so as "not to desert History" and to support their "mother" against "Attila," whose name the publication used to symbolize the barbarism of Austria-Hungary. The returnees included "escapees" from Brazilian plantations and the "unemployed" from Buenos Aires that had heard in their souls an intense vibration that emanated from Italy. As a result:

> From South Africa to Canada, from Russia to Morocco, from London to Argentina the sons of Italy flow out exalting the war: that which [Giovanni]

[133] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Il contributo dato alla vittoria*, 11.
[134] "A guerra iniziata," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), May 1915, 272-275.
[135] "Patria!," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), June 1915, 328-330.

> Pascoli called The Great Proletariat gathers its forces and throws itself against the enemy of Italy and of civilization.

The article concluded with a request for all Italians inside and outside Italy to support the troops. The following year, *Rivista coloniale* commended the entire overseas population for the assistance they provided to soldiers and their families all over the world.[136]

Chronically short of funds even after cutting standard services for emigrants while it took on additional tasks for the war effort, the Emigration Commission requested more money to finance the activities required of it during the mobilization.[137] Ultimately, other organizations stepped in to assist soldiers as they returned. *Rivista coloniale* praised the actions of the *patronati* in December 1916, especially their work in South America and northern Europe.[138] Milan-based Società Umanitaria played a prominent role in networks of assistance built to help returned soldiers after they arrived in Italy, including at a newly constructed "House of Emigrants" in Bologna in 1916.[139] Società Umanitaria also managed requests for information from individuals in Italy and overseas about family members living elsewhere. Some of its activities received financial assistance from emigrants in the Americas, including in Buenos Aires.[140] The Italica Gens organization used its resources in the port cities of Genoa and Naples to assist returnees, while its chapters overseas helped repatriating emigrants prior to their departure back to Italy.[141]

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[136] "La azione del Regio Commissariato," *Rivista coloniale*, December 1916, 733-734.
[137] "Spese da liquidarsi ulteriormente per altri servizi affidati al Commissariato," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1916, 75-76.
[138] "La azione del Regio Commissariato," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), December 1916, 733-734.
[139] Il Segretario Generale della Società Umanitaria, letter to Le Direzione Generale dele Ferrovie dello Stato, May 2, 1916 (Milan: Società Umanitaria Archive).
[140] "Gli emigrati trentini nell'America," *Corrispondenza settimanale (della Società Umanitaria)*, July 31, 1918; "I passaggi dalla Casa Emigranti," *Corrispondenza settimanale (della Società Umanitaria)*, October 18, 1919.
[141] "I nostri segretariati di Genova e di Napoli nel 1914," *Italica Gens*, September 1915, 125.

Government and non-government institutions also used existing networks in Italy and abroad to assist civilian emigrants affected by the war. They paid particular attention to the families of recruits. Regulations regarding payments to soldiers' families made specific reference to those residing overseas. They needed to register with consular agents in order to receive stipend payments from the Italian government.[142] It was the job of the Emigration Commission to manage the lists of families that received benefits and the work of consular officials to distribute the funds. Those funds increased if a soldier moved up in rank. Families received daily stipends based on the number of family members that had relied on a soldier's income prior to his enlistment. The list of dependents included wives, legitimate or legitimated children younger than 12 years old or unable to work, parents over 60 or unable to work, and brothers and sisters without parents who were younger than 12 years old or unable to work.[143] Soldiers' families also received support from *patronati*, Società Umanitaria and Italica Gens whether they resided overseas or they repatriated to Italy. As the war progressed, these organizations provided welfare to the orphans of dead soldiers, including orphans living outside Italy.[144] Such efforts can be viewed as a recruitment tool, in some ways, as Italian officials should to encourage other emigrants to enlist knowing their families would be cared for.

[142] *Giornale militare ufficiale*, October 8, 1915.
[143] "Soccorsi alle famiglie bisognose anche residenti all'estero, dei militari arruolatisi come volontari (Circolare del Ministero della Guerra, N. 259)," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1916, 100.
[144] "L'Umanitaria e i profughi," *Corrispondenza settimanale (della Società Umanitaria)*, November 21, 1917; "Gli orfani degli emigrati," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), April 1917, 195.

2.3 *COSÌ LONTANO*: EMIGRANT ACTIONS DURING THE WAR (A VIEW FROM ITALY)

The paragraphs above begin to demonstrate the substantial effort made to recruit Italian soldiers living overseas. It was an effort that stretched around the globe and involved the coordination of a number of Italian government agencies in Italy and elsewhere. Private resources assisted the enlistment of Italian emigrants through a cross-border network of non-government institutions based in Italy that delivered aid to emigrant soldiers and supported soldiers' families abroad and during repatriation. Nevertheless, this was an effort that struggled to raise the funds and arrange the resources necessary to conduct the recruitment drive. During the war, questions emerged over how effective overseas recruitment was both in general and specifically in relation to the large emigrant communities of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. There were positive and negative interpretations of the mobilization drive.

Author Gino Tenani offered a partially positive assessment in a monograph published in Sanremo in 1916, *Emigrazione e guerra* (Emigration and War). Tenani argued that overseas Italians served as agents for the advance of modern civilization "under all skies, in all climates, in the endless plains of the *pampas* as in the Brazilian *fazendas*, in the Chilean mines as in the great factories of Providence and Philadelphia."[145] However, during a war that pitted nations against one another, "each citizen is a soldier."[146] Tenani

[145] Gino Tenani, *Emigrazione e guerra* (Sanremo: Tipografia G. B. Biancheri, 1916), 17.
[146] Tenani, *Emigrazione e guerra*, 1.

believed that the successful mobilization of Italian emigrants was part of a war effort that he called "the last great glorious cement in our history" that would lead to a "Latin victory" in an ongoing battle among races.[147]

For Tenani and others, the war drew Italian emigrants closer to their homeland. This was, in part, embodied by the hundreds of thousands of overseas recruits returning to Italy to fight on the Alpine front. More than this, there were events taking place around the world that illustrated, to some Italian officials, that their citizens living overseas "had not abandoned their native soil."[148] Outward displays of patriotism in support of the mobilization drive occurred in Canada, Egypt, France, Romania and Switzerland. They included a tribute to General Cadorna that took place in São Paulo and celebrations of the anniversary of the Italy's entry into the war in Buenos Aires.[149] These events offered public and "solemn" (as they were often described) demonstrations of support for recruited soldiers, and might encourage other young men to enlist, officials hoped.

The Dante Alighieri Society in Rome shined a similarly positive light on events happening overseas, especially around Europe and in the Americas.[150] This was meant to encourage further troop enlistment, to support soldiers' families and dead soldiers' orphans, and to commemorate those returned emigrants who had lost their lives while at war. In late 1917, the Dante chapter in Montevideo held a commemoration for Italian "martyrs" killed by Austria and launched a fundraising drive for the construction of a

[147] Tenani, *Emigrazione e guerra*, 19.
[148] "Archivio Nazionale degli Italiani residenti all'estero," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, June 1916, 94.
[149] Ibid, 94-96.
[150] The Dante Alighieri society was founded in 1889 by a group of intellectuals to serve as an advocate for Italian language and culture around the world, and partly to preserve connections between overseas Italians and their country of origin.

monument for fallen soldiers.[151] Publications and correspondence by emigration-focused institutions in Italy used such events as evidence of the strength of *italianità* in Italian "colonies" around the world. Writers emphasized how the contributions of overseas Italians, even the mere demonstration of patriotic fervor at a public rally, could invigorate military efforts.

However, at least in terms of troop mobilization, the dominant opinion in Italy was that recruitment efforts overseas were falling short. Italian officials and writers blamed a lack of resources and the unwillingness of emigrants to defend their homeland. In May 1916, the Emigration Commission explained some of the difficulties it faced in the recruitment effort.[152] It said that many men had reported to consular offices with great enthusiasm upon the declaration of war, but officials turned them away because their birthdate did not match recruitment orders. When called up later on, many did not come back. The Emigration Commission also found that as a number of soldiers' families could not return to Italy (despite the efforts of the *patronati*), other potential recruits avoided enlistment so as not to abandon their families. In addition, it noted that in some cases recruitment orders never arrived or arrived late to places like rural areas in Brazil. After the war, the Emigration Commission said confusion existed across the Americas about who needed to report for duty and who was exempt from service.[153] Italian authorities, meanwhile, denied many of the commission's requests for additional funding to assist recruitment.

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[151] "Montevideo," *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, December 1917, 18.
[152] "Servizio della leva all'estero, Rimpatrio di emigranti pel servizio militare," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, May 1916, 72-73.
[153] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione. *Il contributo dato alla vittoria*, 15.

The Emigration Commission was not the only organization distressed by disappointing emigrant enlistment. In November 1916, a message sent by a director general at the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs raised concerns that reservists in Buenos Aires could too easily receive medical exemptions.[154] In December 1916, members of the Italian parliament openly addressed the failings of overseas recruitment and asked the Minister of War, Paolo Morrone, how they might punish those who did not report.[155] Voicing similar reservations about the recruitment effort, *Rivista coloniale* nevertheless remained hopeful that enlistment numbers would improve. The publication argued that many factors and policies contributing to the low numbers of returnees could be revised to encourage more emigrants to sign up.[156]

As the war wore on, it became clear to many in Italy that a wider enlistment of soldiers from overseas communities would not materialize. A contributor to *La vita italiana: Rassegna mensile di politica interna, estera, coloniale e di emigrazione* wrote in May 1917 that the 150,000 soldiers returning from the Americas paled in comparison to the estimated half million who had remained on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.[157] One author's explanations for enlistment failures included economic reasons such as the insufficient stipends provided to soldiers' families and the unwillingness of small business owners to leave their work. Administrative and political factors contributed to low

[154] Il Direttore Generale della Ministero di Guerra Divisione Stato Maggiore, letter to the Direzione Generale degli Affari Privati del R. Ministero degli Affari Esteri, November 25, 1916 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[155] Camera dei Diputati, *Discussione Tornata del 5 dicembre 1916*, 5 Dec. 1916 (Rome: Atti Parlamentari della Legislatura XXIV), 11144.
[156] "La azione del Regio Commissariato," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), December 31, 1916, 733.
[157] "Per gl'italiani all'estero renitenti e disertori; Una proposta pratica," *La vita italiana: Rassegna mensile di política interna, estera, coloniale e di emigrazione*, May 15, 1917, 489.

numbers as well, among them: the failure to organize enough transport to capitalize on patriotic enthusiasm at the war's onset; a misjudgment of the high costs of travel to consular offices; high rates of illiteracy among emigrants that impeded the dissemination of recruitment information; and the Italian government's failure to clarify whether emigrants with citizenship in other countries needed to enlist. This author felt that voices dissuading potential soldiers from signing up had had significant impacts. Those voices included family members in Italy who urged potential recruits to stay away, and organized labor organizations that said deserters could wait for a post-war amnesty.[158] More details on these activities will be provided in Chapter 4.

Writing closer to the end of the war, in a monograph published in Rome in 1918, Umberto Enrico De Gregorio examined a number of the issues listed above. He estimated that about 700,000 able-bodied emigrants could have returned, but that the recruitment drive had failed because consular agents were ineffective, resources were insufficient and logistical facilities were inadequate.[159] He agreed that Italian authorities had squandered initial enthusiasm in 1915. But De Gregorio also harshly criticized emigrants as not "civilized" enough. Their distance from Italy and employment in unskilled labor made them vulnerable to delinquent behaviors like alcoholism or the keeping of two families on either side of the Atlantic.[160] Rather than carrying their *italianità* in their blood, emigrants lost connection with their homeland as they assimilated to new surroundings,

[158] Ibid, 491.
[159] Umberto Enrico De Gregorio, *L'emigrazione italiana e la guerra* (Rome: Tipografia Cartiere Centrali, 1918), 25.
[160] De Gregorio, *L'emigrazione italiana e la* guerra, 16.

especially in the Americas.[161] Emigration, in De Gregorio's view, stripped Italy of its "demographic vigor" and hurt its military. Wartime propaganda efforts failed to revive lost connections.

Ultimately, as later chapters will show, troop mobilizations and the activities surrounding them were only part of the efforts by the Italian government and non-government institutions to stir up support for the war within emigrant communities. Displays of patriotism at public rallies and the dissemination of propaganda to engender and sustain nationalistic fervor also represented a large portion of a war effort that extended from Italy to its citizens residing overseas. That propaganda included efforts to persuade emigrants to contribute to goods collections and Italian government war bonds programs that would assist the Italian side.

A leader in the dissemination of pro-war propaganda was the Dante Alighieri Society, a cultural institution based in Rome with branches around the world. At the beginning of 1916, the semi-annual publication of the central office in Rome included a "salute" to the soldiers in the Alps "who fight the holy war of liberation, enduring all the hardships, overcoming all the pitfalls, with a vision of a greater, more respected and stronger *Patria*."[162] In the same issue, a contributor wrote about the support for the war occurring in all of Italy's overseas "colonies"—in the Levant, the Americas, Africa and Europe—and asserted that "five million of our brothers" remained connected to their country of origin during this crisis.[163] There was "marvelous concord" and a "national

[161] De Gregorio, *L'emigrazione italiana e la* guerra, 28.
[162] "Il salute della <<Dante>>,"*Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, January 1916, 3.
[163] "La <<Dante>> di domani," *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, January 1916, 7.

conscience" among Italians all over the world. The organization sponsored the distribution of propaganda films and financing of patriotic monuments in Greater Buenos Aires; the construction and upkeep of meeting halls like one in São Paulo for Italian emigrants to hold pro-war rallies; and the distribution of funds for demonstrations of emigrant nationalism in Italian-language schools, as the Dante chapter in Montevideo did during the war.[164] The Rome committee and its publication served as vehicles for the collection and distribution of information on patriotic events occurring in Italian communities around the world. It created in its pages an appearance of nationalist solidarity occurring on a global scale.[165] At the same time, the publication looked to foster anti-German sentiment around the world through emigrant communities.

Unlike other institutions and individuals, the Dante never wavered from its positive and patriotic stance during the war. In 1917, which was perhaps the most difficult year for the Italian side and a period when many other institutions questioned the strength of the bond between Italy and overseas Italians, the Rome committee's publication celebrated the Dante's overseas chapters, highlighting

> their work for *italianità* in the most direct and special displays: work that drove these shreds, living dispersed profusely throughout the world, to remain almost always tied to their homeland: a people, enriching and, often, civilizing the world.[166]

[164] "L'opera della <<Dante>> fuori del Regno, nel 1914-1915," *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri,* January 1916, 9.
[165] Descriptions of activities occurring at Dante chapters around the world are visible in *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, December 1917, 10-24.
[166] "La relazione della Presidenza," *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, January 1917, 7.

Through the end of the war, contributors to the Dante's publication in Rome continued to celebrate what they interpreted as the solemn, adoring and boundless love of overseas Italians for their homeland.[167]

Other emigration-related publications disseminated propaganda in support of the war effort. *Rivista d'Italia* spoke of the need for Italy not only to fight but to "persuade" those abroad of the noble aims of its cause.[168] *La vita italiana* covered propaganda campaigns in Italy and overseas.[169] *Italica Gens* filled its pages with coverage of patriotic events occurring in emigrant communities.[170] The Italian government financed some of these propaganda activities, with the Ministry of War providing materials and funding to Italian diplomats in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro.[171]

As the war neared its conclusion, propaganda began to extend beyond the search for support of the Italian military. It discussed and encouraged Italy's overseas expansion in the post-war era. Of primary importance was the improvement of economic links between Italy and its emigrants.[172] During the war, emigrants had shown the impact their wealth might have on the advancement of Italian national interests. By July 1916, the Emigration Commission reported more than 77 million Italian *lira*, or roughly 10.5 million

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[167] "Dalle terre transoceaniche," *Atti della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, November 1918, 4.
[168] "Per la propaganda italiana all'estero," *Rivista d'Italia*, 1918, 320.
[169] "Propaganda di dentro e propaganda di fuori," *La vita italiana: Rassegna mensile di política interna, estera, coloniale e di emigrazione*, October 15, 1917.
[170] Issues of *Italica Gens* in 1916 include mention of commemorations, rallies and other patriotic activities throughout the Americas.
[171] Commissione Parlamentari d'Inchiesta per le Spese di Guerra, *Relazione generale sulla propaganda all'estero* (Rome: Archivio dello Stato, PCM Guerra Europea 1915-1918 Archive), 81-88.
[172] "Elogio di Guglielmo Marconi alla 'savia pervidenza' degli emigranti," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, July 1916, 75; "Il commercio italiano nell'Argentina," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), June-July 1917, 374-376. The *lira*:dollar exchange rate averaged 7.3:1 in 1915-1919. Lawrence H. Officer, "Exchange Rates Between the United States Dollar and Forty-One Currencies," *Measuring Worth*, 2016: www.measuringworth.com/datasets/exchangeglobal/result.php

dollars, of war loan contributions from overseas Italians.[173] About half of this money came from Argentina and Brazil. Indeed, as the war progressed, more of the propaganda circulated by institutions based in Italy focused on emigrant contributions to patriotic loan programs and goods collections. These will be covered in greater depth in subsequent chapters. In early 1918, *Rivista coloniale* published an article urging emigrants to contribute, with the words:

> The propaganda for the loan has this time been conducted with considerable energy abroad, among the emigrants who feel it appropriate to support the finances of the *Patria* in this decisive moment, whether the end of the war is near or far away.
>
> It is hoped that the appeal of the *Patria* will be answered largely by all of the well-off and rich compatriots that are overseas, imitating the agreeable examples given, in the first loans, by those spirits truly penetrated by a sense of duty to the Nation at war.
>
> The 'prominent ones' of our ethnographic colonies should not have deserters in their ranks: neither from the military front, nor from the financial front.[174]

The Italian government and institutions of civil society based in Italy were asking for more than just the enlistment of soldiers residing overseas. They were, in effect, calling for the establishment of a "home front" within emigrant communities from which other resources could be mobilized in support of the war.

[173] "Contribuiti degli italiani residenti all'estero al Prestito Nazionale 5%," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, July 1916, 94.
[174] "Il V Prestito," *Rivista coloniale* (Rome), January-February 1918, 43.

2.4 *UN'ITALIA PIÙ GRANDE*: THE "TRIGGER" OF ITALY'S WAR

When Italy entered World War I, the millions of Italian citizens living overseas became the target of a major effort by government and non-government institutions to mobilize resources in what today might be called an emigrant diaspora. The country's experience with "total war," one in which many of the other combatant countries looked to exploit resources outside of Europe for belligerent purposes, led political and intellectual leaders in Italy to consider how they could incite Italian emigrants to assist the war effort in their homeland. In fact, those leaders had laid some foundation for these mobilization efforts in the period prior to the war. Those in Italy interested in emigrant issues had engaged in earlier discussions about the extent to which overseas Italians maintained (or at least felt) ties to their homeland and identified with nationalist notions of *italianità*. These discussions dealt with how emigrants might fit into unified Italy's national and colonial ambitions, or the advancement of the country's influence in international affairs. Or if, instead, emigrants represented the hemorrhaging of Italian "blood" and the deterioration of *italianità* as it gave way to assimilation. Writers focused on emigration often cited Italian emigrant communities in South America in support of either—or some combination—of these judgments.

Beginning in 1915, the Italian military, emigration officials in Rome and diplomatic agents overseas engaged in an effort that would test the degree to which *un'Italia più grande* could in fact reach beyond Italy's boarders and even across oceans to the "transoceanic" communities of Italians living in the Americas. The mobilization drive took

the form of military recruitment, the distribution of nationalist propaganda and encouragement of donations to goods collections and war loans. It required the collaboration of government and non-government actors who used existing transnational networks of institutions and individuals to support their activities. The mobilization efforts led by the Emigration Commission and other Italian officials, and the response by military-aged men living overseas to conscription orders, received a mixed judgment by those in Italy writing about emigrant recruitment. The experience of the war also raised questions in Italy as to the extent to which the overseas communities had rallied to support their homeland in crisis, either through direct or indirect service or at least through public displays of patriotic sentiment and solidarity.

Ultimately, however, these Italian officials, intellectuals and participants in civil-society institutions based in Italy were only one piece of a multinational effort to mobilize resources within emigrant communities. Emigrants also participated from within their countries, and by their own volition. The war and the war effort in Italy were the triggers that set off attempts to collect whatever war-related resources might be available within overseas Italian populations. In metropolitan Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo, hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants would need to respond in active or passive ways to events taking place in their country of origin.

3.0 THE HOME FRONT IN *IL PLATA*

When Italy declared war against the Austro-Hungarian Empire on May 23, 1915—and, indeed, even before that date—many Italians living in Buenos Aires and Montevideo mobilized to support the war effort in their country of origin. These two capital cities straddling the banks of the River Plate, and their respective countries, were often referred to in Italy as "*Il Plata*," including in government investigations of Italian migration.[175] In this region, between May 1915 and November 1918, thousands of young men reported to consular agents to enlist in the Italian armed forces. These reservist (*riservisti*), called-up (*richiamati*) and volunteer (*voluntari*) soldiers then (especially in 1915) paraded onto ships in waterfront districts filled with immigrant onlookers waving the *tricolore* flag of the Kingdom of Italy. The mainstream Italian-language press dutifully covered these events through the publication of photographs, news articles and editorial columns about the troop departures and the efforts of others to assist the deployment.

In Buenos Aires and Montevideo, a collection of Italian-language newspapers reported on a wide range of pro-war activities. Yet the press was just one set of a larger group of immigrant institutions of civil society that participated in the war effort. These institutions included existing immigrant mutual-aid societies, the local branches of multi-

[175] "Notizie statistiche riassuntive," *Bollettino dell'emigrazione*, January 1916, 71; Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 424.

national non-government institutions (such as the Italian Red Cross) and new committees formed expressly for the war. Eventually groups of returned veterans created their own mutual-aid societies. During the war, these organizations, among other activities, provided assistance to the families of soldiers who left Buenos Aires and Montevideo to join the Italian army and purchased war bonds to help finance the war. Such efforts took place through a network of immigrants and immigrant institutions that pervaded the metropolitan areas of Buenos Aires and Montevideo—and, indeed, beyond. A number of institutional memoirs recorded these events in order to celebrate and preserve the history of their actions during the war.[176]

This chapter analyzes the pro-war effort in Buenos Aires and Montevideo during the period 1915-1918. It focuses on the experiences of Italian immigrants and immigrant institutions that responded in an affirmative way to Italy's call for overseas Italians to mobilize resources within their communities to support the war effort. In doing so, this chapter provides insight into the structure and function of immigrant civil society and explores some of the links that existed between immigrant communities and their homeland. Finally, this chapter looks at relationships present between the immigrant communities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. It reconstitutes the region of *Il Plata* as a meaningful geographic place for Italians in Italy and South America. Through its examination of the pro-war mobilization, this chapter explores a portion of a wider

[176] Prominent among these are Arturo Arigoni and Santino Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla Guerra 1915-1918* (Buenos Aires: Editori Arigoni & Barbieri, 1922) and Sebastiano De Navasques, dir., *Vittoria e Pace* (Buenos Aires: Antonacci e Navasques Editori, 1919).

network of interaction that extended across borders among Italian overseas communities and traversed the Atlantic.

3.1 *IL DOVERE DI TUTTI*: RECRUITMENT IN BUENOS AIRES AND MONTEVIDEO

There were, according to Italian government estimates, roughly 1 million Italian citizens living in Argentina and Uruguay when the conflict with Austria-Hungary began.[177] Millions more inhabitants were descendants of Italian immigrants. In the days following the "decree of general mobilization,"[178] the Italian consulate in Buenos Aires, led by Davide de Gaetani, delivered a message to Italians in that city that recalled the Italian king's order to mobilize the country's armed forces. It said that,

> We remind young and old, men and women, all of us Italians, in these days, that future generations will commemorate with emotion, the duties we fulfill; the completion of our national union, the safety, the glory of Italy will be the reward for all.[179]

Over the next three-and-a-half years advocates of the Italian cause would repeatedly remind immigrants and their offspring in Buenos Aires and Montevideo that the war effort was *il dovere di tutti*, or everyone's duty, no matter where they resided. This initial call to mobilize laid bare to Italian immigrants the Rome government's primary justification for such efforts: the full realization of Italian unification and Italy's

[177] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 1540.
[178] "Il decreto di mobilitazione generale," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), May 24, 1915.
[179] "R. Consolato Generale d'Italia in Buenos Aires," *Bollettino della Società 'Italia Unità' di Mutuo Soccorso, Istruzione e Beneficenza*, June 1915, 1.

Risorgimento through the annexation of *terre irredente* in the eastern Alps and along the northern Adriatic coast.

The consulate also issued conscription orders for Italian reservists and *richiamati*[180] (the terms were used interchangeably) who resided in Buenos Aires. Draft notices asked the *richiamati* to report to Italian mutual-aid society *Società La Colonia* at 555 Paraná Street for a medical examination.[181] Those deemed capable of military service then went to *Società Patria e Lavoro*, *Società Giuseppe Garibaldi* or *Società Ligure* to collect free passes for steamships that would take them to Italy. During peacetime, the Italian government provided reservists with only half of the cost of such a ticket.[182]

Amid the initial enthusiasm for the war, Italian officials reported that thousands of immigrants had arrived at consular offices to enlist. The numbers overwhelmed the mutual-aid societies that had elected to help.[183] As a result, the Italian Hospital, where Consul Gaetani served as president of the General Assembly, began to assist the processing of recruits. Its personnel organized medical services for the *richiamati* and reopened a section of an old building for use by the consulate's conscription office.[184] This building later became a dormitory for enlisted soldiers, especially those who traveled to Buenos Aires from elsewhere, who awaited the departure of transatlantic steamships. In

[180] The dissertation uses the terms reservist in English and *richiamati* in Italian as the latter lacks an adequate direct translation.
[181] "R. Consolato Generale d'Italia in Buenos Aires," *Bollettino della Società 'Italia Unità' di Mutuo Soccorso, Istruzione e Beneficenza*, June 1915, 1.
[182] Davide De Gaetani, *Per i lavoranti italiani in Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: R. Console Generale d'Italia, c.1916), 10.
[183] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 15.
[184] Società Italiana di Beneficenza in Buenos Aires 'Ospedale Italiano,' *Rendiconto amministrativo. Dati statistici e relazioni del corpo medico*, Esercizio 1914-1915, 6.

its annual report for 1914-1915, the hospital boasted that it "had not remained indifferent to the great currents that agitated and stirred the national soul, but instead it effectively demonstrated its never-refuted fulfillment of the traditions of pure *italianità*, contributing in various forms, through its action, to the sacred duties imposed on its fellow countrymen by current events." Such bombastic turns of phrase were common among the most nationalistic Italian institutions within overseas communities in Buenos Aires and elsewhere.

Figure 6: "Italian reservists lodged at the ex-'Italian Hospital'"

Giornale d'Italia, June 18, 1915

Immediately after the declaration of war, the Italian navy commissioned ships from Italian-owned merchant marine companies that operated regularly between South America and Southern Europe to transport enlisted soldiers.[185] On May 29, 1915, less than a week after Italy's entry into the war, the *Principessa Mafalda* of the Navigazione Generale Italiana shipping line left the port of Buenos Aires with roughly 700 recruits on board. This was the first of some 39 ship departures in 1915 that transported 20,784 registered recruits from Buenos Aires.[186] In the next three years, 78 passages would carry another 11,556 enlisted soldiers. These men resided not only in the capital but the nearby countryside, distant Argentine territories like the Chaco and Patagonia, and even Chile and Paraguay.[187] After September 1915, the Italian military no longer commissioned ships purely to transport recruits but continued to pay their way on regular passenger lines. The deadline for the first set of conscripts to report for duty was December 31, 1915. That date soon served as the source of threats by consular officials and immigrant newspapers against desertion.[188] Italian-language publications also circulated warnings against the forging of military exemption documents.[189]

Especially in the first months of the war, enlistees departed Buenos Aires to considerable fanfare. Fausto Filzi, a soldier who returned to Italy from Buenos Aires before the outbreak of the war, received a postcard from a friend in Argentina recounting

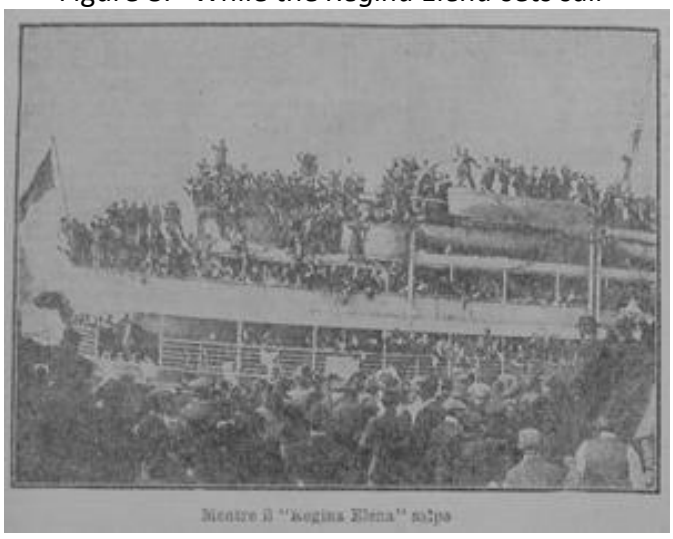
[185] Capo della Delegazione Direzione Trasporti, letter to Ministero della Guerra, Segretariato Generale Divisione Stato Maggiore, July 16, 1915 (Rome: Archivio ufficio storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito).
[186] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 213.
[187] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 213-218.
[188] "R. Consolato Generale d'Italia per la provincia di Buenos Aires," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), November 1, 1915.
[189] De Gaetani, *Per i lavoranti italiani in Buenos Aires*, 10.

the enthusiasm of Buenos Aires residents—including some non-Italians—during the troop sendoff.[190] Pro-war Italian publications reported tens of thousands of onlookers at the docks during the departure of the *Mafalda* and other ships—the *Garibaldi*, the *Cavour*, the *Toscana* and the *Principe di Udine*—often named with potent nationalist symbols of the *Risorgimento* and the royal family.

Figure 7: "The crowd" seeing off the *Mafalda*

La Patria degli italiani, May 30, 1915

Figure 8: "While the *Regina Elena* sets sail"



Giornale d'Italia, May 31, 1915

[190] Letter collection of Fausto Filzi (Rovereto: l'Archivio storico del Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra).

Recruitment ships that left Buenos Aires did not all travel directly to Genoa, where the Italian army set up encampments for soldiers arriving from South America. Many ships, including the *Regina Elena* pictured above, first crossed the Río de la Plata to Montevideo, where they took on additional recruits. Those boarding were not only conscripts but volunteers permitted by consular officials in Montevideo to enlist. When doing so, the recruits reported to the chancellery of the Royal Delegation of Italy to sign a document that confirmed they were Italian or "sons of Italians born overseas."[191] Before departing Montevideo, they similarly needed a medical exam as well as photographs and official identification. Electricians and other skilled technicians were of particular interest to the Italian military.[192]

On June 11, 1915, having left Buenos Aires a week earlier, the *Regina Elena* sat in Montevideo's harbor. Residents surrounding the ship had covered it in Italian flags to send off the recruits that had boarded in both cities. Maestri Molinari, head of the Italian delegation in Montevideo, expressed his pride and the presumed pride of the entire Italian community in the troops' sacrifices for what he deemed a patriotic and sacred cause.[193] He invoked the memory of Giuseppe Garibaldi, who Molinari trumpeted for contributions to the liberation of Uruguay and Italy. The consul spoke of a forthcoming victory for the "Latin race." In reporting the sentiments expressed that day, *L'italiano*, an Italian-language newspaper published in Montevideo, found that the soldiers' goal

[191] "Voluntari," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), June 6, 1915.
[192] "Richiamati della R. Marina," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), June 13, 1915.
[193] "La parola del ministro," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), June 20, 1915.

> …above all was to arrive as soon as possible, to fight for the liberation of Trento and Trieste! Many of the departing have left here their wives, children, loves: all have left for the triumph of the land which was their cradle or the cradle of their fathers. Many old arms found themselves there [at the port] to give [the soldiers] a last embrace and a final blessing![194]

In the mind of its leadership, the Italian community of Montevideo sent off on the *Regina Elena* and other ships its strongest and most spirited young men on the noblest of missions, to liberate and defend *la patria*.

3.2 *LA NOSTRA GUERRA*: ITALIAN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS DURING THE WAR

Mainstream newspapers (as opposed to the multitude of small-run newspapers representing all sorts of groups and ideologies) like Montevideo's *L'italiano*, a weekly published on Sundays, were central elements of social organization in Italian overseas communities. Meanwhile, from the pages of Italian-language periodicals, immigrants received news from Italy, other parts of Europe and Italian immigrant communities as nearby as Chile and far away as Australia. Following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, the editorial gaze of *L'italiano* turned quickly toward Europe. The newspaper tracked the early stages of conflict and Italy's relationship to it. [195] For Italy's geopolitical and potentially belligerent positions could affect immigrants' country of origin and their relationship to it.

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[194] "I partenti,"*L'italiano* (Montevideo), June 20, 1915.

[195] "L'assassinato di Serrajevo," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), July 5, 1914; "L'Italia e la conflagrazione europea," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), August 9, 1914.

Contributors to *L'italiano* strongly believed that Italian immigrants in Montevideo—despite their diverse ethno-linguistic origins in Italy and socio-economic positions in Uruguay—should see themselves as a single community. The newspaper consistently supported the federation of Italian mutual-aid societies in Uruguay. Rhetorical use of the term "*nostra,*" or our, was common. *L'italiano* described immigrant fundraising to assist the recovery from an earthquake in Italy as support for "*gente nostra ferita*," or our injured people.[196] It saw government relations between Italy and Uruguay as the product of "*la diplomazia nostra*," or our diplomacy.[197] It celebrated the *Risorgimento* as the beginning of "*nostra vita independente*," or our independent life.[198] Even two months before the Italian declaration of war, it referred to the impending conflict with the headline "*La nostra guerra*," or our war.[199] When Italy entered the conflict, the army, the air force, the Italian consul and the Italo-Uruguayan mobilization were all "ours."[200]

As with *L'italiano*, the editors and contributors, led by Nunzio Greco, of the Buenos Aires daily newspaper *Giornale d'Italia*, were firmly in favor of Italy's participation in the war before the Rome government's declaration. The periodical's views aligned with the *garibaldini* movement, making it not only fervently nationalistic but aggressively anti-Austrian and irredentist.[201] *Giornale d'Italia* helped raise funds for and tracked the activities of a group of Italian *garibalidini* fighting in France in early 1915, prior to Italy's

[196] "Per i danneggiati dal terremoto," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), February 7, 1915.
[197] "Il trattato d'arbitraggio italo-uruguajano," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), August 23, 1914.
[198] "L'Italia fa da sé," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), January 24, 1915.
[199] "La <<nostra guerra>>," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), March 28, 1915.
[200] *L'italiano* (Montevideo), June 6, 1915.
[201] "Mentre si maturono i destini d'Italia," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), April 22, 1915.

entry into the war.[202] During this time, the newspaper denounced the Italian government's flirtation with "the dangers of neutrality" and derided the neutrality stance of *La Patria degli Italiani*, the main Italian-language rival of *Giornale d'Italia* in Buenos Aires.[203]

During Italy's war, the mainstream Italian-language newspapers got along with one another, mostly, and collaborated across ideological divides and publishing rivalries. The two mentioned above and *l'Italia del popolo* all published contributions by nationalist writers such as Silvio Brecchia. They provided publicity for many of the same events and activities associated with the pro-war mobilization in Buenos Aires and elsewhere.[204] *La Patria degli italiani* had the widest circulation among Italian-language newspapers. It also had a long history of collaboration with Italian nationalist causes and immigrant elites since its founding by Basilio Cittadini in 1876.[205] Founded in 1906 by Giuseppe Pacchierotti, *Giornale d'Italia* represented a smaller alternative daily with Christian Democrat ideological tendencies and fewer ties to immigrant elites.[206] With combined circulation upward of 75,000 each day, the content in these three publications likely

[202] "Per il rimpatrio dei giovani di leva," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), January 31, 1915.
[203] "I pericoli della neutralità," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), February 2, 1915; "L'italianità della 'Patria degli Italiani'," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), February 14, 1915.
[204] Founded in 1917 by journalist Folco Testena, *L'Italia del popolo* was a keen supporter of Italian irredentism. Its more working-class point of view relative to the larger dailies eventually made it a leading anti-fascist newspaper in the early 1920s. The papers initial circulation was 6,000. Federica Bertagna, *La stampa italiana in Argentina* (Rome: Donzelli, 2009) 51-55.
[205] Federica Bertagna estimated the newspaper's circulation in 1904 at 40,000, or roughly 17.5 percent of the population of Buenos Aires. That number likely grew by the 1910s. She describes the involvement of the newspaper in Italian nationalist causes as early as the 1870s, when it supported the construction by Italians in Argentina of a monument to Giuseppe Mazzini. Bertagna, *La stampa italiana*, 26-37.
[206] Pantaleone Sergi, "Fascismo e antifascismo nella stampa italiana in Argentina: Così fu spenta «La Patria degli Italiani»," *AltreItalie* (July-December 2007) 19. Exact figures on the circulation of *Giornale d'Italia* are not available. It was likely short of the 40,000 mentioned above, but above the 6,000 figure for *L'Italia del popolo*.

reached the vast majority of literate Italians in Argentina and Uruguay.[207] Years later, a retrospective volume about the war effort underlined the "unanimous commendation earned by our press for the very effective cooperation it lent to the propaganda committees for the loans, publishing articles, news, lists of donors, etc., with a truly considerable amount of work."[208] That effort was one of many propaganda campaigns in which these newspapers participated.

The mainstream immigrant press also collectively rallied against any public demonstrations against the war, regardless of whether anti-war sentiment came from within or outside the Italian community. They renounced subtle forms of passive resistance or neutrality as well, including the neutrality of the Argentine government. A smaller Buenos Aires newspaper, *Il Roma*, which called itself an "independent afternoon daily," was among the most outspoken in its anti-German and sometimes anti-Argentine views. The newspaper denounced "*italfobia*" it saw in Argentina's press and Buenos Aires' *La Razón* especially.[209] In September 1916, *Il Roma* lambasted a scheduled rally opposing the anti-German black list. It called on Italians, French, English, Belgians and Russians residing in the city to "respond to violence with violence" against the protest and the Argentine government that allowed the rally to take place.[210] *Il Roma*'s contributors used racist language at times. One article referred in a demeaning way to the reddish and blond hair and the "cold and nasty" eyes of the children of German immigrants as well as the

[207] Argentina's 1914 census reported that 36 percent of the 929,863 Italians in Argentina were illiterate.
[208] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 228.
[209] "'Il Roma' e la stampa italfobia," *Il Roma* (Buenos Aires), September 29, 1916; "La pubblicazioni ingiuriose de 'La Razón'," *Il Roma* (Buenos Aires), July 29, 1916.
[210] "Contro la lista nera," *Il Roma* (Buenos Aires), September 5, 1916.

"monstrous degeneration" of their mentality.[211] Such language was, however, rare outside the most radical and small-run Italian nationalist newspapers. More often, the Italian-language mainstream press in Buenos Aires spoke of solidarity among—or perhaps the superiority of—Italians rather than reverting to anti-German xenophobia.

Part of the newspapers' strategy to drum up patriotic support involved the publication of letters from recruited soldiers and reports on their activities in Italy.[212] On December 12, 1915, *La Patria degli italiani* published a letter that Buenos Aires resident Arcangelo Casella received from his nephew Carluccio Casella, who recounted his experiences at the front.[213] Carluccio described his journey through the mountains and his position at an Alpine outpost. He wrote of anxious feelings regarding an upcoming advance and pride in his participation in the war. He ended one sentence with "*Sempre avanti e Viva l'Italia*," or "ever-onward and long live Italy." The soldier spoke of a friend Eugenio stationed nearby who it seemed Arcangelo knew. "Truly," he concluded, "these times are beautiful and ugly." Other letters from the front included those from Giuseppe Gregorio, who described his situation as a "position of honor," and Simone Amedeo, who recounted his brief capture by the enemy and eulogized dead soldiers from Buenos Aires.[214]

[211] "I figli dei tedeschi," *Il Roma* (Buenos Aires), February 14, 1916.
[212] This phenomenon will be covered in greater detail in the next chapter.
[213] "Lettere di soldati," *La Patria degli italiani*, December 12, 1915.
[214] "Lettere dal fronte," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 9, 1916; "I caduti sul campo dell'onore," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 16, 1919.

Figure 9: "The patriotic enthusiasm of our *richiamati*"


L'entusiasmo patriottico dei nostri richiamati

Un animoso manipolo di riservisti italiani attraversa a piedi la Cordigliera per accorrere a servire la patria

La Patria degli italiani, July 3, 1915

Mainstream newspapers did not always agree during the war. In 1915, *Giornale d'Italia* favored the Italian Red Cross for the leadership of the mobilization drive in Buenos Aires, while *La Patria degli italiani* supported the Italian War Committee.[215] In the middle of the war, the former compared a fight with the latter to the conflict between the Ghibellines and Guelphs in medieval Italy.[216] Socialist-leaning daily *L'Italia del popolo*, which promoted a form of "worker patriotism," engaged in more bitter arguments with its rivals [217] At the end of the war, the newspaper clashed with the other two dailies through its support for a veterans' mutual-aid society that would be independent of the Italian War Committee's bourgeois leadership rather than subordinate to it.[218] Such rivalry was the exception rather than the rule during war, however.

[215] "Lo sfruttamento del patriottismo," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), June 5, 1915; *La Patria degli italiani* covered each sub-committee of the Italian War Committee in Buenos Aires in a series of daily stories in February and March 1916.
[216] "Ghebellini e Guelfi," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), July 18, 1917.
[217] "Patriottismo operaio,"*L'Italia del popolo*, December 30, 1917.
[218] "Ai reduci tutti vecchi e giovani," *L'Italia del popolo*, March 28, 1919 for pro-Veterans; "A propósito di liquidazione del Comitato di Guerra," *L'Italia del popolo*, April 18, 1919 for anti-Italian War Committee.

In their pursuit of solidarity, Italian-language newspapers sought to strengthen connections between immigrants in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The mainstream periodicals mentioned here, in addition to Montevideo's *Pro Patria*, covered pro-war events in both cities. Buenos Aires-based dailies like *Giornale d'Italia* and *l'Italia del popolo* were available for purchase in Montevideo and filled their pages with news of Italians in that city. In essence, they *were* the Italian-language daily newspapers in Montevideo, where *L'italiano* and *Pro Patria* were only released once a week.

In journalistic practices and in other ways, while Italian communities in Buenos Aires and Montevideo maintained close relations, those relations were asymmetrical. Buenos Aires had a much stronger presence in Montevideo than did Montevideo in Buenos Aires. In late 1917, events in Uruguay appeared almost daily in *l'Italia del popolo*, but editors often placed this news next to briefs from Argentine provincial cities Cordoba, La Plata and Santa Fe under a heading that read "From the Interior of the Republic."[219] *Giornale d'Italia* ran a column entitled "From our agency in Montevideo" with news on "colonial patriotism" or the repatriation of Italo-Uruguayans.[220] The column sometimes appeared under the heading "Chronicles from the Provinces."[221]

More than keeping immigrant communities in Buenos Aires and Montevideo aware of each other, the mainstream Italian-language press fostered connections between immigrants in the two cities and further afield. This was sometimes done through comparison. For example, *Giornale d'Italia* published the amount of funds

[219] "Dall'interno della Repubblica," *l'Italia del popolo*, November 11, 1917.
[220] "Dalla nostra agenzia di Montevideo," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), October 26, 1915.
[221] "Il patriottismo coloniale," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), January 14, 1915 and "Corriere di Montevideo," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), February 4, 1915.

immigrants in Montevideo raised to support Italian causes and called attention to pro-war activities occurring "on the other shore."[222] Montevideo's *L'italiano* described Italians in Buenos Aires as "brothers" living in "the neighboring capital."[223] In 1914, it published a speech by late Argentine president Bartolomé Mitre and exalted the contributions of overseas Italians to the development of the entire region of the Río de la Plata.[224]

L'italiano promoted a form of diasporic consciousness among its readers as it informed immigrants in Montevideo of news about overseas Italians around the world. This occurred, for example, through an effusive profile of a new Italian consul assigned to Curitiba, Brazil; the review of a match by Italian-American boxer Joe Borrell (or Giuseppe Borrelli in Italian); the publication of a list of names of Italians who died in a mining accident in Canada; and a short profile of "an Italian city in China."[225] As Italy in 1915 approached what the newspaper referred to as "historic times," *L'italiano* believed that Italy would receive representation and protection from "the valiant multitude of so many overseas."[226] The period of World War I provided, like few others, a chance to see whether these multitudes were in any way a cohesive group or merely of use in nationalistic hyperbole.

[222] "Sull'altra riva," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), February 18, 1917.
[223] "Col <<Promajos>>," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), May 10, 1914.
[224] "Italiani all'estero," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), May 31, 1914.
[225] "I nostri rappresentanti," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), March 29, 1914; "Un boxeur italiano," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), July 5, 1914; "Le vittime italiane al Canadà," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), August 2, 1914; "Una citt italiana in Cina," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), September 13, 1914.
[226] "Ore storiche," *L'italiano* (Montevideo), February 14, 1915.

3.3 *L'ANIMA PATTRIOTICA:* MOBILIZING THE HOME FRONT

On May 27, 1915, at Teatro Victoria in Buenos Aires, nine self-appointed leaders of the Italian community in Buenos Aires, led by wealthy businessman Antonio Devoto, gathered to form the Italian War Committee. The committee's membership initially included representatives from the Italian Hospital and the main federation of Italian mutual-aid societies in Argentina (or Feditalia). On June 9, 1915, the committee met again, in the main hall of the *Unione e Benevolenza* society, to agree to a charter, establish sub-committees, appoint an administrative leadership and name Giovanni Rolleri its secretary general. Rolleri would become one of the most active participants in the Italian war effort and his war committee led many of the largest activities associated with the pro-war mobilization.[227]

According to one estimate, around 600 organizations participated in pro-war activities around Argentina and together represented "*la anima pattriotica*," or the patriotic soul, of Italian immigrant communities.[228] The Italian War Committee established 43 sub-committees in the neighborhoods of Buenos Aires. Most of them (along with the central committee) had a Sezione Femminile, or a Women's Auxiliary, that in some instances seemed more active than the men's groups. At least 40 other institutions of civil society in the capital—ranging from southern Italian and Ligurian groups to neighborhood immigrant societies in places like Caballito and Villa Urquiza to a

[227] Giovanni Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale Avv. G. Rolleri all'assemblea annuale* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos de la Cia. General de Fosforos, 1917), 3-4.
[228] Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale*, 11.

collective founded by Italian mandolin players—participated in the war effort.[229] Many of these societies maintained relationships with similar groups located in other provinces of Argentina.

Following their participation in the mobilization of troops during the middle part of 1915, many institutions focused on providing assistance to the families of repatriated soldiers. They did this to compensate families for their loss of income and encourage other young men to enlist when they saw soldiers' families receiving aid. Families in Buenos Aires picked up stipend checks at the consulate once a week, with the amount based on daily rates assigned to each soldier's dependents.[230] Wives, elderly parents and orphaned brothers and sisters under 12 accumulated .70 Italian *lira* per day, while a soldier's child would add another .35 *lira* to the daily stipend. The families of wounded or dead soldiers received pension payments based on the severity of an injury.[231] At the same time, an Italian government-sponsored institution in Buenos Aires, the Society of Patronage and Repatriation for Italian Immigrants, enhanced its efforts to support needy families and those with family members fighting at the front. In 1915 and 1916, this *patronato* helped repatriate more than one thousand immigrants, provided legal assistance to more than one thousand more, helped hundreds to find work or visit a doctor, and handled over 34,000 letters it shuttled between family members residing on opposite sides of the Atlantic.[232]

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[229] Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale*, 257-271.
[230] De Gaetani, *Per i lavoranti italiani in Buenos Aires*, 43.
[231] De Gaetani, *Per i lavoranti italiani in Buenos Aires*, 46.
[232] Società di Patronato e Rimpatrio per Gli Immigrati Italiani, *Giorno dell'immigrato Natale di Roma* (Buenos Aires: Colombini y Fernàndez, 1917), 9.

More independently of Italian authorities, mutual-aid society *Italia Unità* (and others) encouraged members to attend patriotic rallies and contribute to the Italian War Committee.[233] Membership in the Buenos Aires chapter of the Italian Red Cross grew from 37 before the war to 1,240 during the conflict.[234] In July 1916, children of Italian immigrants formed a new society, Progeny of Italy, that participated in the war effort by throwing fundraisers, contributing to donation drives and celebrating the return of soldiers. The membership received a personalized thank you letter from Italy's Queen Elena, who believed these *progenie* represented the presence and power of nationalistic sentiment inside one's very blood.[235]

Most large collective efforts took place under the auspices of the Italian War Committee. This committee channeled money and other resources such as medicine and clothing from donors to the needy families of soldiers, for example. On December 31, 1915, it reported the collection of some 930,000 *pesos* from various donors and expenses of 510,000 *pesos*, with the rest held in reserve.[236] Roughly 30 percent of those expenses went to subsidies for soldiers' families and another 30 percent helped repatriate the family members of enlisted men. Assistance or payments to recruits accounted for another 18 percent. The rest paid for administrative and miscellaneous costs. In its bulletin, meanwhile, the Italian War Committee advertised upcoming events at mutual-

[233] *Bollettino della Società 'Italia Unità' di Mutuo Soccorso, Istruzione e Beneficenza*, October 1915, 1; November 1915, 1-5.
[234] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 205.
[235] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 251-254.
[236] "Bilancio generale al 31 dicembre," *Bollettino ufficiale* (Comitato Italiano di Guerra di Buenos Aires), January 1916, 15. The dollar:*peso* exchange rate was roughly 1:1 during the war period. Officer, *Measuring Worth*, 2016.

aid societies around Buenos Aires. It published letters received from troops at the front that thanked the Buenos Aires Italian community for its assistance and support.[237] The committee set up a central office in the bank of Antonio Devoto, who received the title of count from the Italian king during the war. In October 1916, the Italian War Committee organized a congress of Argentine mutual-aid societies to better coordinate the war effort and cement its position at the forefront of the Italian cause in Buenos Aires. Some 91 committees and societies from the capital, 100 from Buenos Aires province and 45 from other provinces attended.[238]

The committee's Women's Auxiliary managed the daily delivery of benefits to soldiers' families. This group logged more than 3,500 visits to provide "moral assistance" to families in a "demonstration of solidarity in their pain and a comfort that they were not left alone."[239] It also worked with the Italian Hospital to provide healthcare and pharmaceutical needs to families, including the upkeep of a maternity ward.[240] The Women's Auxiliary raised money selling postcards and stamps printed with propaganda images and held a series of philanthropic events to finance its work on the home front. The Italian-language press publicized these efforts and events with great enthusiasm.

[237] "Feste organizate," *Bollettino ufficiale* (Comitato Italiano di Guerra di Buenos Aires), January 1916, 21; "Dalle Alpi e dalle trincere del Carso; Le voci dei nostri soldati," *Bollettino ufficiale* (Comitato Italiano di Guerra di Buenos Aires), January 1916, 10-11.
[238] Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale*, 31.
[239] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 199.
[240] Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale*, 23.

Figure 10: "Group of gracious saleswomen during the 'Event' of October 1915"

Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla gerra 1915-1918, p. 200

Newspapers were not only observers of the mobilization effort, but participants in it. *Giornale d'Italia* published letters from soldiers alongside notes encouraging donations of money and goods to pro-war committees and institutions.[241] It highlighted the service of brothers like the Mentaschi and the Peretti, referring to soldiers as "our combatants" or "our sons." [242] The newspaper only ramped up propaganda efforts as the war wore on and advocated that overseas Italians should engage in a form of "supernationalism."[243] At the same time, throughout the war, newspapers consistently denounced anti-war sentiment. Even the worker-friedly *L'Italia del popolo* rebuked opposition to the war voiced by labor unions.[244] Still, stories about opposition to the war

[241] For example, *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), September 5, 1916 and December 4, 1916.
[242] Stories about brothers found in *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), December 23, 1916 and December 28, 1917; Uses of "our" in *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires) include "I nostri combattenti," April 26, 1917, and "I nostri figli al fronte," November 4, 1917.
[243] "Il supernazionalismo," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), August 17, 1917.
[244] "All''Unione Operai Italiani'," *L'Italia del popolo*, November 11, 1917.

were rare. The mainstream press preferred to fill its pages with nationalistic poetry, excerpts of pro-war lectures, announcements for screenings of propaganda films and advertisements for Italian operas meant to honor Italy and Italian heritage.

The Buenos Aires press profiled soldiers and their families—and their orphans and widows especially—who resided in Montevideo and praised pro-war activities occurring across the Río de la Plata.[245] Montevideo's Italian-language press covered the same patriotic events, which often took place on Italian holidays such as the September 20 unification anniversary, Columbus Day, the birthday of the King of Italy and commemoration of Italy's declaration of war each May.[246] Montevideo's *Pro Patria* reviewed the activities of groups representing the city's Italian School, Italian Chamber of Commerce, Dante Alighieri Society chapter and Neapolitan Society.[247] It assumed a central role in the Montevideo mobilization by honoring soldiers and recounting the Italian army's victories and defeats alongside promotions of pro-war events.

[245] "Gli orfani di guerra," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), December 16, 1916 for orphans; "Il XX Settembre nell'Uruguay," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), September 20, 1917 for events.
[246] "Il nostro presidente," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), June 13, 1918.
[247] Ibid and "Italia e Uruguay," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), July 14, 1918.

Figure 11: "Win or Die!"


PRO PATRIA

Vincere o morire!

Da Caporetto alla rivincita del Piave

Pro Patria (Montevideo), August 11, 1918

In Montevideo, institutions of Italian immigrant civil society behaved similarly to those in Buenos Aires but organized themselves and pro-war efforts in slightly different ways. The Montevideo chapter of the Italian Red Cross led the mobilization in that city rather than a newly formed institution like the Italian War Committee in Buenos Aires. The central committee of Montevideo's Italian Red Cross, however, consisted of a similar group of prominent upper-class immigrants like Antonio Lebano, a doctor and prominent figure at the Italian Hospital, and businessman Giuseppe Fiocchi. The committee served as the locus for the collection and distribution of money and goods donations that supported soldiers' families.[248] In a pamphlet produced to commemorate the first anniversary of Italy's declaration of war, the Italian Red Cross thanked the Banco Italiano, Italian mutual-aid societies and consular officials for their work.[249] It also stated that "the continuation of the war will require new efforts and new sacrifices…for the ideal of a

[248] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace*, 39.

[249] Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana in Montevideo, *Per la più grande Italia* (Montevideo: Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana in Montevideo, 1916), 5.

greater Italy, morally, politically, territorially greater."[250] In the opinions of the most fervent pro-war advocates, the Italian collective could always expand its efforts and advocacy in some way.

In the provision of medical care, medicines and other necessities to soldiers' families, the Italian Hospital in Montevideo participated in a similar fashion to its counterpart in Buenos Aires.[251] However, the Red Cross women's auxiliary, the Women's Committee Pro-Red Cross and Families of the *Richiamati*, was especially active in the management of Montevideo's home front. Dora Maestri Molinari (the wife of the consul) and Maria de Feo in Lebano (Antonio's wife) officially led the committee, but Giovanna Zanoletti organized its daily activities. The Women's Committee maintained three working groups: one for the delivery to soldiers of the things they needed for their journey to Italy; one for the collection of wool, manufacture of clothing and sale of flowers and post cards; and one for the care of soldiers' families led by Paolina Luisi, a prominent feminist and physician.[252] The Women's Committee also held fundraisers to support its activities, including one at Teatro Urquiza on November 11, 1916.[253] Italian Consul Molinari described these efforts as "the front line in that 'civil mobilization' that is such a strong help to the 'military mobilization.'"[254]

[250] Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana in Montevideo, *Per la più grande Italia*, 3.
[251] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace*, 54.
[252] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace*, 41.
[253] *Serata a beneficio della Croce Rossa Italiana e Famiglie Richiamati*, Teatro Urquiza, Montevideo, November 11, 1916.
[254] Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana in Montevideo, *Per la più grande Italia*, 23.

Figure 12: Program of the *Serata a beneficio della Croce Rossa Italiana e famiglie richiamati*

November 11, 1916, Teatro Urquiza, Montevideo[255]

The Italian Red Cross was not the only institution involved in "civil mobilization" or in hosting patriotic events. The Italian School in Montevideo, which billed itself as a "school working for the greatness of the Italy," held an event on the war's second anniversary.[256] It commemorated the heroism of soldier Rodolfo Serrao and, seemingly, sought to indoctrinate its students in the noble aims of the war. The school trumpeted its donations of money to the Women's Committee and cigarettes to the soldiers who

[255] *Serata a beneficio della Croce Rossa Italiana e famiglie richiamati*, November 11, 1916, Teatro Urquiza, Montevideo (Fondazione Paolo Cresci, Lucca).
[256] *Programma della festa di beneficenza a favore della Croce Rossa Italiana e delle Famiglie dei Richiamati organizzata dalle alunne ed ex-alunne della Scuola Italiana delle Società Riunite e patrocinata dal Consiglio Scolastico Amministrativo*, Teatro Urquiza, Montevideo, August 18, 1915 (Fondazione Paolo Cresci, Lucca).

departed on the *Principe di Savoia* steamship. A speech from the wife of Beniamino Bovino, a reservist from Montevideo, capped the commemoration ceremony.

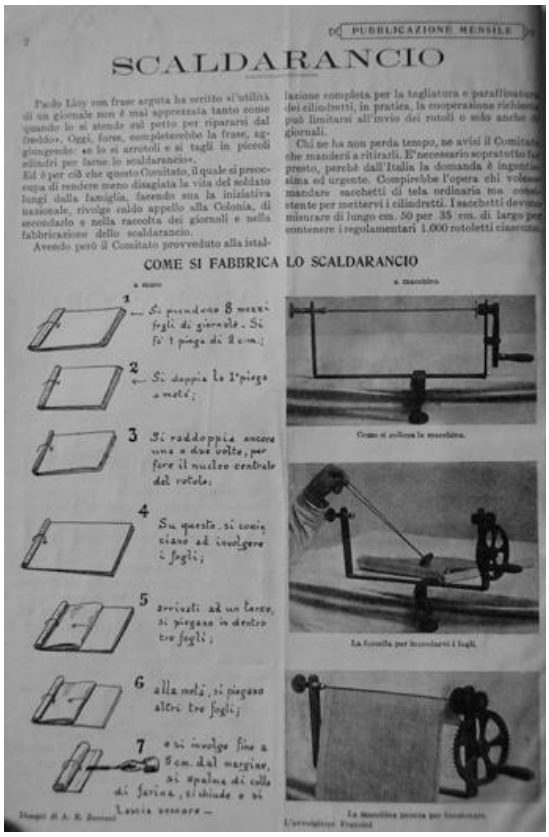
Amid the abundant nationalist sentiment that flowed from Italian institutions in Montevideo, the most bombastic came from the Dante Alighieri Society. In its monthly publication, contributors connected the ruling House of Savoy not just to the unification of modern Italy, but the foundation of Western Civilization, the accomplishments of ancient Rome, medieval Florence and the Age of Exploration, and the establishment of the tenets of liberal democracy.[257] In December 1917, this publication suggested that the mobilization efforts in Montevideo represented the "the vigorous health of our race."[258]

Even in local instances of pro-war mobilization, links between Buenos Aires and Montevideo were visible. The Ligurian Mutual-Aid Society of Buenos Aires, for example, had a delegate in Montevideo that believed in the two communities' mutual contribution to "our war" and the victory of "our fatherland."[259] One member of the Montevideo chapter sent almost half a million *scaldaranci* to the Italian War Committee in Buenos Aires for eventual distribution to soldiers in Italy.[260] The *scaldaranci* were rolls of paper soaked in paraffin and meant for use by soldiers in the Alps to heat their rations. Some immigrant institutions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo were chapters of the same transnational organizations, including the Italian Red Cross, the Dante Alighieri Society, Italian banks and religious orders such as the Scalabrini. As the previous chapter showed,

[257] "Italia!," *Rivista mensile, Dante Alighieri Comitato di Montevideo*, February 1917, 177.
[258] "Pasqule Villari," *Rivista mensile, Dante Alighieri Comitato di Montevideo*, December 1917, 276.
[259] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace*, 68.
[260] Ibid.

these institutions reported to the same central committees based in Rome and northern Italy.

Figure 13: Instructions for How to Make a *Scaldarancio*



PUBBLICAZIONE MENSILE

SCALDARANCIO

COME SI FABBRICA LO SCALDARANCIO

1 Si prendono 8 mezzi fogli di giornale. Si fa 1 piega di 8 cm.;

2 Si doppia la 1ª piega a metà;

3 Si raddoppia ancora una o due volte, per fare il nucleo centrale del rotolo;

4 Su questo si comincia ad avvolgere i fogli;

5 arrivati ad un terzo, si piegano in dentro tre fogli;

6 alla metà, si piegano altri tre fogli;

7 e si avvolge fino a 8 cm. dal margine, si spalma di colla di farina, si chiude e si lascia seccare.

Bollettino ufficiale (Comitato Italiano di Guerra di Buenos Aires), January 1916, p. 2

Another link between Buenos Aires and Montevideo occurred through nationalist propaganda employed by Italian institutions in both cities. It called for ever-stronger connections between the 1 million Italians residing on either side of the Río de la Plata. Some of it, written in Italy, made reference to overseas Italians all over the world.[261] But immigrant newspapers revealed local echoes of a desire, felt by more than a few immigrants, that a diasporic consciousness should be consolidated in support of a war meant to enhance the standing of a Latin or Italian "race." Available at newsstands in

[261] Società di Patronato e Rimpatrio, *Giorno dell'immigrato*, 41.

Buenos Aires and Uruguay, the *Giornale d'Italia* reported on the visit of a delegation of Italo-Uruguayans to a rally in Buenos Aires.[262] It published an article from Italian poet, soldier and fervent nationalist Gabriele d'Annunzio, referenced in chapter one, entitled "to the Italians of Latin America," which celebrated immigrants' collective commitment to the war.[263] It printed an editorial from "Xenia," a member of the Montevideo Women's Committee, on "Italian femininity in Río de la Plata" that discussed the role of women in Italian civil society on both sides of the estuary.[264] Potent transnational linkages among immigrants extended, for the newspaper, from Montevideo to San Francisco and from Buenos Aires to São Paulo and on to Philadelphia, to name just a few locations mentioned in its pages.[265]

3.4 *DAL CAPORETTO AL VITTORIO VENETO:* THE IMMIGRANT MOBILIZATION IN CRISIS AND VICTORY

In November 1917, the Italian army suffered its worst defeat of the war in the Battle of Caporetto. An Austro-Hungarian and German offensive pushed the front well into Italian territory, tens of thousands of Italian soldiers were killed and wounded, hundreds of thousands were captured behind enemy lines and many more Italian citizens suddenly became refugees. The battle devastated the army, led to the replacement of top general Luigi Cadorna and left the Italian government massively short on funds. Roughly a year

[262] "La colossale dimostrazione di ieri," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), September 27, 1917.
[263] "Agli italiani dell'America Latina," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), December 13, 1917.
[264] "Femminilità italica al Río de la Plata," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), July 2, 1918.
[265] "Da Montevideo," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), March 31, 1916; "Italiani dall'Argentina al Brasile," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), June 15, 1917 and "I italiani all'estero," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), December 15, 1917.

after Caporetto, the Italian army earned a decisive victory against Austria-Hungary in the Battle of Vittorio Veneto, which essentially ended the conflict on the Italian front. In the meantime, the country suffered a grueling winter, especially those living in the north. Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and Montevideo adjusted their pro-war activities to these and other events in 1917 and 1918.

In response to post-Caporetto crises, pro-war efforts in Buenos Aires and Montevideo turned especially to the encouragement of immigrant contributions to a new war loan program launched by the Italian government in January 1918. This was the fifth such program, but prior loans received less attention. After Caporetto, Italy needed greater financial support from immigrants than ever before. In Buenos Aires, a new Propaganda Committee formed expressly for the loan, or *prestito*. Among the many publications and newspaper contributions created by this committee was a pamphlet printed in mid-1918. On the first page was a note from Vittorio Cobianchi, the Italian ambassador to Argentina, that stated:[266]

> Italians,
>
> Italy asks all of its children to contribute to the 5th National Loan to victoriously sustain the immense effort against the centuries-old enemy and against the 'raging German' that came to his aid. Do not miss it—anyone who can give more: it is a sacred filial duty and also a profitable action.
>
> The Italian community in Argentina should outdo itself: it should be the best in the world in terms of the amount of capital subscribed and in the very large number of subscribers.

[266] Comitato di Propaganda, *Il V° Prestito Italiano di Guerra, Informazione e commenti* (Buenos Aires: R. Legazione d'Italia, 1918), 3.

> All gathered around the flag of Italy, in the name of the Fatherland and the King.
>
> The R. Minister V. Cobianchi.

The terms of the loan were a 5 percent return on investment, but the Propaganda Committee emphasized that residents of Argentina were in an advantaged position due to favorable trends in the exchange rate between the Argentine *peso* and the Italian *lira*. It said contributors to previous loans had earned well.[267] The Italian Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires helped to publicize the financial and patriotic benefits of the fifth loan in its bulletin and through its own loan contribution.[268]

Mainstream Italian-language newspapers in Buenos Aires were strong advocates for the loan program. *L'Italia del popolo* covered meetings and events organized to create awareness and encourage donations.[269] It published the names of loan contributors daily.[270] Editorials praised commitments made by immigrants to their latest "duty" and criticized wealthy overseas Italians for not giving enough.[271] Meanwhile, the pages of *Giornale d'Italia* in March and April 1918 included the headlines "Subscribe and fight," "The big offensive and the loan" and "Have we done all of our duty?"[272] The newspaper also kept track of loan contributions and loan-related events occurring in Montevideo.

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[267] Comitato di Propaganda, *Il V° Prestito*, 6.
[268] "Relazione del Presidente e risconto del Tesoriere," *Bollettino ufficiale mensile della Camera Italiana di Commercio ed Arti di Buenos Aires*, August-September 1918, 7-8.
[269] *L'Italia del popolo*, April 15, 1918.
[270] *L'Italia del popolo*, April 19, 1918.
[271] *L'Italia del popolo*, April 24, 1918.
[272] "Sottoscrivere è combattere," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), March 5, 1918; "La grande offensive e il prestito," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), April 11, 1918; "Abbiamo fatto tutto il nostro dovere?," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), March 21, 1918; respectively.

Figure 14: Advertisement for the Purchase of War Bonds

Giornale d'Italia, January 15, 1918

Ultimately, the loan program was quite successful in Argentina, where close to 16,000 subscribers purchased roughly 140 million *lira* in war bonds.[273] Almost 7,500 of the subscribers resided in the capital and contributed a combined 93 million, while just over 3,100 subscribers in Buenos Aires province purchased 11 million in bonds.[274] In Montevideo, the main immigrant bank accumulated over 20 million *lira* in loan contributions with help from an extensive propaganda campaign.[275] Italian banks in Buenos Aires also reported loan contributions by residents of Uruguay. *Pro Patria*,

[273] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 501.
[274] Ibid. Subscriptions were spread among five financial institutions: Banco Italo-Belga, Banco d'Italia e Rio de la Plata, Nuovo Banco Italiano, Banca Francese e Italiana and Banco Commerciale Italiano.
[275] "Il Banco Italiano," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), August 4, 1918.

published by an eponymous committee formed in the aftermath of the loss at Caporetto, helped advertise the loan program.[276] The committee also raised a separate 1 million *lira* that it wired to Italy to support the refugees in the Veneto region now lying on the Austrian side of the front.[277]

For its part, the Women's Committee in Montevideo collected clothing for delivery to refugees struggling through the winter of 1917-1918 behind enemy lines.[278] It was an increase of existing activities carried out by the group, which since 1915 helped organize the making of wool scarfs, shirts, socks, pants, gloves, hoods and other clothing for soldiers fighting in the Alps.[279] Such was the case in Buenos Aires as well, where the Women's Auxiliary of the Italian War Committee led the collections. A month after Caporetto, the group filled the steamship *Regina d'Italia* with wool, warm clothing and wood for delivery to northern Italy.[280] It was not the first such shipment that the Women's Auxiliary arranged through collaboration with the Women's Assistance Committee of the "Pro Army" organization in Milan. This same Assistance Committee received 69 large cases of goods from Buenos Aries in two shipments during 1916.[281] But the suffering of the winter of 1917-1918 encouraged additional deliveries of this kind. The Italian Red Cross in Buenos Aires sent packages of clothing, wool, bedding and Christmas gifts to

[276] "Sottoscrivite!," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), March 3, 1918.
[277] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace,* 46.
[278] De Navasques, *Vittoria e Pace*, 45.
[279] Delegazione della Croce Rossa Italiana in Montevideo, *Per la più grande Italia*, 39.
[280] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 202.
[281] Rolleri, *Relazione del segretario generale*, 19-20.

injured soldiers.[282] Some existing transatlantic connections among institutions were used for war-related activities. Others arose precisely from the mobilization efforts.

Figure 15: A Collection of Red Cross Donations

Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla guerra 1915-1918, p. 208

In the final year of the war, nationalistic rhetoric used by newspapers and writers increased following the defeat at Caporetto, the widespread mobilization for the fifth loan and the collections of goods for northern Italy. The "Latin race" was no longer simply realizing its "sacred" ambition to unify unredeemed territories, but facing a "Germanic offensive" perceived by some to be a contest of "civilization versus barbarism."[283] That contest should, according to the Italian-language press, unite overseas Italians around the globe. It should produce further outpourings of solidarity with Italian immigrants especially in Brazil, which from October 1917 was at war with Germany and allied with Italy.[284] The Buenos Aires bimonthly *L'amico del popolo*, which had a Republican slant,

[282] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 205.
[283] "Ventisei milioni," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), June 13, 1918.
[284] "In onore del Brasile," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), November 6, 1917; "Solidarietà," ," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), January 19, 1918; "Come cambiano i tempi," ," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), June 30, 1918.

wrote that despite the army's retreat "no one for a single moment should doubt the security and integrity of Italy" for it held "a people that with the greatness of Rome imposes Latin civilization on the world."[285]

In contrast to Brazil's entry into the war (discussed in the next chapter), the dogged neutrality of the Argentine government continually disillusioned pro-war Italians in Buenos Aires, especially in 1917-1918. In the minds of Italian nationalists, "Argentine germanophiles" organized and attended the pro-neutrality rallies.[286] *l'Italia del popolo*, which sympathized with the working classes, railed against the Argentine proletariat for its neutrality.[287] The Uruguayan government had at least, in the minds of some Italo-Argentines, aligned with the Allied cause by cutting diplomatic ties with Germany in 1917. Most of the Americas turned against the Central Powers in that year as Germany increased its submarine attacks in the Atlantic. Yet the neutrality of the Hipólito Yrigoyen administration led at least one contributor to *l'Italia del popolo* to feel that Italians in Buenos Aires were "foreign in every way."[288] Some members of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires grew concerned that Italy would favor commercial relations after the war with immigrants in São Paulo and Montevideo rather than Buenos Aires because of Argentina's failure to join the Allies. Fortunately, for writer Silvio Brecchia, the Italian collective in Argentina provided the largest sums in the world to the fifth loan.[289]

[285] "La seconda invasion" and "La responsabilità a chi tocca," *L'amico del popolo*, November 18, 1917.
[286] "I germanofili argentini," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), April 15, 1918.
[287] "Imbecilli o malvagi?," *L'Italia del popolo*, January 20, 1918.
[288] "Stranieri in ogni dove," *L'Italia del popolo*, January 30, 1918.
[289] "Prestito e riffa," *Giornale d'Italia* (Buenos Aires), May 31, 1918.

When Italy sent a diplomatic delegation on a tour of South America in mid-1918—after the Italian army's successful defense of the front line along the Piave River stopped the Austro-Hungarian advance—Ambassador Vito Luciani bypassed Argentina. He did travel to Montevideo, where many Italian immigrants gathered at a series of public events to demonstrate their solidarity with Italy's war effort. This visit prompted the most significant interaction between pro-war groups in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. On September 1, 1918, some 300 Italians from Buenos Aires travelled to Montevideo to meet with Luciani. Among them were Carlo Anselmi, head of the Propaganda Commission for the fifth loan, Atilio Massone, president of Feditalia, and Giovanni Rolleri, secretary general of the Italian War Committee. Several weeks later, Montevideo's *Pro Patria* reported that a ceremony at the Parque Hotel in Montevideo "confirmed in a sacred fashion the solidarity of the Italians of *Il Plata* in their devotion to the fatherland at war, reinforcing the brotherly connections between our community in Montevideo and that of Argentina."[290] For its part, the Italian War Committee in Buenos Aires said that the visit showed "the closeness of the brothers from the other shore" and that the gathering provided evidence to the ambassador "of the immutable love and of the steady faith of countrymen in that hour of highest suffering."[291] The transnational space that Italians in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Italy often mentally inhabited had moved, for at least one evening, into a ballroom in central Montevideo.

[290] "Pellegrini d'amore," *Pro Patria* (Montevideo), September 8, 1918.
[291] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 52.

Figure 16: “Reception of the Luciani Mission in Montevideo”

Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla guerra 1915-1918, p. 51

3.5 *UNA MOBILITAZIONE ITALO-PLATENSE*

As this chapter shows, Italy’s declaration of war in 1915 set off a large effort within immigrant communities to mobilize resources in support of the war. Tens of thousands of soldiers left the Río de la Plata region to fight. Immigrants sent hundreds of millions of *lira* across the Atlantic through direct donations and war bonds programs. Women’s committees were a key component of the mobilization as they supported soldiers’ families and organized the delivery of goods to Italy. Pro-war efforts required the deployment of a network of civil-society institutions buttressed by an active and activist Italian-language press operating on this home front. This network reached across the borders of Argentina and Uruguay, where the large Italian immigrant communities of their capital cities were connected in meaningful and intimate ways, an analysis of the

war period shows. Connections were visible through collaborative efforts that took place between Buenos Aires and Montevideo and in the nationalistic rhetoric members of these communities employed in their construction of a cross-border Italian collective in *Il Plata*. Pro-war activities took place because of and through a multitude of relationships that immigrants and immigrant institutions maintained with Italy. They also occurred in connection with similar efforts organized by overseas Italians in other places, including the immigrant community in Greater São Paulo.

4.0 THE 'GREAT WAR' IN SÃO PAULO

On July 16, 1915, Brazil's largest Italian-language newspaper, *Fanfulla*, reported on a large demonstration that had occurred the previous morning at the *Estação da Luz* train station in central São Paulo.[292] By 6:00 AM a "special train" had been positioned on a secondary track lined on both sides with crowds of Italian immigrants, among them a group of women handing out flowers and patriotic ribbons to Italian recruits boarding the train. As the train pulled away and passed through other stations on its way to the coast, the newspaper reported "groups of people from all classes" waving hats and handkerchiefs to the passersby. Later that morning the train arrived in the port of Santos, where a band played, crowds chanted "*evviva*" and a procession began that included enlisted soldiers, workers and *garibaldini* veterans. The cheering continued as the procession passed Italian, French and British businesses along the route. The participants stopped momentarily at the French consulate, where the consul gave a speech and a band played *La Marseillaise*.

Around 10:00 the reservists arrived at the port, where, *Fanfulla* reported, "It could be seen from the shore, where a huge crowd was stationed since the early hours of the morning, the '*Regina Elena*' packed with passengers [who were] almost all Italian reservists that boarded in Buenos Aires" and, as we saw in the previous chapter,

[292] "Le dimostrazioni patriottiche di ieri sera a San Paolo ed a Santos ai riservisti partiti col 'Regina Elena'," *Fanfulla*, June 16, 1915.

Montevideo.[293] At 5:30 that evening, the ship slowly pulled away and began its voyage across the Atlantic. However, only 150 Italians had boarded the ship in Santos. This was the number of tickets handed out days earlier, despite a series of "violent" protests by recruits on streets of São Paulo and in front of the offices of the consulate and the Dante Alighieri Society. The demonstration led *Fanfulla* to suggest more should be done to confront "this series of serious, very serious errors" within the recruitment drive.[294]

Figure 17: "The distribution of the boarding tickets to the reservists departing on the '*Regina Elena*'"

La distribuizione dei biglietti d'imbarco
ai riservisti in partenza col "Regina Elena"
suscita un gran tumulto dinanzi agli Uffici della Casa Martinelli
L'INTERVENTO DELLA FORZA PUBBLICA — I RISERVISTI SI RIVERSANO AGLI UFFICI DEL COMI-
TATO — SI PROCEDE ALLA DISTRIBUZIONE DEI BIGLIETTI ANCHE PER LE PARTEN-
ZE DEL 21 E DEL 29 CORRENTE E PER QUELLA DEL 13 LUGLIO

L'affollamento di ieri in via Quinze de Novembro -:- La ressa dei riservisti davanti agli uffici della ditta Martinelli per il ritiro dei biglietti d'imbarco sul "Regina Elena"

Fanfulla, June 13, 1915

[293] Ibid.
[294] "L distribuzione dei biglietti d'imbarco ai riservisti in partenza col 'Regina Elena'," *Fanfulla*, June 13, 1915.

The story of the *Regina Elena* recruits highlights several aspects of the Italian immigrant experience in Greater São Paulo during the period 1914-1918. In metropolitan São Paulo, which extends from the city through much of São Paulo state, there was a significant effort within the Italian immigrant community to mobilize resources for Italy's war.[295] The region's cities, towns and countryside hosted nearly as many Italian immigrants as *Il Plata*, and by far the largest concentration in Brazil. These immigrants lived in a multiethnic milieu that included other immigrant groups and native Brazilians. Within the Italian "colony," there was some enthusiasm for the war, but disappointment with aspects of the mobilization drive. The logistics alone of collecting Italians from around Greater São Paulo and sending them to Santos, where the waiting steamship was already full with recruits, seem considerably difficult.

The pro-war mobilization in São Paulo included many elements that were quite similar to the war effort in *Il Plata* and others that were different. In São Paulo, proponents of the war focused on the recruitment of soldiers, provision of welfare to soldiers' families, hosting of patriotic events and a widespread propaganda campaign. The individuals and groups leading the mobilization drive were also quite similar. However, there were aspects of the war effort in Brazil that were different than those in Argentina and Uruguay, and vice versa. Such differences could be subtle or quite stark, ranging from a small variation in the goods immigrants sent to Italy to the decidedly more virulent anti-German character of the São Paulo experience.

[295] This chapter uses "São Paulo" to refer to the city and its metropolitan region, and "São Paulo state" for the larger administrative area.

Movement of the analysis to São Paulo makes it possible to examine transatlantic and inter-American connections between immigrants in São Paulo and Italians residing elsewhere. Many pro-war Italians in São Paulo sought to strengthen their ties to Italy during the war particularly after Brazil joined the conflict. They also built upon existing inter-American relations with immigrants residing in other places, and *Il Plata* especially. Here we begin to see more clearly the patterns of interaction that occurred among Italian communities in the Americas and between those immigrant communities and Italy, all within an Italian South Atlantic.

4.1 *DOVE CI SONO UN MILIONE DI ITALIANI*: THE MOBILIZATION IN GREATER SÃO PAULO

Estimates vary, but there were likely at least 500,000 Italians living in São Paulo during the 1910s, and perhaps as many as 1 million.[296] The city of São Paulo served as a hub for a widely dispersed immigrant population located in nearby cities like Campinas and Ribeirão Preto, many farms and towns in the *paulista* countryside, and communities in other states of southern Brazil. The leading emissaries of the Italian government in Brazil resided in Rio de Janeiro, but São Paulo was the economic, cultural and social heart of the

[296] Italian estimates suggest 800,000 to 1 million immigrants lived in São Paulo state. "Intorno alla Commissione Italiana che verrà al Brasile," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), March 31, 1918; Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 515; Italo Giglioli, *Italiani e Tedeschi nel Brasile; I valdessi nell'Uruguay; Euconomia più che economia* (Florence: Istituto Agricolo Coloniale Italiano, 1917), 3. These numbers may be inflated by inclusion of children of Italian immigrants. The 1920 Brazlian census reported 560,000 Italians in Brazil: Ministério da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, *Recenseamento do Brazil, Realizado em 1 de Setembro 1920, Volume IV, 1ª Parte* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Da Estatistica, 1926), 317.

country's Italian community, with its own consular delegation. São Paulo's 200,000 Italians represented roughly half of the city's residents, according to one estimate.[297]

A pamphlet published in Florence in 1917 by Italo Giglioli, a professor at the University of Pisa discussed the particularly grim conditions of Italian migration to Brazil. Most Italians, almost half a million, arrived to São Paulo in the 1890s through subsidized passage that brought them directly to coffee plantations, or *fazendas*, in the interior.[298] These immigrants served, in many ways, as a replacement for slave labor outlawed in Brazil in 1888. Sanitary and living conditions were miserable and the circumstances of Italians were akin to indentured servitude.[299] As a result, in 1902, the Italian government passed the Prinetti Decree, which outlawed subsidized passage to Brazil.[300] Still, over time, many Italians in São Paulo state established "autonomous centers of settlement" focused on agriculture.[301] They moved to the city to set up businesses or work urban labor jobs alongside Italians who continued to arrive in Brazil by independent means, if in smaller numbers. However, Brazil retained a reputation for poor treatment of Italian workers.

In 1913, a monograph published in São Paulo by prolific writer and staunch Italo-Brazilian promoter Antonio Piccarolo, noted the advances Italian immigrants had made in São Paulo.

> It is the Italians that have reconstructed and are reconstructing the city, because not only are four-fifths of the construction workers Italian, but the

[297] Giglioli, *Italiani e Tedeschi nel Brasile*, 3. Giglioli's estimates appear to include Brazil-born children of Italian immigrants. The 1920 census reported roughly 91,000 Italians in the city of São Paulo: Ministério da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio, *Recenseamento do Brazil*, 861.
[298] Giglioli, *Italiani e Tedeschi nel Brasile*, 3.
[299] For a review of this point of view, see Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlántico*.
[300] Antonio Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile* (São Paulo: Rivista Coloniale, 1913), 6.
[301] "La colonizzazione in Brasile," *L'emigrante italiana in America*, March 1914.

> in large part the management of these workers is Italian, such that Italian architecture is predominant in these new buildings.[302]

Piccarolo discussed how Italian farmers had become important to the cultivation of rice, sugar cane, beans, grain, corn and even coffee in the São Paulo hinterland; how Italian dialects dominated certain neighborhoods in the state capital, such as Neopolitan in the central Braz district; and how the city's biggest industrial firms were eponymously named for their owners Matarazzo, Crespi and Puglisi-Carbone.[303] Labor conditions were no worse than anywhere in Europe, he argued. Yet Piccarolo believed that Brazil's reputation as a dreadful destination for Italian migrants, particularly relative to Argentina, had not changed. He cited the 1912 decision by the Italian government to deny the establishment of a direct steamship line between Italy and Brazil as evidence.[304] For this and for the lack of influence Italians had in São Paulo's political affairs Piccarolo placed blame on immigrants themselves.[305] He suggested that São Paulo Italians take a more aggressive stance to advance their interests and the interests of Italy:

> An emigrant colony is like an army. An army of peace, an army that achieves its conquests with work, on the battlefields of civilization; but always an army that carries the flag of *la patria* outside the confines of the fatherlands.[306]

Piccarolo became a leading advocate for the use of the war mobilization to advance immigrant interests in Brazil and Italy.

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[302] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 39.
[303] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 38-40.
[304] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 16-18.
[305] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 48.
[306] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 43.

In 1915, the mobilization of a real army came to the Italian community in Brazil. The mainstream Italian-language newspapers in São Paulo moved immediately to the center of the recruitment effort. Founded in 1893 by Vitaliano Rotellini, *Fanfulla* was the most prominent Italian-language newspaper in the city.[307] Like *La Patria degli italiani* in Buenos Aires its leadership maintained close ties with the leaders of upper and middle-class Italian immigrant institutions. On May 24, 1915, *Fanfulla* published a mobilization decree distributed by the Italian "royal delegation" in Rio de Janeiro and noted the decree's stirring of nationalist enthusiasm in other Italian overseas communities.

Figure 18: Immigrant Mobilization around the World

Le dichiarazioni di guerra della Germania all'Italia

comunicata alla Legazione di Rio

RIO DE JANEIRO, 24. — La Legazione tedesca di questa capitale co-municа ufficialmente che la Germania ha dichiarato guerra all'Italia.

Le operazioni di leva a Rio

RIO DE JANEIRO, 24. — Le operazioni di arruolamento sono cominciate oggi e procedono con grande entusiasmo da parte dei riservisti.

La Legazione italiana ha ricevuto notizia che i vapori hanno ricevuto ordine di mettersi a disposizione degli arruolati.

L'entusiasmo degli italiani di Nova York

NEW YORK, 24. — La notizia della mobilitazione é stata accolta dagli italiani con vivo entusiasmo.

Il concorso dei riservisti al Consolato é stato straordinario.

Moltissimi sono pure coloro che vogliono partire come volontari.

Nella colonia di Buenos-Aires - L'azione del Ministro d'Italia

BUENOS AIRES, 24. — Il min. Cobianchi ha requisito presso le Compagnie di Navigazione tutti i dieci vapori che si trovano attualmente in queste acque.

Lo stesso avverrà per il "Duca di Genova" che sarà fermato a Santos.

Il concorso dei richiamati al Consolato é stato enorme.

La Croce Rossa Italiana ha giá tutto disposto per la sua partenza.

L'entusiasmo nel Belgio per l'Italia

HAYA, 24. — L'annuncio dell'intervento dell'Italia nella guerra ha suscitato il più vivo entusiasmo.

Il Governo belga ha esposto la bandiera italiana e l'ha fatto esporre in tutti gli edifici pubblici a fianco di quella francese e belga.

Hindenburg comanderà gli eserciti contro l'Italia?

PARIGI, 24 — Il "Figaro" riceve da Lugano un telegramma col quale si assicura che il generale von Hindenburg é stato nominato comandante in capo degli eserciti austro-tedeschi destinati ad operare contro la Italia.

I riservisti italiani al Cile

SANTIAGO, 24 — Anche qui i riservisti sono accorsi ad iscriversi al Consolato per poter partire subito sul "Siena" il quale resterá a Valparaiso a disposizione del ministro d'Italia.

Fanfulla, May 24, 1915

[307] Angelo Trento, La costruzione di un'identità collettiva: Storia del giornalismo in lingua italiana in Brasile (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2011), 131.

In the months following, *Fanfulla* covered and participated in a widespread recruitment drive. It clarified draft orders from Consul Ricciardi in Rio that said all officers and reservists born between the years 1876 and 1895 had to report for duty.[308] It published Italian laws that said "Italians" born overseas or arriving to Brazil at a young age should register with consular officials.[309] It distributed information for recruits expected to arrive in São Paulo from other areas.[310] It advised all potential soldiers where to go for registration, vaccination, departure tickets and other items ahead of their departure.

Fanfulla also published propaganda that celebrated the departures of enlisted soldiers at *Estação Luz*, where the accompanying rallies appeared chaotic and exasperating for station officials.[311] It tracked the movements and arrival dates of the *Mafalda*, the *Lombardo* and other recruitment steamships that arrived from *Il Plata*. It profiled the departure of seemingly prominent members of the Italian army or São Paulo's Italian community. These included doctors Carlo Buscaglia and Giuseppe Poidomani del Carso, businessman Galileo Cavaliere of the city's Martinelli business conglomerate, and a group from the Banca Francesca e Italiana per l'America.[312]

[308] "Regio Consolato Generale d'Italia," *Fanfulla*, May 27, 1915.
[309] "I nati all'estero e gli ammessi alla dispensa provvisoria devono presentarsi," *Fanfulla*, June 9, 1915.
[310] "La circolare del Consolato agli agenti e ai vice-consoli dell'interno," *Fanfulla*, May 28, 1915.
[311] "Anche il 'Lombardo' trasporterà i riservisti," *Fanfulla*, June 1, 1915; "Le disposizioni della S. Paulo Railway per le partenze dei riservisti italiani," *Fanfulla*, June 19, 1915.
[312] "Per la partenza del dr. Buscaglia" and "La partenza del sig. Galileo Cavaliere," *Fanfulla*, May 29, 1915.

Figure 19: “Our reservists”

Fanfulla, July 16, 1915

One climax among the troop departures occurred on July 3, when 800 soldiers departed on the *Regina d’Italia* and *Cavour*. An editorial in *Fanfulla* saluted the departing soldiers with the words:

> To all the *richiamati*, whether modest and obscure soldiers or officers, we send our most affectionate and fraternal greeting and fervent and sincere wishes because we know they will earn a crown of glory on the battlefields, just as here, in Brazil, they were able to make themselves respectable with their work and with their civilizing virtues.[313]

Early on, *Fanfulla* estimated that 50,000 Italians might leave São Paulo to join the fight.[314]

Articles in the newspaper sought to encourage enlistment in other ways. *Fanfulla* contributors highlighted immigrant support for soldiers’ families and the subsidies those

[313] “La partenza dei richiamati,” *Fanfulla*, July 3, 1915.
[314] “L’esodo degli italiani; La partenza dei richiamati e la sua ripercussione in Brasile,” *Fanfulla*, May 28, 1915.

families received from the Italian government.[315] They praised São Paulo residents who were veterans of prior Italian wars.[316] They advertised discounts businesses offered soldiers and free vaccinations for recruits.[317] In June 1915, *Fanfulla* published a message from Edoardo Frisoni, a deputy in the Italian parliament born in Brazil.[318] Frisoni equated Italo-Brazilians' prior assistance for "regional calamities" in Italy like earthquake and floods with national crises caused by the war. Soon after, *Fanfulla* paid homage to injured soldier Natale Possanzini, who had left his wife and two children in São Paulo on May 26 and was injured by shrapnel on June 22.[319] The newspaper highlighted Possanzini's impatience to get to the front, where he joined four other Possanzini and earned the pride of his Genoa-based father, an ex-Red Shirt in the Garibaldi brigade.

A significant distinction between the early troop mobilization drives supported by the press in São Paulo and *Il Plata* was the more punitive tone of the former's enlistment campaign. In July, *Fanfulla* warned that registered reservists who did not pick up boarding tickets would be considered deserters.[320] By August, it made threats of retribution toward all who did not report.[321] In September, it announced the upcoming departure of the last set of troops on the *Toscana* and emphasized that the punishment for desertion was three to five years in military prison.[322] Ahead of the ship's send off, *Fanfulla* counted 3,214

[315] "Promettiamo!," *Fanfulla*, May 19, 1915; "Istruzioni ed informazioni pei riservisti; Il sussidio del governo italiano alle famiglie bisognose dei richiamati all'estero," *Fanfulla*, June 1, 1915.
[316] "Il banchetto del 'Grupo Reduci Garibaldini Patrie Battaglie e Militi'," *Fanfulla*, June 16, 1915.
[317] "Ai riservisti," *Fanfulla*, June 3, 1915; "La vaccinazione antitifica ai riservisti," *Fanfulla*, June 8, 1915.
[318] "Il dovere degli italiani; Una lettera dell'on. Edoardo Frisoni al *Fanfulla*," *Fanfulla*, June 19, 1915.
[319] "Un caporale maggiore d'artiglieria ferito a Plava è giunto a S. Paolo," *Fanfulla*, August 11, 1915.
[320] "I riservisti minuti di foglio di via devono presentarsi al più presto al Consolato," *Fanfulla*, July 6, 1915.
[321] "I riservisti che devono partire col 'Regina Elena'," *Fanfulla*, August 6, 1915; "R. Consolato Generale d'Italia San Paolo," *Fanfulla*, August 13, 1915.
[322] "Per i richiamati residenti in Brasile," *Fanfulla*, September 8, 1915.

departed soldiers from São Paulo city and 4,316 from São Paulo state, where 5,055 had registered.[323] Afterward, recruits would use regular passenger transit, but the total remained only a fraction of the 50,000 estimate published in May.

Other periodicals in São Paulo also imbued their propaganda with a negative tone. This included Antonio Piccarillo's *Rivista coloniale*, which had the same title as the Rome-based publication referenced in Chapter 1, but mostly different content. Founded in 1910, it served largely as a mouthpiece for its publisher and other elites in the Italian community.[324] In October 1915, the bimonthly—and later, monthly—newspaper criticized those who "make every effort to denigrate all that in this moment sounds like patriotism and *italianità*."[325] In the same issue, Piccarillo referred to his critics as "delinquents" who damaged the war effort by "impeding any manifestation in support of Italy."[326] He felt they undermined their own interests within São Paulo's ethnic milieu by not supporting Italy. A similar sentiment appeared in *Il piccolo*, a publication founded in 1918 by Paolo Mazzoldi and published by São Paulo's Italian masonic community.[327] The newspaper published criticisms of the "subversive neutralists" among Italians and an "indifferent multitude."[328] Both of these periodicals blamed São Paulo's Italian Chamber of Commerce for shortfalls in the pro-war effort.[329] The tone of these articles is one of

[323] "Quanti sono i riservisti dello Stato di S. Paolo partiti finora; Quanti non devono partire ancora," *Fanfulla*, September 10, 1915.
[324] The circulation of *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo) probably numbered in the hundreds rather than thousands, and dropped to roughly 200 by 1925. Trento, *La costruzione di un'identità collettiva*, 148.
[325] "Internazionalismo italano e nazionalismo tedesco," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), October 1, 1915.
[326] "Delinquenza ammantata di socialismo," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), October 1, 1915.
[327] In 1925, *Il piccolo* had a reported circulation of roughly 10,000. Trento, *La costruzione di un'identità collettiva*, 152.
[328] "L'illusione antipatriottica," *Il piccolo*, January 17, 1916.
[329] "La crisi del consiglio nella Camera Italiana di Commercio," *Il piccolo*, July 1, 1915; ""Espansione economica italiana verso l'America Latina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), October 1, 1915.

bitterness and disappointment toward the Italian immigrant community to a degree not seen in the *Il Plata* press—and especially not in 1915.

After 1915, these newspapers continued to publish a torrent of pro-war propaganda. *Il piccolo* printed patriotic sketches and poems reminding its readers of soldiers' sacrifices and immigrants' obligations to *la patria*.

Figure 20: "The alpine lookout"

Il piccolo, May 24, 1916

Other propaganda used guilt as a motivating factor. One poem spoke of a woman in mourning "with eyes blacker than the black of her veil," as the first line reads. Its use of the word "*pietà*" evoked Michaelangelo's sculpture of the same name. Other articles addressed the patriotic responsibilities of the Italian-language press; the expansion of Italian people and commerce around the world; combat "inside and outside the trenches;"

and the period as one of military "struggles" and "preparation" for a civilian war to be waged later on an economic battlefield.[330] At the same time, the paper introduced a negative element into its campaign by criticizing the São Paulo consulate for not doing more about deserters.[331]

São Paulo's *Rivista coloniale* emphasized the "intellectual expansion of Italy" and argued that the pursuit of greater intellectual influence by Italy in Brazil was as important as economic influence. The removal of "Italian indifference and apathy with regard to the expansion of our intellectual heritage" could enable Italy to surpass France as the most influential European country in Brazilian art and academia.[332] Italy should also use its supposedly leading role in a "Latin" world to create a united front against "Pan-Germanism" and even Anglo-American hegemony.[333]

Another noteworthy aspect of the propaganda campaign in São Paulo was the extent of *Fanfulla*'s devoted coverage of the soldiers from São Paulo who enlisted. On September 13, 1915, around the time the *Toscana* left Santos, Bianco Biasino received a letter from his brother-in-law Antonio that described the patriotic enthusiasm of residents "in every station, in every town, in every city" in Italy. He said that Bianco's brother was already at the front and listed a number of others from their hometown of Lauria, in the southern region of Basilicata, who had enlisted. Antonio then asked, "And when will you come?" and ended the letter with emphasis on Bianco's "duty" to his

[330] "L'ora della preparazione," *Il piccolo*, May 2, 1916.
[331] "Il regime delle proroghe," *Il piccolo,* August 15, 1916.
[332] "Il doveri dell'Italia intellettuale," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), April 30, 1916.
[333] "Le strade latina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 31, 1917.

homeland.[334] A month later, *Fanfulla* published a letter written to Domenico Paino by his friend Emilio Lencioni.[335] Emilio asked Domenico to send his regards to their friends in São Paulo. Emilio felt that "the biggest of all sacrifices was leaving one's children…[and] I have accomplished it." Among hundreds of letters like these, most matched closely the arguments often made by *Fanfulla* contributors. They were almost certainly printed to encourage enlistment.

The patriotism expressed in many soldiers' letters was nevertheless undeniable. The home addresses of recipients published with the letters suggest that *Fanfulla* did not simply fabricate them, even if they were filtered. Soldiers wrote to relatives and friends of "Latin blood," "a holy war" and the impending "victory of civilization."[336] As the war continued, the letters included reports from the front lines. In early 1916, a reservist from São Paulo, Corporal Bernardino Barbarava, described his experience with trench warfare to a friend, Raffaele Sansaro. After loss of his right leg in a bomb blast, Barbarava felt he "had the honor of paying his tribute in blood to the beloved *Patria*."[337] In June of that year, a soldier from São Paulo, A.E. Mazzotto, wrote to his father Domenico about his position at the top of a hill, a recent Austrian withdrawal and his expectations that "the war will continue for some time, perhaps; it will be terrible, but victory will smile on us in the end. This is the certainty that every soldier of Italy holds in his heart."[338] Pictures often accompanied the letters, as was the case for this print of "paolistani reservists."

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[334] "Come dall'Italia si esortano i riservisti di S. Paulo a compiere il proprio dovere," *Fanfulla*, September 13, 1915.
[335] "Notizie dei nostri soldati," *Fanfulla*, October 25, 1915.
[336] "Notizie dei nostri soldati," *Fanfulla*, January 2, 1916 and January 8, 1916.
[337] "Notizie dei nostri soldati," *Fanfulla*, January 7, 1916.
[338] "Ciò che scrive un nostro riservista," *Fanfulla*, June 22, 1916.

Figure 21: "The *paolistani* reservists at the front"

I riservisti paolistani al fronte

Un gruppo di lettori del FANFULLA che invia dalle linee di combattimento un cordiale saluto ai parenti ed agli amici di San Paolo.

N. 1 Begliomini Guido — Dalle Piastre (Pistoia); N. 2 Pasi Demetrio — da Villa Serraglio (Ravenna); N. 3 Bosoni Angelo — da Milano; N. 4 Bastasi Armando — da Venezia; N. 5 Parola Giovanni — da Asti (Alessandria); N. 6 Mascarello Louis — da Niz-za Marittima (Francia); N. 7 Malaguti Petronio — da Crevalcore (Bologna).

Fanfulla, August 13, 1916

When a photo accompanied reports of a soldier's injury, death or return to São Paulo, these notices included information about where he was born in Italy, where he had resided in São Paulo, when he had returned to Italy to fight, the circumstances of his family and how he died or was injured. In 1917, the newspaper reported the death of Amerigo Rotellini, a co-owner of *Fanfulla* and the son of its founding publisher, Vitaliano Rottellini.[339] Rottellini would be added to a list published in May 1917 that counted 82 soldiers from São Paulo who had died for "*la patria*," although it believed the list underestimated the total.[340]

[339] "I caduti per la Patria," *Fanfulla*, September 13, 1917.
[340] "I riservisti di S. Paolo caduti per la Patria," *Fanfulla*, May 24, 1917.

Figure 22: "The fallen on the field of glory"

I caduti sul campo della gloria

LA EROICA MORTE SUL FRONTE DI UN RISERVISTA DI S. PAOLO

Alla signora Adele Borghese, residente al n. 145 di via Caetano Pinto è pervenuta dall'Italia coll'ultimo corriere la notizia della morte del cognato Salvatore Borghese, avvenuta il 26 ottobre dello scorso anno in un combattimento sul fronte.

Salvatore Borghese, corrispondendo all'appello della Patria, partiva da Santos, ove allora abitava, assieme al proprio fratello Amedeo, il 20 giugno dello scorso anno.

Prese imbarco sul piroscafo «Lombarda» dopo 2 mesi di viaggio — sono note le peripezie di quella traversata — giungeva a Napoli sano e salvo.

Presentatosi al distretto, Amedeo fu posto a disposizione del ministero e per man-

SALVATORE BORGHESE

Fanfulla, February 15, 1916

The profiles of injured soldiers included Francesco Zupo. He was shot in the leg, moved between hospitals in Brescia, Bologna and Alessandria, then sent to recover at his grandmother's house in Polignano, Apulia. He later received papers for his return to São Paulo.[341] Zupo's parents and seven brothers and sisters lived in the Brás district of São Paulo. In at least one instance, in April 1918, a soldier who returned later died from his injuries and received a patriotic funeral in São Paulo.[342] Despite their use as propaganda tools, the letters and profiles of the soldiers offer glimpses into the tragic consequences

[341] "Francesco Zupo; Riservista di S. Paolo ferito al fronte di ritorno ora in questa città," *Fanfulla*, July 28, 1916.

[342] "Un glorioso ferito della nostra guerra spira in seno alla famiglia appena giunto a S. Paolo," *Fanfulla*, April 15, 1918.

of war. Yet they were consequences that recruits and supporters accepted as part of nationalist sacrifice.

4.2 *NELLA TERRA DI CAFFÈ:* IMMIGRANT CIVIL SOCIETY IN "SAN PAOLO"

In São Paulo, from the first days of the conflict, a network of newly formed pro-war committees took shape and collaborated with existing Italian immigrant organizations on this other immigrant home front. The mobilization in São Paulo did not differ markedly in scope relative to the one in *ll Plata*. It did differ in size as the São Paulo effort appeared to involve a much smaller, middle-class segment of the community. This may explain some of the frustrations voiced in pro-war advocates' propaganda campaigns. A seemingly greater indifference in São Paulo to events associated with the war effort does not, however, mean the mobilization was insignificant.

On May 24, 1915, the Italian consul in São Paulo, Giulio Ricciardi, invited the leaders of prominent immigrant institutions to form a pro-war committee that would "organize and regulate the moral and economic action of the community during the war."[343] The committee named Ricciardi president. The vice-presidents were Ermelino Matarazzo, the son of a wealthy industrialist, and Felice Buscaglia, a doctor whose brother Carlo, noted above, was soon to depart for Italy. Other members of this *Comitato Italiano Pro-Patria* included heads of the Italian Hospital, the Dante Alighieri Society, the *Istituto Medio Italiano* school, the Italian Chamber of Commerce, the Circolo Italiano, several

[343] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 537.

Italian societies led by the Guigliemo Oberdan society and the Lega Lombarda, and representatives from Italian immigrant banks.[344] Their initial focus was to assist the troop departures and develop the administrative means to collect donations and distribute funds to soldiers' relatives remaining in São Paulo.

The institutional infrastructure of Pro-Patria expanded quickly. The central committee established commissions to oversee financial, social and cultural affairs. It encouraged the creation, by professionals and leaders of industry and agriculture, of sub-committees that could respond to the "cry of pain of our people" and assist "the triumph of a noble and sacred cause." [345] At least 16 sub-committees operated in the predominantly Italian districts of São Paulo, with others in secondary cities like Bauru, Campinas and Ribeirão Preto. The network's hierarchy correlated with the socio-economic position of the groups, institutions and neighborhoods of the Italian community. More well off immigrants from wealthier districts led the central committees. By the end of the war, Pro-Patria reported collections of 3.87 billion *reais* primarily to assist soldiers' families. Smaller amounts supported immigrant repatriation and veterans who returned to São Paulo.[346] After the army's defeat at Caporetto, Pro-Patria conducted collections for refugees and soldiers with tuberculosis, and raised funds to finance activities of its women's auxiliary.

[344] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 537-538.
[345] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 540.
[346] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 554. The dollar:*real* exchange rate was roughly 1:4 during the war period. Officer, *Measuring Worth*, 2016.

The Pro-Patria Women's Committee focused its attention on assistance for soldiers' families, collections of goods for delivery to the front and fundraisers that supported its work.

Figure 23: "Comitato Femminile Pro-Patria, São Paolo"

Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla guerra, p. 555

The committee's accounting for December 1915 showed expenditures for laundry and medicine services for local families as well as clothing and fabric collections.[347] It used more than three-quarters of its expenditures to procure wool garments for the troops. Unlike *Il Plata*, it made arrangements to purchase wool overseas because it was not readily available in Brazil. Additionally, the women's committee sold postcards, held celebrations for Italian "martyrs" and organized patriotic masses in church. Members participated in collections of cigarettes and marmalade for soldiers' Christmas and Easter gifts and helped the Italian Red Cross gather pajamas, sheets, bandages and other materials for refugee children in northern Italy.[348]

[347] "Comitato Femminile 'Pro-Patria': Balancio di Cassa al 31 Dicembre 1915," *Fanfulla*, January 20, 1915.
[348] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 560.

As the Pro-Patria committees focused on the home front, the Italian Red Cross coordinated donations sent across the Atlantic. Through March 1917, the institution's São Paulo office, whose purview included São Paulo state and all Brazilian states to the south, sent 500,000 Italian *lira* to Italy, nearly all of it collected in the city of São Paulo.[349] It raised 100,000 *lira* by hosting *spettacoli*, or shows, like Giuseppe Verdi's "*La Battaglia di Legnano"* at the Municipal Theater. Meanwhile, the Italian Red Cross bulletin reported on *spettacoli* sponsored by smaller committees and lower-profile activities like the Christmas season sale of matchbooks that helped raise 30,000 *lira* for wounded soldiers.[350]

Figure 24: Italian Red Cross Propaganda

Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana (São Paulo), March 1917

[349] "L'opera della Croce Rossa Italiana in Brasile," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, February 1917.

[350] "Relazione inviata dal Delegato Generale al Presidente del 'Comitato Centrale'," and "Allegati," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, February 1917, 5 and 16-20.

Among the goods sent by the Red Cross back to Italy were five crates of coffee shipped on the *Luisiana* in January 1916 and 25 boxes containing 5,000 lemons sent on the *Tomaso di Savoia* in August 1916.[351] These were goods the military would not receive from other large immigrant communities in the U.S. and Argentina. To thank the São Paulo chapter for its efforts, the headquarters in Rome gave president Ermelino Matarazzo a gold medal from the Italian army.[352]

Only Gaetano Pepe rivaled Matarazzo's leadership of the pro-war mobilization in São Paulo. Pepe was head of the city's Dante Alighieri Society and the subject of a 500-page biography published in 1917 by *Fanfulla* editor Umberto Serpieri. This work recounts Pepe's birth in Salerno, near Naples, his history of participation in Italian patriotic causes in Brazil before the war, and election as president of the São Paulo Dante chapter in 1910.[353] At a meeting on May 23, 1915, members read a telegram sent by the society's president in Rome. It described the "colony" in Brazil as "ready to answer the call and always at the forefront in meeting national duties." [354] The Dante's goals were to encourage "the faith and enthusiasm that animates the *Patria lontana*," or the distant fatherland, and assist other organizations.[355] As it hosted patriotic rallies at the Teatro

[351] "Biliancio delle somme rimesse al Comitato Centrale della 'Croce Rossa' dall'inizio della nostra guerra fino a dicembre 1916," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, 4.
[352] "La medaglia d'oro al nostro Delegato Generale," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, February 1917, 21.
[353] Umberto Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità: Vita italiana in S. Paolo del Brasile* (São Paulo: Pocai & Co., 1917), 1-5.
[354] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità*, 538.
[355] The Dante's financial contributions were smaller than many of its partners, but it did contribute 78,000 *lira* to the cause during the first year of the war, about 30,000 of this going to Pro-Patria and the rest to small fundraisers and social events, not to mention the purchase of 20 copies of an illustrated album to benefit orphans of war. Serpieri, *Un assertore d'Italianità*, 539-551.

Apollo and hosted other events, it seemed to play a much more vocal part in the mobilization than *Il Plata* chapters. This may be entirely due to Pepe's enthusiasm. The relentless self-aggrandizer hoped to persuade soldiers to enlist through his own attempt to sign up despite his advanced age disqualifying him from the initial recruitment drive.[356]

One aspect of the mobilization in São Paulo that seemed to find as much success as it did in *Il Plata* was the war loans program. The Banco di Napoli, through its Brazilian division managed by the Matarazzo conglomerate, was a major vehicle for and beneficiary of the loan program.

Figure 25: Matarazzo Company War Bond Advertisement


LE INDUSTRIE RIUNITE F. MATARAZZO

CORRISPONDENTI UFFICIALI DEL

BANCO DI NAPOLI

d'incarico del Regio Governo, ricevono fino al 1. Maggio p. v. le sottoscrizioni al

Prestito Nazionale Italiano

5 o|o TIPO 97.50

Gli interessi decorrono dal 1. gennaio e sono pagabili per semestre.

Servizio gratuito per la liquidazione di Libretti delle Casse di Risparmio o Banchi diversi, ed impiego in titoli del Prestito.

Il piccolo, February 18, 1916

The Italian consular office in Rio de Janeiro established a committee to organize and finance propaganda efforts associated with the loans. Its actions in 1917 included the publication of 5,000 pamphlets meant for distribution to "every Brazilian territory where Italians reside," with copies eventually sent to 315 cities and towns.[357] For the 1917 loan

[356] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'Italianità*, 549-550.

[357] Comitato di Propaganda del Prestito Nazionale Italiano 1917, *Relazione della Presidenza* (Rio de Janeiro: Papelaria Americana, 1917), 7-9.

program, the propaganda committee estimated bond purchases in Brazil worth 40.8 million *lira*, more than the 38 million raised in Argentina and 16.2 million raised in Uruguay.[358] The Rio committee admitted that these numbers were preliminary, but that "the results obtained in Brazil were the largest in South America and perhaps in any other foreign country in which our co-nationals reside." [359] Italians in São Paulo state contributed 27.1 million *lira*, about two-thirds of Brazil's total.

The São Paulo numbers did not necessarily signify a vast popular response to the fundraising drive. Businessman Giuseppe Martinelli purchased 2 million *lira* in bonds, the Matarazzo conglomerate 1 million *lira*, and magnate Rodolfo Crespi another 1 million. The committee celebrated these contributions from "those of the rich," and made note of support also from the "less wealthy."[360] It said the fundraiser would "shine on Italy and on the entire world in order to guide a united humanity in the ways of progress and civilization." When pro-war advocates expressed the importance and influence of the mobilization taking place in Brazil, they usually began with the participation of a select few individuals.

Loan contributions heavily weighted toward the top of the socio-economic ladder provide further evidence that the pro-war effort was not as "popular" as its leaders suggested. Even *Il piccolo* criticized the concentration of control of Italian immigrant associations by a few men like Pepe and Matarazzo.[361] Meanwhile, contributors to *La civiltà latina* criticized working classes for their lack of patriotic enthusiasm. It believed

[358] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 10-11.
[359] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 21.
[360] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 22-23.
[361] "Anche la 'Dante Alighieri'," *Il piccolo*, July 5, 1916.

the widely circulated *Fanfulla* could do more to encourage workers to participate.[362] The next chapter will deal directly with the anti-war movement. But in relating some of the more subtle differences between the war efforts in *Il Plata* and Brazil now, it is noteworthy that the pro-war ranks in São Paulo were not as full. Many of the same institutions or types of institutions participated in the war effort on these two home fronts, but they did not have the same influence on the immigrant masses. Indeed many photographs of soldiers published in *Fanfulla* convey the middle-class origins of many São Paulo recruits**.**

Figure 26: "The death of a reservist from S. Paulo"

Fanfulla, February 8, 1916

Fewer soldiers in São Paulo enlisted relative to *Il Plata* and most were residents of São Paulo city, where middle- and upper-class members of the Italian community resided.

[362] "Questione coloniale," *Fanfulla*, January 20, 1918.

Alongside such subtle differences between the pro-war mobilizations in the two regions, more stark contrasts were also present.

4.3 *LA MINACCIA TEDESCA:* IMMIGRANTS, ETHNICITY AND WAR

The pro-war mobilization in São Paulo differed markedly from its counterpart in *Il Plata* in the former's focus on ethnicity and national origins as an organizing principle. Italian solidarity in São Paulo occurred amid a much more heightened sensitivity to *la minaccia tedesca*, or the German threat, that corresponded with Brazil's large German population. This perceived threat drove a greater tendancy among São Paulo Italians to racialize the conflict and form coalitions with immigrant groups from other Allied countries. Ethnic rivalries in Brazil became more hostile as the war continued. They reached their zenith in late 1917, when the Germans joined Austria to defeat Italy at Caporetto and Brazil declared war on Germany. This latter event was another source of divergence between mobilizations in São Paulo and *Il Plata*.

During the war, nationalist solidarity meant encouraging the collection of money, goods and men for delivery across the Atlantic and defending Italian immigrant interests in a region filled with different ethnic groups. Even before Italy's declaration of war, *L'emigrante italiana in America* foresaw the limits the conflict might place on migration, economic prosperity and social welfare in São Paulo's Italian community. The newspaper's solution, fitting its Catholic disposition, was to "conserve in emigrants and

in their descendants the religion and language of their fathers."[363] *Il piccolo* believed immigrant solidarity would advance "the destinies of Italy" through the principles of Masonry.[364] *La civiltà latina* used symbols like Garibaldi, objectives like the annexation of Trent and Trieste and crises like those facing refugees in northern Italy to encourage unity among "Latins."[365] All pro-war newspapers and institutions shared the ideology of nationalism.

Calls for solidarity among Italians rather easily transformed into attacks on São Paulo residents with different national and ethnic origins. Italians who viewed social relations this way grew concerned even before the war that growing ranks of Spanish immigrants in São Paulo would undermine the standing of Italians in the region.[366] They believed the Spanish shared a closer affinity to the dominant Portuguese culture because of shared roots on the Iberian Peninsula. During the war, these feelings evolved into concern that immigrants from neutral Spain harbored pro-German sentiment.[367] They did not spare Brazilians either from claims of suspected "Germanofilia."[368] Such suspicions often paired with assertions of Italian superiority.

In his 1917 biography of Gaetano Pepe, Umberto Serpieri offered some striking comparisons of Italian and German cultures. Serpieri argued that "one cannot understand the moral and spiritual reasons for this tragic conflict, without having in mind the peculiar

[363] "La guerra e l'emigrazione," *L'emigrante italiana in America*, March 15, 1915.
[364] "Il sicuro compimento dei destini d'Italia," *Il piccolo*, February 17, 1916.
[365] "Giuseppe Garibaldi," *La civiltà latina*, June 3, 1916; "Per i profughi friulani," *La civiltà latina*, December 8, 1917.
[366] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 43.
[367] "Proteste contro il 'Diario Español'," *Il piccolo*, April 18, 1917.
[368] "I paesi dell'A.B.C. favorevoli alla causa tedesca?," *Fanfulla*, July 17, 1916.

characteristics that distinguish the Latin race from the Teutonic one."[369] For Serpieri, the Latin world was characterized by a beautiful sky, blue sea and mild climate that favored genius and voluntary intellectual creation. The inclement weather and infertile soil in the Teutonic world required harder work. A German "has to study for a day to understand that which a Latin intuits immediately or learns in two hours."[370] Latin languages used simple and melodic words, Serpieri felt, while German words were long and "overloaded with consonants." The Renaissance was "marvelous" while the Reformation was "rebellion, not creation." The Austrian psyche was "inferior to that of the Germans."[371] The author concluded this outburst with a declaration that the 1866 war between Italy and Austria-Hungary continued and would soon see Italy claiming rightful territories "at the top" of the Alps and along the Adriatic.

Italian immigrant writers and pro-war activists often did not distinguish between Germans and Austrians. They were both *tedeschi*. Not seeing Italy's victory as inevitable, as Serpieri did, other immigrant writers focused on the threats Germans in Brazil posed to their mobilization drive and the Italian army's success. They connected a fear of subversive activities conducted by German immigrants to perceptions that German overseas communities were insular "colonies" in which immigrants maintained their own schools, churches, libraries and associative groups to the exclusion of outsiders. Italo Giglioli, in comparing Italian and German immigrants found that:

> Thus among those German settlers, born in Brazil, they remain as German as their fathers and grandfathers in their soul and in their language, almost

[369] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità*, 443.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità*, 448.

> immune to illiteracy, the ancient Teutonic spirit is proud and independent. In that portion of Brazil, in language and in civil arrangements, Germany lives.[372]

The portion of Brazil to which Giglioli referred included the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Santa Catarina, where he said 465,000 Germans living in Brazil resided.[373] Comparing Germans in Brazil to the Boers in South Africa, the author delivered a somewhat jealous condemnation of German immigrant devotion to their ancestry and fatherland.

Italian-language newspapers accused German pacifists in the workers' movement of seeking to trim the ranks of Italian recruits and surreptitiously helping the German-Austrian side.[374] They derided the influence of German managers in immigrant financial institutions. For its part, the Dante Alighieri Society sought to use cultural propaganda to limit the influence of German "*Kultur*" in Brazil.[375] Boycotts of German immigrant businesses were attempts to damage their social and economic status.[376] *Il piccolo*, in particular, used words like "fight" and "combat" to describe ethnic rivalries. It often took this fight to German-language São Paulo newspaper *Diario Allemão*.[377]

As the war continued, Italo-German conflict in São Paulo intensified. In early 1917, reports of German attacks and "piracy" against Brazilian and Italian merchant marine

[372] Giglioni, *Italiani e tedeschi nel Brasile*, 10-11.
[373] Giglioni, *Italiani e tedeschi nel Brasile*, 10.
[374] "L'opera dei tedeschi in S. Paulo," *La civiltà latina*, December 8, 1917.
[375] "Ancora della stedeschizzazione della Banca Francese e Italiana," *Il piccolo*, August 15, 1916; "Il programma della 'Dante'," *Il piccolo*, August 26, 1916.
[376] "Gli aspetti della guerra in colonia; È dovere degli italiani non dare vantaggi ai nemici della loro Patria," *Fanfulla*, December 3, 1915.
[377] "Per uno sconcio articolo dei 'Diario Allemão'," *Fanfulla*, July 17, 1915; "La politica sleale d'Italia secondo il 'Diario Allemão'," *Il piccolo*, June 16, 1916.

vessels grew more common. In April, the Germans sank the Brazilian ship *Paraná*.[378] Protests occurred at the German consulate in São Paulo alongside demonstrations that supported Italy and the Allies. These included a large rally at the offices of *Fanfulla*, pictured here, after Brazil cut diplomatic ties to Germany.

Figure 27: "The demonstration for *Fanfulla* and the italian colony"

LA DIMOSTRAZIONE AL «FANFULLA» ED ALLA COLONIA ITALIANA
L'imponente aspetto della folla nella via Boa Vista e nella via Antonio Prado, durante il discorso del nostro Direttore. (Fotografia presa nel pomeriggio di ieri dalla terrazza del nostro Giornale.)

Fanfulla, April 11, 1917

Large protests and other anti-German activities continued to occur through Brazil's declaration of war in October. In August 1917, groups linked to the Italian Red Cross in São Paulo and the Italian consulate in Florianopolis established a propaganda newspaper in the state of Santa Catarina, a German immigrant stronghold.[379] Demonstrators attacked German businesses and social clubs and the Brazilian government established

[378] "La pirateria tedesca sulle coste del Brasile," *Fanfulla*, January 18, 1917; "La pirateria tedesca nelle acque del Brasile, *Fanfulla*, January 22, 1917; "L'affondamento del 'Parana' e la ripercussione a S. Paulo," *Fanfulla*, April 7, 1917.
[379] "La nostra missione," *Vita coloniale*, August 15, 1917.

German immigrant internment camps.[380] For Italians, German assistance to Austria-Hungary in the Italian army's defeat at Caporetto added vitriol to passive and aggressive forms of discrimination against Germans. In 1918, Italian immigrant newspapers were quick to broadcast subsequent changes in momentum, or "temperature" as the illustration below suggests, in favor of Italy along the Alpine front.

Figure 28: "Changes in temperature"

Guerin meschino, July 20, 1918

Efforts at collaboration among immigrant groups from Allied countries intensified as the war continued. As early as April 1916, contributors to *Fanfulla* wrote in favor of a "more intimate union" between "Allies" living in São Paulo.[381] They noted that such collaboration already existed in the participation of Belgian, British, French, Italian and

[380] "L'imponente manifestazione di ieri sera," *Fanfulla*, November 3, 1917; "I tedeschi internati in Nova Friburgo," *La civiltà latina*, August 3, 1918.
[381] "Per una più intima unione degli Alleati in San Paulo," *Fanfulla*, April 14, 1916.

Portuguese immigrants at concerts, plays, films and events hosted by the French and Italian Red Cross. Support for Belgian refugees in Europe began soon after the start of the war. This was an "admirable fusion of souls, sentiments, wills" that could isolate São Paulo's German community. Allied immigrant cooperation included adherence to the "black list" boycott of German businesses.

Allies might together try to erase German influence from Brazil and South America, but *Fanfulla* believed Italians should lead because "we have developed already a foundation of civility and progress." [382] On September 9, 1916, a meeting of representatives from Allied communities in São Paulo met at the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce.[383] It was not until April of 1917, however, after the sinking of the *Paraná*, that the formation of a League of the Allies gained momentum.[384] An organizing meeting at the Dante Alighieri Society included Belgian, British, French and other consular officials and São Paulo residents. It concluded with the election of Ermelino Matarazzo as president. The first item of business organized a collective celebration of the upcoming second anniversary of Italy's entrance into the war. The league also sought to advertise support in Brazil for Italy's 1917 loan program.[385] Immigrant solidarity occurred at the same time that *Fanfulla* voiced support for a political "Latin union" led by France and Italy.[386] Relations among ethnic groups in São Paulo mirrored those occurring among European countries.

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[382] "Dopo la guerra; Italia e Brasile," *Fanfulla*, October 9, 1916.
[383] "Una riunione alla Camera di Commercio Portoghese dei rappresentanti delle nazione alleati," *Fanfulla*, September 9, 1916.
[384] "Lega degli Alleati," *Fanfulla*, May 23, 1916.
[385] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 12-14.
[386] "Unione latina," *Fanfulla*, May 27, 1916.

In 1917, as Brazil entered the war, immigrant Allied cooperation in São Paulo, again led by Italians, now included native Brazilians. By June 1918, an article appearing in the humor weekly *Guerin meschino* spoke of the joy felt from kissing the *tricolore* Italian flag and the *auriverde* Brazilian flag, since the countries spoke "the same language of brotherhood." [387] As anti-German activities grew more common, Italian-language newspapers covered ethnic conflict in German areas of Brazil like Porto Alegre.[388] They invited Brazilians to join boycotts of German companies and suspected "Germanophiles."[389] In 1918, Brazilians contributed to the Italian loan.[390]

For *La civiltà latina*, the entry of Brazil into the war facilitated its mission to be a "weekly mouthpiece of the Latin family in the state of São Paulo ." The periodical published articles in French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish that wrote of "Fraternidade e Gloria Latinas," "La Vérité," "España y la prédica germanofila" and "Salutiamo Brasile!"[391] It included references to Brazil and Uruguay's anti-German turn. It hoped Argentina would also sever relations and join other Latin nations in solidarity against *la minaccia tedesca*.[392] Brazilian Senator Ruy Barbosa became an important figure for contributors to *La civiltà latina* during pro-Allied speaking tours that took him around South America.[393]

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[387] "L'arrivo dell'Ambasciata Italiana," *Guerin meschino*, June 22, 1918.
[388] "La brutale e sanguinaria aggression di alcuni tedeschi contro la cittadinanza di Porto Alegre," *Fanfulla*, April 18. 1917.
[389] "Il boicottaggio dei tedeschi," *Fanfulla*, November 6, 1917; "Il boicottaggio dei tedeschi e i germanofili," *Fanfulla*, November 24, 1917.
[390] "Il plauso del Governo alle Colonie Italiane del Brasile per il Prestito," *Fanfulla*, March 7, 1918.
[391] The headlines of articles featured in *La civiltà latina*, respectively, on June 3, 1916, November 25, 1916, June 23, 1917 and September 8, 1917.
[392] "Titubanze sud-americane," *La civiltà latina*, May 5, 1917.
[393] "Dentro e fuori," *La civiltà latina*, June 3, 1916; "Un appello," *La civiltà latina*, March 17, 1917.

4.4 *GL'ITALIANI IN AMERICA MERIDIONALE*: TRANSATLANTIC AND INTER-AMERICAN NETWORKS

Barbosa was not unique in his turn outward to connect the war effort in São Paulo with activities occurring in other locations. Pro-war Italians in São Paulo used cross-border intellectual, diplomatic, commercial, cultural, labor and personal relationships to advance their cause. These networks, the period of the war helps reveal, wove through Italian immigrant communities in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, other countries in the Americas and Italy. They formed a web of connectivity among many locations, individuals and institutions in an "Italian Atlantic."

Several modes of interaction facilitated exchange between Italians in São Paulo and Italy. Ships crossing the Atlantic carried goods like coffee between São Paulo and Italy in normal times.[394] During the war, the same ships transported Italian Red Cross collections, the *scaldaranci* discussed in Chapter 2 and soldiers' Christmas packages, which included coffee rations.[395] Ships also regularly transported businessmen, diplomats, teachers, doctors, missionaries, performers and intellectuals back and forth, even as migration slowed during the war.[396] Journalists from Brazil's Italian-language newspapers travelled to report on events in Italy.[397] Ships provided postal services between Brazil and

[394] "L'importazione del caffè in Italia," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), November 1, 1915; "Il caffè; Movimento del caffè sulla piazza di Santos durante il mese di dicembre 1915," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 31, 1916; "Il commercio italo-brasiliano," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), February 29, 1916.
[395] "Bilancio delle somme rimesse al Comitato Centrale della 'Croce Rossa'," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, February 1917; "Per i nostri soldati," *La civiltà latina*, December 2, 1916;
[396] Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Annuario statistico*, 671.
[397] "Per gli scambi intellettuali e commerciali tra Italia e Brasile," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), March 16, 1915; "La nostra guerra e gli emigrati; Nostra corrispondenza particolare," *Fanfulla*, September 28, 1915; "La necessità di una intesa fra Italia e Brasile anche nel campo intellettuale," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo),

Italy as well, carrying letters that included personal accounts of soldiers' lives at the front to family members and the general public in São Paulo. Mail deliveries and passengers' luggage moving between Genoa and São Paulo must have included books, newspapers and movie reels, all used as patriotic propaganda during the war years.[398]

Interaction between Brazil and Italy also occurred through transatlantic telegraph cables. Newspapers received front-page news about the war from international news syndicates like United Press International. *Fanfulla* published telegrams it received from Italy, including from Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando.[399] Other officials from the Italian ministries of war, foreign affairs and treasury sent telegrams to São Paulo to encourage patriotic mobilization or celebrate immigrant participation in troop mobilizations, propaganda campaigns and fundraising.[400] Gaetano Pepe of the Dante Alighieri Society maintained a telegraph correspondence with the leaders of the central committee in Rome to report on the organization's activities on both sides of the Atlantic.[401] Personal telegrams also appeared in the São Paulo newspapers. In 1916, for example, *Il piccolo* published a message from Turin that affirmed the *italianità* of São Paulo resident Ditta Ulrich, despite the seemingly German origins of her last name.[402]

October 31, 1916; "Il ministro del Brasile ricevuto da Sonnino," *Fanfulla*, October 14, 1917; "Le nuove visite ai richiamati," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 31, 1918;

[398] Patriotic films were often part of the program at pro-war events; see, for example, "Pro Croce Rossa Italiana Festa nel Teatro S. Paulo," *La civiltà latina*, December 2, 1916.

[399] "Telegramma spedito ieri all'on. V.E. Orlando," *Fanfulla*, January 14, 1918.

[400] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 6; "Il ringraziamento del Governo Italiano alla colonia di S. Paolo per il contribuita alla Patria," *Fanfulla*, December 13, 1915; "Un plauso del Ministro del Tesoro alla Colonia Italiana per il successo del Prestito Nazionale," *Fanfulla*, July 27, 1917; Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 537; "L'appello dell'on. Orlando agl'italani residenti all'Estero," *Fanfulla*, April 15, 1918.

[401] Serpieri, *Un'assertore d'italianità*, XI and 462.

[402] "Cominicato; L'italianità di Ditta Ulrich," *Il piccolo*, November 22, 1916.

Finally, banks used transatlantic communication networks to conduct international financial transactions. In times of peace, the Banco di Napoli transferred immigrant remittances.[403] During the war, it used its network for the loan programs.

Institutional linkages like those maintained by banks served as anchors for interaction between São Paulo and Italy. A transatlantic network of religious missions continued to operate as the war began. São Paulo-published *L'emgrigrante italiana in America* used content from Italy-based publications *Italica Gens* and *l'Eco del Pontificato* to substantiate an argument about the relationship between the war and immigration.[404] São Paulo's *Rivista oloniale* exchanged content with the eponymous periodical in Italy and the Rome-based Istituto Coloniale that published the latter.[405] The São Paulo version also collaborated with the *Comitato Lombardo di Preparazione* in northern Italy in the delivery of aid to wounded soldiers and published articles from Milanese periodicals.[406] *Fanfulla* printed content from newspapers around Italy, especially opinion columns with a nationalist bent. It passed along propaganda from the Istituto Coloniale to its readership and republished content from Rome's *Giornale d'Italia* that praised the pro-war effort in São Paulo.[407]

The São Paulo chapters of the Dante Alighieri Society and the Italian Red Cross maintained tight institutional links with Italy. It was the "Temple of Dante," Umberto Serpieri proposed, that preserved the connections between overseas Italians, the

[403] Comitato di Propaganda, *Relazione della Presidenza*, 3 and 21.
[404] "La guerra e l'emigrazione," *L'emigrante italiana in America*, March 15, 1915.
[405] "Notizario," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), July 31, 1916.
[406] "Notizario," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), June 16, 1915.
[407] "Gl'italiani del Brasile pei combattenti," *Fanfulla*, January 2, 1916; "L'opera e la fede dei figli d'Italia all'estero," *Fanfulla*, February 27, 1916.

mountains of Lucca and the villages of Campania. It sustained "a spiritual brotherhood that even the Oceans cannot destroy."[408] More practically, the Italian Red Cross in São Paulo worked closely with the central committee in Rome through Ermelino Matarazzo's correspondence with the Rome headquarters. Matarazzo noted that his branch of the organization had a history of supporting natural disaster and war relief efforts in Italy.[409] His father, Francesco Matarazzo, received the title of count from the Italian government for his contributions to these efforts and his assistance during World War I.[410]

The São Paulo chapters of the Dante and the Italian Red Cross served as conduits connecting the central committee in Rome with Italian immigrant communities in the Brazilian countryside. The Dante's monthly publication, *La Patria*, was distributed around the country during the war.[411] The Italian Red Cross in São Paulo publicized in its bulletin pro-war efforts occurring throughout this region.[412] In it, Ermelino Matarazzo emphasized to immigrants, including members ofthe 30 sub-committees in São Paulo state, that "always in times of danger," the Italian Red Cross "fearlessly sent sacrifices of people and money" to support *la patria*.[413] The Pro-Patria committee in São Paulo sent donations gathered around Brazil to Arezzo, Florence, Milan, Turin and other Italian cities. The strong links between São Paulo and Rome were only the primary conduits in a dynamic network that connected cities and towns around Italy, São Paulo state and beyond.

[408] Serpieri, *Un'assertore d'italianitá*, II-III.
[409] "Croce Rossa di S. Paulo," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), June 1, 1915.
[410] "Il Re d'Italia ha conferito il titolo Conte al comm. Francesco Matarazzo," *Fanfulla*, July 3, 1917.
[411] Serpieri, *Un'assertore d'italianitá*, 462-463.
[412] "Allegati," *Bollettino ufficiale della Croce Rossa Italiana per gli Stati Meridionali del Brasile*, February 1917.
[413] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 562.

This network appeared to expand through the pro-war mobilization. Actors on both sides of the Atlantic discussed the potential commercial benefits of closer collaboration between São Paulo immigrants and Italy. In 1912, Italy was São Paulo state's fourth largest source of imports after Germany, Great Britain and the United States, while Italy was the eighth largest market for exports from São Paulo state.[414] According to Piccarolo's 1913 monograph, exchange between Italy and Brazil suffered especially because Santos was only a way station for the clipper lines between Argentina and Italy, limiting the volumes of traded goods.[415] He felt trade would benefit from improved logistics, a view shared by businessmen in Italy, as Chapter 1 discussed. During the war, opportunity for greater transatlantic economic ties grew in part from Brazil's opposition to Germany and alliance with Italy in the *Entente*.[416] In January 1917, a new Italo-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce was formed in Genoa.[417] Members of the Executive Council included Italy's Minister of Agriculture, the president of the Port of Genoa's industry consortium, Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic representative in Italy, São Paulo's Francesco Matarazzo and others. A year later, Italy's "royal delegation" in Rio de Janeiro became a full-fledged embassy largely to promote further economic exchange between the two countries.

The presence of so many Italian citizens in Brazil was at the center of the two countries' drive to create closer ties.[418] As early as October 1916, contributors to *Fanfulla*

[414] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 11.
[415] Ibid.
[416] "Pei futuri rapporti commerciali fra Italia e Brasile," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), September 30, 1917;
[417] "Una Camera di Commercio Italo-Brasiliano a Genova," *Fanfulla*, January 16, 1917.
[418] "L'avvenire etnico del Brasile di fronte all'immigrazione," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 31, 1918.

discussed expected improvements in relations between Italy and Brazil because of the war. They argued that no other nation but Italy "could and should commercially profit" more from relations with Brazil.[419] By March 1918, the newspaper emphasized that "the entrance of Brazil into the war would come to create new links of friendship and brotherhood between the two peoples."[420] For Italians living in São Paulo the distinction between these "two peoples" was exceedingly blurry. The paper felt many considered Brazil "with good reason their second *patria*." Italian immigrants were far removed from the diplomatic salons of Rio de Janeiro and Rome, but the pro-war faction in São Paulo often placed itself at the center of improving relations. On June 7, 1918, *Fanfulla* proclaimed the creation of the embassy as the product of "long years of work, of struggle, of suffering, by the thousands of workers that the battle of life has thrown to these distant lands."

The visit of Vito Luciani to Brazil during his South American tour, discussed at the end of Chapter 2, represented another effort to improve diplomatic relations. Luciani's group included a writer from Rome's *La Tribuna*, a director at Italy's Ministry of Finance, an Italian diplomat who had previously served in Brazil, a vice president of Genoa's Chamber of Commerce and a representative from the Banca d'Italia.[421] Vicenzo Alberico also accompanied Luciani. Alberico lived in Brazil in his youth, studied in Turin, returned to São Paulo to serve at the Dante and the Italian Chamber of Commerce, participated in

[419] "Dopo la guerra; Italia e Brasile," *Fanfulla*, October 9, 1916.
[420] "Italia e Brasile," *Fanfulla*, March 21, 1918.
[421] "Come è composto l'Ambasciata Italiana al Brasile," *Fanfulla*, June 13, 1918.

Pro-Patria and returned to Italy to fight. He was one personification of deep transatlantic ties and immigrant mobility between Italy and Brazil.

Ahead of the delegation's arrival in São Paulo, Italian immigrants received encouragement from the presidents of Pro-Patria and the Italian Chamber of Commerce to make the celebration at *Estação da Luz* on June 20, 1918, an "impressive demonstration" of support. It asked Italian-owned businesses to allow workers to miss work to attend the celebration.

Figure 29: Propaganda for Vito Luciani's Visit to São Paulo

Un appello alla Colonia

per l'arrivo dell'Ambasciata Italiana

Il Comitato di ricevimento ci comunica:

ITALIANI!

LA PRESIDENZA DEL COMITATO ITALIANO PRO PATRIA E LA PRESIDENZA DELLA CAMERA DI COMMERCIO, INVITANO TUTTI I CONNAZIONALI AD INTERVENIRE ALL'ARRIVO DELLA AMBASCIATA ITALIANA, PRESIEDUTA DA S. E. L'ON. VITO LUCIANI, CHE AVRA' LUOGO GIOVEDI', VENTI CORRENTE ALLE ORE 18, ALLA STAZIONE DELLA LUZ.

SONO PREGATI TUTTI I CAPI DI AZIENDE E DITTE INDUSTRIALI E COMMERCIALI A VOLERSI COMPIACERE DI LASCIARE LIBERO IL LORO PERSONALE, ALLE ORE 16 DELLO STESSO GIORNO, AFFINCHE' OGNUNO POSSA PRENDER PARTE ALL'IMPONENTE DIMOSTRAZIONE DI OMAGGIO DOVUTA ALL'ALTO RAPPRESENTANTE DELLA PATRIA.

SAN PAOLO, 19 GIUGNO 1918.

Fanfulla, June 19, 1918

In the following weeks, *Fanfulla*, other Italian-language newspapers, prominent members of the Italian community in São Paulo and large popular demonstrations followed Luciani and his party to Italian immigrant mutual-aid societies, social welfare organizations, patriotic banquets, industrial plants and other venues around São Paulo and São Paulo state.

To be sure, there was significant concern within Italian immigrant communities about a loss of connections between São Paulo and Italy during the war. What remained of the Italian merchant marine faced attacks by Austro-Hungarian and German submarines. In mid-1916, Austria-Hungary sank the *Principe Umberto* on its route between the U.S. and Italy, prompting anti-German headlines in Italian-language publications in São Paulo.[422] Attacks increased the following year and included action against Brazilian ships like the downed *Paraná*.[423] Communication between Brazil and Europe also slowed during the war.[424] And for all their patriotic bluster, Italian immigrants in São Paulo still worried about negative perceptions of Brazil in Italy, which might receive support from failures in the recruitment drive.[425] Overall, the war altered the shape of interaction between São Paulo and Italy, but the discourse largely focused on increasing cultural, economic and diplomatic interaction spurred through war-time mobilization. In *Il Plata*, a similar discourse and exchange existed between the immigrant community and Italy, despite Argentina's neutrality and Uruguay's failure to declare war on Germany.

The period of the war also reinforced and stimulated interactions between Italians in São Paulo and *Il Plata.* Inter-American exchanges did not, however, occur with the same frequency as transatlantic ones. Nevertheless, but there was significant collaboration, competition and comparison between Italian communities in São Paulo and their counterparts in *Il* Plata through the war effort. And seemingly "bilateral" relations

[422] "Come il capitano Sartorio narra la perdita del 'Principe Umberto'," *Il piccolo*, July 29, 1916.
[423] "Da Rio di Janeiro; La pirateria tedesca nelle acque del sud dell'Atlantico," *Fanfulla*, April 1, 1917.
[424] "La difficoltà delle comunicazioni tra il Brasile e l'Europa," *Fanfulla*, March 7, 1917.
[425] "Lo Stato di S. Paulo giudicato da che l'ha visto e da chi non l'ha visto," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), October 31, 1918.

between São Paulo and *Il Plata* were in turn part of a larger set of multilateral interactions that linked Italian the "colonies" of the Americas.

Occasional evidence of the movement of people between São Paulo and *Il Plata* shows the type of interaction that could occur between the two regions, and among those regions and Italy. Italy-born Gaetano Pepe lived in Argentina before leading São Paulo's Dante Alighieri Society, and later served as an honorary consul for the government of Argentina in São Paulo.[426] Vittorio Cobianchi, a former consul for the Italian government in Montevideo, was Italy's ambassador to Argentina during the war and later became ambassador in Rio de Janeiro.[427] Brazilian senator Ruy Barbosa travelled a similar route when he spoke during the war in Buenos Aires "with all of his great Latin heart" in favor of the Allied cause.[428] His discourse appeared in Italian-language newspapers in Buenos Aires, Milan and São Paulo.

Captain Rodolfo Serrao also captured international attention from South America during the conflict. His "pilgrimage of propaganda" in 1917 on behalf the Italian war effort took him to meetings in Buenos Aires with the Progenie d'Italia association and at the Unione e Benevolenza society; to patriotic banquets, conferences and marches in Montevideo; and to São Paulo.[429] On June 30, 1917, *Fanfulla* published the transcript of an interview with Serrao about his journey.[430] Serrao explained the degree of patriotic fervor he had witnessed in Buenos Aires. He described the enthusiastic, flower-filled

[426] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità*, 212-213.
[427] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 518.
[428] "Come è giudicato in Italia Ruy Barbosa," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), November 30, 1916.
[429] "Il capitano avv. Rodolfo Serrao a San Paolo," *Fanfulla*, June 26, 1917.
[430] "Attraverso la Spagna, l'Argentina e l'Uruguay," *Fanfulla*, June 30, 1917.

sendoff he received during his departure from Montevideo. When asked about his impressions of São Paulo, he said, "But here I do not feel [I am] abroad," noting elements of São Paulo's architecture reminiscent of Italy and that, "it is the mother tongue that predominates." Serrao said his mission was precisely to drum up greater patriotic solidarity within and among places heavily populated with Italian immigrants.

Serrao was not the only soldier creating connections between São Paulo and *Il Plata*. As the opening paragraphs of this chapter described, troops from Buenos Aires and Montevideo on ships like the *Lombardo* received a warm patriotic welcome while their transport was moored in Santos.[431] Once the recruits from Brazil boarded the ships, they mixed with enlistees from *Il Plata*, evidenced in one instance by a June 1915 photo of a group of soldiers from Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo who posed on the *Tomaso di Savoia* in Gibraltar.

Figure 30: "Our reservists on board the *Tomasso di Savoia*"

I nostri riservisti a bordo del "Tomaso di Savoia,,

IL MAGGIORE ALFIERI FRA I RISERVISTI DA LUI ISTRUITI DURANTE IL VIAGGIO

Da Gibilterra, in data 1 febbraio scorso, ci è giunta la fotografia che riproduciamo e nella quale è ritratto il maggiore Francesco Giulio Cesare Alfieri in mezzo ad un gruppo di riservisti partiti da S. Paolo e Buenos Ayres ai quali durante il viaggio ha impartito le prime istruzioni militari.

Ecco i nomi dei riservisti che figurano nel gruppo:

1) Tommaso Morero di S. Paolo — 2) Camisassca Rinaldo di Buenos Ayres — 3) Remo D'Orsoena di S. Paolo — 4) Giuseppe Magna, parroco in Argentina, Buenos Ayres — 5) Maggior Alfieri, di S. Paolo — 6) Attilio Faccio di S. Paolo — 7) dott. Pietro Vanni di S. Paolo — 8) Icaro Pecanelli di Montevideo — 9) Osorio Gulfanti di Buenos Ayres — 10) Mariano Ganzalves di S. Paolo — Francesco Figuu di Buenos Ayres — 12) Rampinelli Gaetano di Buenos Ayres — 13) Tieri G. di Buenos Ayres — 14) Caccingià Uterico di Buenos Ayres.

Fanfulla, June 17, 1915

[431] "La grandiosa dimostrazione in onore dei riservisti a Santos," *Fanfulla*, June 21, 1917.

Such interaction was not uncommon on steamships crossing the Atlantic between Italy and South America. In a sentimental note published in *L'emigrante italiana in America* by Italian priest Francesco Carchia about his first voyage to South America, the traveler admitted his simultaneous sadness at leaving Italy behind and the thrill he received from "meeting many good people on board with whom I often stopped to talk."[432] Those people included Italian immigrants and children of Italians born in Argentina or Brazil to whom he sought to carry the word of Christ during the "middle passage" to Atlantic South America that all immigrants shared.

Advertisements promoting passenger traffic and postal services between São Paulo and *Il Plata* also revealed how inter-American movement and exchange could occur. Some passengers in 1917 might have been members of the Buenos Aires opera company Da Rosa-Mocchi, which performed "*Aida*" during a patriotic fundraiser in São Paulo. They might also have been laborers. In fact, during the war, there was an effort in São Paulo to create a formal worker exchange program between São Paulo and *Il Plata* that would formalize the movement of workers between the two regions to satisfy seasonal demand for agricultural labor. In late 1916, *Rivista coloniale* engaged in a transatlantic debate over this issue with *Corrispondenza settimanale*, a periodical published in Milan by Società Umanitaria. The former thought this exchange could alleviate cyclical surpluses and shortages of labor and increase wages, while the latter considered it a path toward labor exploitation reminiscent of subsidized migration.[433] *Rivista coloniale* argued that such

[432] "Il viaggio verso il Brasile," *L'emigrante italiana in America*, March, 15, 1915.
[433] "Ancora della mobilitazione del lavoro," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), November 30, 1916.

movement occurred anyway when economic cycles favored one region's labor market over the other, that Società Umanitaria was leaning on long-held misconceptions of Brazil, and that interaction was useful "so that the links that unite the two peoples will produce firmer and more intimate roots." For *Rivista coloniale*, a stronger diasporic consciousness among Italians in Atlantic South America would result from a transnational labor program.

Most interaction among Italian immigrant communities in São Paulo and *Il Plata* took place through publications. They carried news across borders, shared content and published correspondence from the other region.[434] São Paulo newspapers published stories from Argentina on immigration policies, Italian-language instruction in schools and the role of Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires municipal elections.[435] News form Uruguay appeared less frequently, although *Fanfulla* notably covered the meeting in Montevideo, described in Chapter 2, between Luciani and pro-war immigrants from Buenos Aires.[436] São Paulo periodicals did use the terms *Il Plata* and Rio de la Plata to refer to events in a broader region to its southwest. In connecting their residence in South America to transatlantic geopolitics, Italian writers in São Paulo discussed war-related issues between Italy and the Argentine and Uruguayan governments. For Uruguay, this meant Italo-Brazilians' celebration of its cutting diplomatic ties with Germany in 1917.[437] For Argentina, it meant disappointment with its neutrality and perceived pro-German stance.[438] These opinions mirrored those of *Il Plata* writers, mentioned in the previous

[434] "La Patria," *La civiltà latina*," February 3, 1917.
[435] "Emigrazione e Lingua," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), September 30, 1916; "Gli italiani e le elezioni municipali in Argentina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), April 30, 1918.
[436] "L'Ambasciata italiana a Montevideo," *Fanfulla*, September 10, 1918.
[437] "Titubanze Sud-Americane," *La civiltà latina*, May 5, 1917.
[438] "L'Argentina di fronte alla Germania," *Fanfulla*, April 14, 1917.

chapter, who discussed how Brazil's alliance with Italy could negatively impact the position of the italo-*platense* community among overseas Italians. Pro-war Italians around South America were cognizant of their relative standing within transatlantic and inter-American networks that connected Italian communities in the Italian South Atlantic.

An existing sense of comparison (and even competition) among Italian communities in São Paulo and *Il Plata* fed into the pro-war mobilization. Outside the war effort, comparisons dealt with perceptions about the relative opportunities communities offered to immigrants. It also occurred through perceptions of the degree of exchange that took place between different immigrant communities and Italy in terms of trade and remittances, back-and-forth migration and cultural endeavors. Piccarolo believed that Argentine propaganda in Italy not only advertised the virtues of Buenos Aires but spoke disparagingly of São Paulo.[439] He felt that conditions in Brazil were similar to Argentina and the United States in terms of land availability, sanitary conditions and otherwise. Gaetano Pepe was more positive, finding that Italians in Brazil and Argentina were "elevating the two wealthy regions to a height that in 400 years they had not managed to achieve."[440] Still, he believed that São Paulo immigrants had shown a greater ability to "establish themselves almost permanently" by building families, houses and businesses in Brazil. Meanwhile, economic competition between Italian communities was intense and expected to accelerate after the war.[441]

[439] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 21 and 34-37.
[440] Serpieri, *Un assertore d'italianità*, 475.
[441] "Le relazioni presentate all'Ambasciata della Camera Italiana di Commercio," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), July 31, 1918.

Within the mobilization drive, comparison and competition between Italians in Brazil and Argentina occurred especially through the loan programs. *Fanfulla* reported on successful fundraising strategies used in Argentina that could be replicated in São Paulo state.[442] Near the end of the war, *Fanfulla* celebrated large bond purchases in São Paulo that were "in parallel with the subscription results of Buenos Aires." The newspaper went on to say:

> It is true in fact that in Buenos Aires they collected 123 million, but everyone understands that the slight difference of less than two million, represents instead a title of honor for the Italian community in Brazil that is not as numerous nor as rich as that of the Argentine Republic.

Comparisons of troop enlistment numbers were notably absent in *Fanfulla* and other Brazilian newspapers, not surprisingly since recruitment was much lower in São Paulo. A post-war retrospective published in Buenos Aires that wrote of pro-war efforts throughput South America was open about the relative "indifference," "hostility" and "obstacles" that had confronted Italo-Brazilian recruitment.[443] There was plenty of praise, however, for other activities in the "*città italianissima di San Paolo*," or "most-Italian city of São Paulo."[444] Those leading the war effort in São Paulo and *Il Plata* viewed their relationship as equally competitive and collaborative, and the subject of mutual appreciation.

[442] "Il Prestito Nazionale Italiano è un buon affare," *Fanfulla*, January 27, 1918.
[443] Arigoni and Barbieri, *Gli italiani nel Sud America*, 515.
[444] Ibid.

4.5 MOBILIZATION IN THE ITALIAN SOUTH ATLANTIC

An examination of the war period in Greater São Paulo reveals the scope and limits of immigrants' pro-war activities. There was a fervent response by some Italians to support their country of origin during the conflict. Pro-war activities and institutions were broadly similar, despite some subtle differences, to those organized simultaneously in *Il Plata*. However, in addition to some subtle distinctions, the perceived presence of a German immigrant threat in Brazil led São Paulo's Italian communities to color their mobilization drive with deeper shades of racialized ethnic conflict. Disparaging remarks against German immigrants overlapped with notions of Italian superiority. A corresponding pursuit by Italians of ethnic solidarity with "Latin" and pro-Allied groups received reinforcement from Brazil's entry into the conflict in 1917, an event that produced further distinctive elements between the two region's pro-war activities. Nevertheless, the effort in São Paulo was smaller and less "popular" than in *Il Plata*. Recruitment numbers in Brazil were lower and seemingly concentrated among urban middle classes, while São Paulo's wealthy Italian-born industrialists dominated the rolls of loan contributors.

Study of the *italo-paulista* war effort reveals the diversity of transatlantic communication, transportation and financial networks used to channel funds, goods and nationalistic sentiment between Italy and South America. It also sheds light on a history of cross-border interaction in São Paulo and *Il Plata*. Inter-American interactions appear less intense and frequent than transatlantic ones, but impactful nonetheless in

emphasizing shared notions of belonging. Indeed, the line between São Paulo and *Il Plata* could blur from the perspective of Italy, where

> …very often it happens, even among learned people, to find someone who makes no distinction between Brazil and Argentina, believing it is one country… For the great majority of the public … Brazil and Argentina, they are together a large country called America.[445]

As the war began, the recent experience of Italian immigration served to some as the source of connectivity and solidarity between *Il Plata* and Brazil, and between those countries and Italy.[446] The discourse included statements that connected immigrant communities across borders in Atlantic South America and encouraged a thickening of diasporic consciousness. Events like the visits of Italian recruitment ships to ports throughout the region were physical manifestations of this conception. Solidarity did not preclude competition among Italian communities to carve a distinctive and prominent place within a dispersed population of overseas Italians who participated in the mobilization that occurred throughout the Italian South Atlantic.

Efforts to engender a diasporic consciousness and connect Italian immigrant communities across borders through the war effort were not confined to the area of Atlantic South America that is the focus of this project. Even before Italy entered the war, *Rivista coloniale* juxtaposed the European conflict, pan-Americanism and Italian immigration.[447] By October 1915, it spoke of Italians suffering "also in America" as a result of the war, while after the war it believed that Italian economic expansion could reach

[445] Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, 19.
[446] "Il Brasile e l'Argentina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 16, 1915.
[447] "Una proposta generosa in favore delle vittime della guerra" and "Pel diritto internazionale e per la solidarietà americana," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 1, 1915; "Il Brasile e l'Argentina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), January 16, 1915.

further into "Latin America" with help from immigrant communities.[448] In the meantime, *Fanfulla* reported on troop mobilizations and rallies in the United States.[449] *Il piccolo* discussed the adoption of the black list against German goods in Argentina, Chile, the United States and Uruguay.[450] *Vita coloniale* made reference to a statement in June 1918 that offered "the applause of the [Italian] government to the Colonies of South America" for their loan contributions. The article made specific reference to contributions in Argentina, Brazil and Peru that "attest once again the degree of prosperity that our Colonies have amassed and the prominent economic importance that they have acquired."[451] This and many other sources suggest that the loan programs were the part of the war effort with the greatest material impact. Some reasons that other parts of the mobilization were less successful will be addressed in the next chapter's review of anti-war sentiment within the Italian communities of Atlantic South America.

[448] "La guerra, la fuga dell'oro e l'America" and "Espansione economica italiana verso l'America Latina," *Rivista coloniale* (São Paulo), October 1, 1915.
[449] "Rivisti italiani dal Nord-America," *Fanfulla*, June 5, 1915; "Una manifestazione italo-americana," *Fanfulla*, June 15, 1917; "L'affondamento del vapore 'Ancona'," *Fanfulla*, November 11, 1915.
[450] "Un progetto di legge contro l'applicazione della 'lista nera'," *Il piccolo*, August 5, 1916.
[451] "Il plauso del governo alle Colonie del Sud America per il contribuito al Prestito," *Vita coloniale*, June 15, 1918.

5.0 WAR'S ANTAGONISTS IN ATLANTIC SOUTH AMERICA

The Great War took place during a period of intense social discord and ideological polarization. This context helps to explain the emergence of a strident opposition to the war within Italian immigrant communities in Atlantic South America. Yet the anti-war movement is also a lens through which one can view the social and ideological conflicts of the time. For the rhetoric and actions surrounding the mobilization in Atlantic South America against World War I present very different views of local, regional, transatlantic and even global events and circumstances relative to those held by the pro-war advocates. From the perspective of those who aligned themselves with organized labor, the war and the militarization of society represented the depraved triumph of institutions of inequality that included the nation-state, liberal or dictatorial government, and bourgeois capitalism. However, some anti-war advocates thought the war might presage the collapse of those structures and the advent of social revolution.

Labor unions and confederations did not maintain a unified front in the 1910s. They had varying opinions of the methods required for effective social mobilization and different visions for the ideal outcomes that could come from collective action by the working classes. By the 1910s, socialists in Latin America had established robust political parties, leaders that participated in national politics and a platform largely based on social

reform and the advancement of workers' rights through the existing political system.[452] Anarchists saw socialists as sell-outs to the political establishment, excessively pacifist and too reform-minded to bring meaningful change to workers' lives. They favored revolutionary action that would undermine political, economic and social systems and the "global order."[453] By the 1910s, anarchism's position at the vanguard of revolutionary actions was under threat from the rise of syndicalism, which favored greater centralization of workers' movements into powerful confederations that could take over the factors of production.[454] Communism, meanwhile, would not take a meaningful hold within the workers' movement until after the war.[455] Each of these factions had a presence within Italian immigrant communities in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.[456] They collaborated with groups throughout Europe and the Americas that had similar ideological points of view.

[452] Charles A. Ameringer, *The Socialist Impulse: Latin America in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009); Cândido Feitosa, *Socialismo e democracia* (Fortaleza: Omni Editora, 2012); Cristina Noble, *Juan B. Justo: El patriarca socialista* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2006).
[453] Lars Peterson, "From Anarchists to 'Anarcho-Batllistas:' Populism and Labor Legislation in Uruguay," in Geoffroy de Laforcade and Kirwin Shaffer, eds., *In Defiance of Boundaries: Anarchism in Latin American History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 117-141; Méndez Pacheco and Nelson Enrique, "Anarchism in Latin America: History, Characteristics," *Estudios: Revista de pensamiento libertario* 2 (2012); José Moya, "Anarchism," in Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the mid-19th Century to the Present Day* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 40.
[454] Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt, eds., *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social* Revolution (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
[455] Hernán Camarero, *A la conquista de la clase obrera: Los comunistas y el mundo del trabajo en la Argentina, 1920-1935* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2007).
[456] Luigi Biondi, *Classe e nacão: Trabalhadores e socialistas italianos em São Paulo, 1890-1920* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2011); John Starosta Galante, "Parallel Transformations: Labor and Government in Argentina, 1915-1922," *Revista de ciencias sociales* 30 (2013), 9-44; Turcato, *Italian Anarchism*, 407-444; Hugo Mancuso and Armando Minguzzi, *Entre el fuego y la rosa: Pensamiento social italiano en Argentina: Utopías anarquistas y programas socialistas (1870-1920)* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Biblioteca Nacional, 1999).

Within this environment, and a vocal portion of the Italian communities of Atlantic South America, grew a different set of responses to Italy's participation in World War I from those described in the previous two chapters. Propaganda pitched against the recruitment of Italian soldiers in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo built upon anti-war and anti-militarist views associated with prevailing working-class ideologies of the early twentieth century. Hatred of Italian nationalism and the Italian immigrants who promulgated it drove opposition to war-related collections and loans programs. Many working-class Italians despised the war effort just as they despised the immigrant bourgeoisie's leadership, press, institutions of civil society and social gatherings in general. Those opposed to the war sought to build solidarity among anti-war factions as they confronted counter-attacks by pro-war groups. Italian opponents of the war received encouragement from other immigrant communities and native-born residents of their cities who contested the war and Italy's participation in it. The anti-war effort often blurred the lines of ethnic division that the pro-war factions sought to emphasize.

The anti-war effort also stimulated collaboration across the region, the Americas and the Atlantic Ocean. Notions of international solidarity and social revolution were central components of the anti-war mobilization by Italian immigrant groups and their non-Italian collaborators. Their symbols, heroes, methods and ambitions often served as direct counterpoints to those of pro-war advocates. The transnational movement against the Italian war effort (and the broader European conflict) involved the organization of conferences, the circulation of newspapers and propaganda around Atlantic South America, and the publication in working-class periodicals of anti-war activities occurring

elsewhere. These activities faced sizeable obstacles, ranging from censorship to the splintering of the Socialist international as a result of the war. However, the pro-war mobilization's setbacks legitimated certain claims of success by the anti-war movement within Italian immigrant communities.

5.1 *ABAIXO A GUERRA!; ¡ABAJO LA GUERRA!*; *ABBASSO LA GUERRA!*: THE ANTI-WAR MILIEU

On August 2, 1914, amidst a succession of declarations of war by European powers, São Paulo's *A Lanterna* published an article on its front page entitled "Abaixo a guerra!," or "Down with the War!"[457] The Portuguese-language periodical, which described itself as "anti-clerical" and "battle-ready," advertised an upcoming protest at the city's Largo da Sé central square "against the bloodthirsty and warring fury of the great powers." The article called for all enlightened men to join large groups in Europe protesting against "this monstrosity—which is the war." Four days later, *La Protesta*, the leading anarchist daily in Buenos Aires, published a manifesto from the Argentine Regional Labor Federation (FORA) calling for a "virile protest against the war."[458] The manifesto, to be circulated around Argentina and "neighboring countries" declared that:

> Workers! Russians, Austrians, Germans, Serbs, Englishmen, Belgians, Italians, Montenegrins, Frenchmen and Portuguese, before the capitalism that enslaves us we are brothers, and we do not have reason to defend the interests of politicians and bankers.

[457] "Abaixo a guerra," *A Lanterna*, August 2, 1914.
[458] "La organización obrera; Ante la guerra," *La Protesta*, August 6, 1914.

The manifesto ended with the words, "¡Abajo la guerra!," or "Down with the War!" Subsequently, in July 1915, Montevideo's *La Batalla* acknowledged "A Year of Tragedy" in a headline on its front page.[459] The anarchist biweekly bemoaned the horrors of a war for which "red and dry eyes" could no longer cry and said "the people are the inexhaustible supplier of flesh that keep the ranks always filled."

Ideological currents from organized labor shaped the anti-war movement throughput Atlantic South America. Anti-war activities became a central focus of the Anarchist movement, while groups organized around other ideological principles were less consistent in their opposition. Socialist participation in the anti-war movement varied just as it did in Europe, where German and French socialists joined the war effort, but socialists in other places might still favor worker internationalism over nationalism. Syndicalists in South America might oppose the war in principle, but tended to organize collective action to confront local issues. Radical religious groups, meanwhile, used humanist views to reject all forms of violence. Echoing many protests against the European conflict, a contributor to Buenos Aires periodical *Acción Democrática*, a pro-worker religious publication, wrote in September 1914, "Social action requires an environment of peace, and today we do not have peace."[460] War, it argued, paralyzed and even reversed processes of social change by positioning "clouds of blood" over them. Brazil's *O Cosmopolita*, which represented urban service industry employees, referred to the war as "homicide" and argued that support for the conflict was the result of

[459] "Un año de tragedia; Nuestro pensar," *La Batalla*, 2nd half of July, 1915.
[460] "¡Maldita sea!," *Acción Democrática*, September 20, 1914.

"ignorance."[461] Its writers felt that resources wasted on the war should instead be used to create employment, develop industry and generate "progress." Uruguay's *La Batalla* argued that it sided with "neither Germanophiles, nor Francophiles, nor neutrals…we, as Anarchists, are against the war itself."[462]

Italian-language labor periodicals also spoke out against the war in general in 1914 and in a more targeted way when Italy joined the conflict. On May Day in 1915, just before Italy's declaration of war, the inaugural issue of *La canaglia*, the mouthpiece of the anarchist Fascio Rivoluzionario Italiano (FRI) in Buenos Aires, spoke of the need to organize against the war, ending one article with the phase, "Abbasso la guerra!," or "Down with the War!"[463] Italian Socialists in São Paulo, through their periodical *Avanti!*, denounced the "macabre dance of the war" and its perverse ability to establish "the legality of crime."[464]

For labor periodicals large and small, written in a variety of languages, there were deep ideological grounds for their opposition to the war. The conflict ran counter to central tenets of anarchist and Marxist beliefs that predominated in Atlantic South America's labor movements. Prominent among those tenets was a committed opposition by organized labor to the militarization of society and the horrors militarization could perpetrate. During the 1910s, Montevideo's *La Batalla* was among the fiercest critics in Atlantic South America of militarization on both sides of the Atlantic, describing it as an

[461] "A guerra," *O Cosmopolita*, June 1, 1917.
[462] "Contra la guerra," *La Batalla*, September 20, 1917.
[463] "Ai riservisti italiani residenti nell'Argentina," *La canaglia*, May 1, 1915.
[464] "La baldoria del sangue si estende," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), April 21, 1917.

infectious "fever."[465] In late 1915, the newspaper declared "war on militarism" and participated in the activities of the Uruguay Anti-Militarist League.[466] This was partly due to Uruguayan government debates over mandatory military service. But *La Batalla* contributors connected those debates to the war and a global shift toward greater militarism. They emphasized the contradictory labeling of anarchists as perpetrators of violence by governments who meanwhile participated in a mass slaughter on the battlefield.[467] By the end of 1917, the newspaper warned that "the triumph of the Allied countries' militarism would be as dangerous as the triumph of detestable German militarism."[468] In either case, the proletariat would be the victim and loser.

Figure 31: "Before; After"

La Batalla, 1st Half of May, 1916

[465] "Del momento," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of July, 1915.
[466] "¡Guerra al militarismo!"; "Bases de la Liga Anti Militarista del Uruguay," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of October, 1915.
[467] "Ellos y nosotros," *La Batalla*, 1st Half of October, 1916.
[468] "La bancarrota de la burguesia," *La Batalla*, December 20, 1917.

Other periodicals highlighted the horrors of the war as evidence of militarism's ills. At Buenos Aires Italian-language Anarchist weekly *La rivolta*, one contributor wrote of the "brutal killing" and "disgrace" that affected civilians, and women and children in particular.[469] Near the end of the war, it printed on its front page a sketch of a group of destitute children on a war-torn street with a field of crosses in the background, and a title that read, "Where are our fathers?"[470] This was one of many such illustrations.

Figure 32: "The ghosts of the rubble"


Gli spettri delle macerie

Italia, Francia, il Bèlgio, la Germania, l'Europa tutta, e gli altri continenti non sono ridotti ad altro che a un mucchio di rovine fumanti dalle quali s'alza e si eleva al cielo l'imprecazione...

Tutto ciò che lo studio e la volontà e il genio degli uomini costruisse è oggi abbattuto, polverizzato dagli uomini stessi.

E mentre nelle pianure maledette, su pei monti insanguinati, nel cielo azzurro dal quale sono scomparsi spaventati gli uccelli, tuonano gli ordigni d'acciaio e vomitano la morte, fra le macerie dei casolari spezzati vagolano — tragiche visioni — le vedove e gli orfanelli, chiedendosi forse, inebetiti, il perché di tanta bestialità, la ragione di tanta infamia.

E l'umanità animale non è ancora sazia di sangue! Quando i popoli insorgeranno ad imporre: Basta?

La rivolta, October 14, 1917

São Paulo's leading anarchist newspaper, *Guerra sociale*, described the war as "pointless carnage," a "futile massacre" and a "slaughter." [471] Most working-class periodicals relentlessly printed this type of anti-war propaganda from the assassination of Franz Joseph in 1914 through the Treaty of Versailles five years later.

The vehement anti-war positions in these periodicals had deep roots in class conflict and a vitriolic hatred (especially by anarchists) of the institutions and values of

[469] "Vittime della guerra," *La rivolta*, September 9, 1917.
[470] "Dove sono i nostri padri?," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.
[471] "1° maggio 1917," *Guerra sociale*, May 1, 1917; "Le cose che non ti capisco bene" and "Il Mattatoio," *Guerra sociale*, June 3, 1916.

the establishment. Contributors believed that those same institutions and values were leading causes of the slaughter. In direct contrast to the rhetoric employed by pro-war advocates, the terms "nation," "nationalism," "*patria*" and "patriotism" were the most common targets of anti-war derision. *La Protesta* used particularly harsh language to ridicule these institutions and ideas, although most labor periodicals shared their view. On one occasion, *La Protesta* addressed "the idea of the *patria*, that after the idea of God, is what has caused the most suffering to mankind," and referred to the nation as the subject of "superstitions."[472] Another article argued that "a cannon" lay at the heart of any justification, support or respect for a nation.[473] *La Protesta* argued that devotion to any *patria* was the primary cause for the war.[474] Notions of collectivism related to racial or national identities were abstract constructs built on violence. *La Obra*, an illustrated biweekly published by *La Protesta*, charged that "the religion of 'Patriotism' has replaced, for many, the religion of Christianity."[475] *La Obra* described patriotism as a "cult," anarchists as "antipatriots … desecrating the sanctuary," and military officers being "gradually pushed toward moral anesthesia." The nation was the primary source of working-class repression and misery.

Labor periodicals pinned the greediness of monarchies, governments and the bourgeoisie on the outbreak of the war and its devastating effects on workers.[476] Writers

[472] "La idea de patria," *La Protesta*, April 20, 1915.
[473] "El refugio de la muerte," *La Protesta*, October 6, 1915.
[474] "La patria y la guerra," *La Protesta*, April 22, 1916; "Patriotismo grotesco," *La Protesta*, November 7, 1916.
[475] "El militarismo," *La Obra*, 2nd Half of August, 1915.
[476] "A ordem do dia," *Na Barricada*, October 21, 1915; "La bancarotta de la civilización burguesa," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of January, 1916; "La canaglia," *La canaglia*, May 1, 1917.

took aim at Christianity and imperialism as foundations of the war's brutality.[477] Above all, working-class leaders and intellectuals criticized capitalism, "usurers" and "speculators" for sparking and perpetuating violence in Europe and economic crisis in South America.[478] Part of the anguish voiced by working-class protestors during the war related to the conflict's tearing apart in months the internationalist solidarity it had taken decades to build.[479] Yet there were also material concerns spurring the anti-war movement. The newspapers argued that government resources should be allocated to social welfare programs rather than instruments of war.[480] A seed of hope in an otherwise desperate setting was the belief by some that the crises of the war, suffered by the proletariat on both sides of the Atlantic, created the conditions in which social revolution could triumph.[481] Such hopes received a boost from the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Public demonstrations and rallies were another component of anti-war protest in Atlantic South America, one that was perhaps more visible to mainstream society. Rallies served as a forum for solidarity among labor organizations with different ideological points of view. This was the case in Brazil, where the anti-war movement triggered

[477] "La guerra" and "Los anarquistas y la guerra," *La Obra*, May 20, 1917; "La nostra orientazione rivoluzionari in rapporto alla grande Guerra di liquidazione capitalista," *Guerra sociale*, November 13, 1915.
[478] "Alba sangrenta," *A Lanterna*, August 15, 1914; "A guerra europea é uma guerra de negociantes," *A Lanterna*, January 28, 1916; "Lo que enseña la guerra; Explotación del patriotism—Una empresa criminal," *La Protesta*, March 5, 1915.
[479] "Notitas a la guerra," *Voluntad,* June 16, 1915; "Por el internacionalismo" and "Las anarquistas y la guerra europea," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of October 1915; "La baldoria del sangue si estende," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), April 21, 1917.
[480] "A guerra," *O Cosmopolita*, January 1, 1917.
[481] "Al margen della guerra," *La Protesta*, February 11, 1917; "Folletín de 'Voluntad'; ¡Contra la guerra, contra la paz, por la Revolución!," *Voluntad*, November 19, 1915; "Frente la guerra, la revolución," *La Batalla*, September 30, 1917; "Consequencias da guerra das nações," *A Lanterna*, February 13. 1915.

attempts by anarchists and socialists to coordinate their efforts.[482] In São Paulo, the Socialist-leaning *Avanti!* served as a linchpin in this effort. In September 1916, the newspaper published an open letter to São Paulo's anarchists urging them to find a "solution to the conflict" between rival working-class institutions.[483] When organizing a rally in March the following year, it deliberated the possibility of "solidarity between dogs and cats."[484] In mid-1916, meanwhile, São Paulo anarchists reported on a rally in the Brás neighborhood (held at the same time as a pro-war assembly in the city center) and expressed "great satisfaction" with the anti-war position of the Brazilian Socialist Party.[485]

Similar efforts to bring diverse working-class groups together for anti-war protests occurred in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. This was the case especially in 1917, when debate raged over the potential entry of South American countries into the war. *La Batalla* wrote that in response to the threat of Uruguay's declaration of war, "from all of the neighborhoods, with regularity, [workers] come to organize conferences." [486] Its sponsor, the Uruguayan Regional Workers Federation (FORU), had a prominent place at these meetings. In Buenos Aires, workers groups formed an anti-war committee to organize collective efforts against the war, including a general strike in May 1917 opposing the conflict.[487] FORA and its *La Protesta* newspaper led this effort as they had anti-war rallies since 1914.

[482] "Congresso Internacional da Paz," *Na Barricada*, October 21, 1915.
[483] "Aos anarchistas da 'Guerra sociale'," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), September 30, 1916.
[484] "Conferenza di propaganda," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), March 10, 1917.
[485] "Echi d'un comizio," *Guerra sociale*, June 3, 1916.
[486] "Agitación antiguerra," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of April, 1917.
[487] "A la huelga general—Contra la guerra" and "Pro-Comité contra la guerra," *La Protesta*, May 8, 1917.

Figure 33: "Today's great rally against the war"

Año XVIII. Núm. 2812 Buenos Aires, domingo 16 de Agosto de 1914 CORTE PÁGO Número suelto: 5 centavos

LA PROTESTA

La gran manifestación de hoy contra la guerra

Los trabajadores, sin distinción de nacionalidades, exteriorizan sus sentimientos de confraternidad

Columnas parciales: Parque Patricios y Plaza Herrera

Concentración de las columnas: Plaza Constitución, a las 3 p. m.

Trabajadores: Cuando los gobiernos declaran la guerra de nación á nación, los proletarios, que no tenemos ni podemos tener patriotismo, porque la miseria nos hace cosmopolitas, obli- pulsado por una obsesión, y levantará su voz alto, bien alto, en una vibración que tiene dos significados grandiosos en el espacio y en el tiempo

simpatía de los hombres de bien. La igualdad.

No es el espíritu antiguerrero, pacifista, conservador, el que se levanta contra la barbarie militarista, que el

del sepulcro ¿cómo no estar en vuestros mitines, en este mitin a cuya organización yo también he cooperado?...

Estaré con vosotros compañeros hasta que con un gesto de desdén olímpico se me arrojéis a puntapiés de vuestro lado.

La Protesta, August 16, 1914

In the above announcement, *La Protesta* asked that "workers, without distinction of nationalities, demonstrate their feelings of brotherhood" in opposition to the conflict. This newspaper was not alone in seeking to erase lines drawn between ethnic groups in order to create a more united anti-war movement. Unity meant collaboration among the Italian immigrant community, workers born in the Americas, and other large immigrant populations like the Spanish. During the war, São Paulo's *Guerra sociale* increasingly became a multi-lingual newspaper seemingly representing a multi-lingual anarchist movement. Its offices sold books written in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. The newspaper regularly published articles in all three languages, including a letter in Portuguese "to mothers" who should not permit their sons, whatever their ethnic background, to support the war. [488]

[488] "Ás mãis," *Guerra sociale*, April 29, 1916.

Figure 34: Spanish, Italian and Portuguese Books Available from *Guerra Sociale*

Opuscoli in vendita presso questa amministrazione

Idioma spagnuolo

a 500 rs.

P. Kropotckine. — *El Estado.*
Eliseo Reclus. — *El porvenir de nuestros hijos.*
P. G. Proudhon. — *Psicologia de la revolución.*
Leon Tolstoi. — *El derecho á la vida.*
R. Vera. — *Catecismo Libre Pensador.*
El cancionero revolucionario (Italiano e spagnuolo).

Idioma italiano

a 200 rs.

Leon Tolstoi — *37 ore di lavoro.*
E De Amicis. — *A una Signora.*

Idioma portoghese

B. Bethencourt. — *Catecismo Atheu 200 rs.*
E. Malatesta. — *Pogramma socialista anarchista revolucionario*
Eliseo Rechlus. — *Evolução e Revolução 1$000.*
Carlos Dias. — *Semeando para colher, 200 rs.*

Saranno spediti a chiunque ne farà richiesta al prezzo sopra indicato.

Guerra sociale, June 23, 1917

Another article, referring to Europe's "fields of honor" as "dreadful dunghills" and "piles of flesh," was written in Spanish, but mistakenly included the Portuguese form of "with" ("com"), "words" ("palavras"), "pride" ("orgulho") and other words.[489] Such mistakes were common in what was ostensibly an Italian-language publication. Although anarchist contributors might not recognize the existence of a "Latin" world, they sometimes lived in one from a linguistic perspective. São Paulo's *Avanti!* also published in Portuguese on occasion.[490]

Similar linguistic hybridity existed in Buenos Aires publications. *La rivolta* occasionally "yelled" its anti-war propaganda in Spanish both at rallies and in its columns to confront "the ignorance" of its opponents who did not understand Italian.[491] The native

[489] "El campo de honor," *Guerra sociale*, October 14, 1916.
[490] "Cronaca del lavoro; Operários desperate" and "A moderna lucta de classes," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 13, 1917.
[491] "Los días históricas," *La rivolta*, October 14, 1917.

Argentine-led FORA and the Italian immigrant-led FRI organized rallies collaboratively, according to the latter's *La canaglia*.[492] When that newspaper closed (and the FRI disbanded) in 1917, the FORA's *La Protesta* began to publish a section in Italian.[493] Across the Rio de la Plata, the predominantly Spanish-language *La Batalla* similarly reached out directly to its Italian readership, notably with an anti-war poem written in Italian that used the cadence of a machine gun as it spoke of "the terrible cannon" and "heroic assassins."[494] The ideological environment of this multi-ethnic and multi-denominational labor movement was fervently anti-militarist, anti-government, anti-patriotic, anti-bourgeois, anti-capitalist and anti-war. Italian immigrants were significant participants in this movement before, but especially after, Italy's entrance into the conflict.

5.2 "*NON DATE NIENTE!*"[495]: ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS AGAINST THE WAR EFFORT

Within this anti-war environment, many Italian immigrants participating in the labor movement organized opposition to the Italian war effort. They protested on two fronts: against Italy's involvement in the war, and in opposition to the "local" pro-war mobilization within immigrant communities. Outgunned in terms of resources and access to media, the Italian anti-war movement nevertheless claimed to achieve some victories against its rivals. At the very least, it could claim to have caused widespread passive

[492] "Contro la guerra," *La canaglia*, 1st Half of January, 1916.
[493] "Il Fascio Rivoluzionario Italiano; Necessità di riorganizzarlo," *La Protesta*, March 29, 1917.
[494] "Dopo la guerra," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of April, 1917.
[495] "Don't Give Anything!": Title of an article in *Guerra sociale* on December 30, 1916.

resistance that led immigrants to ignore repeated calls by the Italian government and pro-war groups for overseas Italians to support the war.

Figure 35: "Italy" Seeking to Stir the Italian "Colony" of São Paulo

Il pasquino coloniale, February 7, 1917

Italian, Portuguese and Spanish labor periodicals in Atlantic South America consistently targeted Italy's participation in the conflict. They skewered Italian nationalism and its symbols in an effort to undermine the justifications for the war. São Paulo's *Avanti!* warned readers of "patriotic mystification" built around the war effort.[496] The Italian section of *La Protesta* portrayed Italy not as a "Fatherland" but an abusive stepmother.[497] A contributor to *Guerra sociale* picked apart contradictions in the Italian national anthem and argued that patriotism only served to "excuse and pardon" the

[496] "La manifestazione nazionale di domenica," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), September 30, 1916.
[497] "Il Fascio Rivoluzionario," *La Protesta*, March 29, 1917.

Italian government's abuses.[498] Ahead of the September 20th Italian national holiday in 1916, the newspaper published an anti-war manifesto that made reference to "the illusions of the moment" and the "damned propaganda of hate" associated with the war effort.[499] As it spoke of Italian nationalism, the manifesto argued that:

> It has been said and written that this [war] is in defense of the principle of nationality. But it is not the war that can establish this for all: the people [have] the right to their own nationality, because the war marks the boundaries of the nations with the sword, and draws [borders] where the victorious armies stop.

The manifesto argued for the right to self-rule in places like Morocco, Ireland, Alsace-Lorraine, much of Asia—and Trieste.

There was a strong anti-irredentist protest within the anti-war movement. Labor periodicals believed that the suffering and "slavery" of working classes would be the same under either the Austro-Hungarian or Italian government.[500] Italian King Victor Emmanuel III was a common target for those seeking to discredit the idea of Italy, notions of *italianità* and the pursuit of Italian unification. Critics described the so-called "Soldier King" as illegitimate and backward-looking, mocked him in cartoons for the disconnect between his diminutive stature (he was roughly five feet tall) and his wartime bravura, and in one instance called for the appearance of another Gaetano Bresci.[501] (Bresci had assassinated Victor Emmanuel's father, Umberto I, in 1900.) For many participants in the Italian anti-war movement, the image of men like Bresci and deceased anarchist hero Pietro Gori

[498] "Quale coraggio!," *Guerra sociale*, August 19, 1916.
[499] "XX Settembre; Per la nostra guerra e per la pace," *Guerra sociale*, August 26, 1916.
[500] "Paradojas políticas; ¿Los pueblos irredentos?," *La Protesta*, March 21, 1916; "Contro la guerra," *La canaglia*, August 15, 1915.
[501] "I generali Cadorna nella storia dell'Italia," *Il pasquino coloniale*, October 9, 1915; "Per l'onore e la gloria d'Italia," *La canaglia*, June 1, 1915; "La valorzzazione del re," *Guerra sociale*, November 13, 1915.

served to counter nationalist images of men like Garibaldi that filled the pages of the mainstream Italian-language press in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo.

Figure 36: A Tribute to Gaetano Bresci

1900 — 29 LUGLIO — 1915

29 Luglio.

Una invettiva

Gaetano Bresci

che raccogliendo il suo cuore
le lacrime e l'odio
dalle madri, delle spose e dei figli
dei massacrati dal regio piombo
nelle stragi di Sicilia e di Milano
insegno ai codardi
come si puniscono gli assassini del popolo

La canaglia, July 28, 1915

More tangible anti-war activities in these cities began with active opposition to the recruitment drive. In Buenos Aires, *La canaglia*'s propaganda against military mobilization in 1915 was particularly severe. The newspaper's contributors turned the pro-war discourse on its head by arguing that it was Italian immigrants' *dovere*, or duty, to encourage desertion.[502] It referred to soldiers killed in action as *nostri morti*, or our dead, rather than *nostri caduti*, or our fallen [soldiers], as the pro-war press did.[503] *La canaglia* highlighted the poor conditions on the ships carrying recruits from South America to Italy and the hunger that troops experienced at the front.[504] It connected these conditions to typical circumstances of the working classes in Italy, reminding

[502] "Oggi, domani e sempre," *La canaglia*, 1st Half of July, 1915.
[503] "I nostri morti,"October 13, 1915.
[504] "Riservisti italiani in guardia!," *La canaglia*, July 28, 1915.

potential recruits that it was those conditions that had led them or their parents to leave their place of birth. *La canaglia* published poems that emphasized the brutality of war. It emphasized the abandonment of wives and children by the recruits, as did Montevideo's *La Batalla*.[505] São Paulo's *Guerra sociale* referred to enlisted soldiers as "cretins" for leaving their families and livelihoods, criticized younger recruits for abandoning mothers, and even chastised mothers who allowed sons to enlist.[506]

The use of familial guilt to discourage immigrants from joining the Italian army was a common theme in letters published by working-class newspapers during the war. In October 1915, *La Batalla* printed a letter in Spanish entitled "Sons, do not return!" that it said was from "Italian mothers, to their emigrant sons in the two Americas.[507] Denouncing inequality in Italian society and corruption in government, it ended with the exclamation, "Sons: by the sacred love of your mother who conceived you and in pain brought you into being…do not return." That same month, across the Rio de la Plata, *La Protesta* published a series of letters from Italian reservists that spoke of the uselessness and the brutality of the war for those who had returned.[508] It was relentless in its opposition to the Italian recruitment effort, writing upon the departure of the *Indiana* steamship with some 500 reservists on board:

> *¡Chao amigos!* Kill yourselves quickly, since the bread that you eat is lacking for those that in the future will be more conscious, more rebellious, more masculine, than you have been. Leave, there are more of you in the

[505] "Guerra e miseria," *La canaglia*, June 1, 1915; "Il soldato che parte per il macello," *La canaglia*, 1st Half of July, 1915.
[506] "I primi frutti," *Guerra sociale*, November 13, 1915; "La menzogna dell'amore materno," *Guerra sociale*, April 29, 1916.
[507] "Hijos, no volvaís!," *La Batalla*, 1st Half of October, 1915.
[508] "Carta de una reservista," *La Protesta*, October 22, October 24, October 26, October 27, 1915.

> world; you are not worth even the coal that is used for the crossing that carries you to the slaughterhouse.[509]

Anti-war newspapers expressed satisfaction at enlistment numbers they perceived as low. As early as September 1915, *La canaglia* noted that among Italian immigrants, "the hatred for the German has not manifested itself thousands of miles away."[510] Roughly a year later, it published an article with the headline, "*Viva la diserzione*," or "Long Live Desertion," although it lamented that more deserters had not come forward to participate in the anti-war movement. *Guerra sociale* spoke of hundreds of thousands of "neutralists" living in Brazil and half a million deserters around the Americas that had refused the directives of the Italian government.[511] In 1917, *Avanti!* praised São Paulo's deserters for holding their ground and questioned the legality of a recent expansion of conscription orders to include older Italian citizens.[512] In Montevideo, *La Batalla* offered support to those deserters who refused to participate in Europe's "holocaust."[513] In Buenos Aires *La rivolta* wrote of a group of 30,000 reservists that refused to depart for Italy and the "Olympian indifference" of much of the Italian community relative to the war effort.[514] It only wished that "those of us who have not wanted to stain our hands with the blood of other peoples" would collaborate to confront the pro-war movement more directly and in greater numbers.

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[509] "Los reservistas," *La Protesta*, April 29, 1916.
[510] "I richiamati non partono," *La canaglia*, September 19, 1915.
[511] "I primi frutti," *Guerra sociale*, November 13, 1915.
[512] "Il patriottismo di lor signori," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 27, 1917.
[513] "Desertores," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of February, 1917.
[514] "Contro la guerra: per la rivoluzione!," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.

After the 1915 recruitment drive, Italians and others opposed to the war targeted other activities of the pro-war mobilization, including the editorials, rallies, speeches, goods collections and loan programs described in previous chapters. Underlying these anti-war efforts was a deep-seated abhorrence for the self-appointed leaders of the pro-war camp. Working-class periodicals in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo used vicious critiques, irony, ridicule and protest to try to expose what they believed to be the true motivations for the pro-war effort: social status and financial gain. Long-standing class-based grievances played out through Italian immigrant debates about the war.

São Paulo's *Avanti!* was at the forefront of the struggle to undermine pro-war activities of the middle- and upper-class immigrants referred to as "*lor signori*," or "their lords." Even when *Avanti!*'s columnists occasionally voiced support for working-class troops at the front, they never wavered in the depiction of *lor signori* as the true enemies of São Paulo's Italian immigrant working classes.[515] Foremost among its opponents was Umberto Serpieri, the editor and lead columnist at *Fanfulla*. *Avanti!* called Serpieri "amoral" and referred to a speech he gave at an Italian nationalist social event as "a very low and foul instigation of racial hatred."[516] The newspaper also slammed the Serpieri-authored biography of Gaetano Pepe referenced in Chapter 3 for including details of Pepe's fabricated and "comical" military accomplishments, which Serpieri thought would encourage others to enlist.[517]

[515] "La partenza d'un amico," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 13, 1917; "La chiamata delle classi anziane è legale?," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 27, 1917; "La baldoria del sangue si estende," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), April 21, 1917.
[516] "La manifestazione nazionale di domenica," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), September 30, 1916.
[517] "Il patriottismo di lor signori," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), February 3, 1917.

Avanti! charged that other self-appointed leaders of the Italian immigrant community "cover their profiteering with the drape of the Italian flag" and harbored draft dodgers in their businesses and families.[518] The most scathing critiques of the pro-war leadership came when *Avanti!* alleged that businessmen like Matarazzo, Crespi and Puglisi participated in a "beautiful robbery" through their war support.[519] It believed that these "usurers" benefitted from scarcity associated with the conflict by increasing the prices of goods they sold in Brazil and to export markets. "We are against these false patriots and we are against them as Socialists and as Italians."[520]

In Buenos Aires, *La rivolta* made similar charges against the self-proclaimed leadership of the Italian immigrant community, referring to Italian War Committee leader Giovanni Rolleri's nationalistic comments as "Mazzinian mistifications" that he delivered to an "imbecile public" at a pro-war rally.[521] When Antonio Devoto received his countship from the Italian king, *La canaglia* referred to the immigrant businessman as "a sucker of the Italian colony." *La canaglia* denounced the "big wigs of the Italian Colony," who assembled at the Teatro Vittoria to form the Italian War Committee, as "*castrati*," or the castrated ones, among other names.[522] The following year it called the Committee's membership "four-legged."[523] The newspaper described the rivalry between the War Committee and the Italian Red Cross as evidence that the leadership of those organizations participated in the pro-war mobilization for their own benefit rather than

[518] "Il patriottismo di lor signori," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 27, 1917.
[519] "La cuccagna patriottica di lor signori," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), March 10, 1917.
[520] "Alla mercè dei ladri," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), April 7, 1917.
[521] "I festiggiamenti pel XX Settembre," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.
[522] "Il comizio del Teatro Vittoria il giorno 27," *La canaglia*, June 1, 1915.
[523] "Il letamaio patriottardo," *La canaglia*, 2nd Half of May, 1916.

any real concern for the Italian cause. *La canaglia* even described the baskets, or *cesti*, given to the families of soldiers in Buenos Aires as trash cans, or *cestini*. It said that in exchange for the lives of their husbands and sons, the families received "bread, a *peso*…and a piece of meat."[524]

As with many other anti-war publications, contributors to *La canaglia* openly wondered if the Italian community's donations to the war effort ended up in the pockets of the committee members. *Il pasquino coloniale* hypothesized that the funds raised at an event sponsored by *Fanfulla* went mostly to the newspaper rather than the Pro-Patria committee.[525] *Guerra sociale* referred to the Italian Red Cross membership as "patriots of shit!" and implored its readers: "Do not give anything: more than that: prevent others from giving." Accusations that committee members pilfered resources from pro-war collections erupted into a full-on scandal in São Paulo in 1916.[526] Anti-war newspapers saw the loan programs as beneficial to immigrant financial institutions, some of which had managers on the pro-war committees. On its front cover in June 1917, *Il Pasquino Coloniale* depicted an immigrant "philanthropist" literally riding on the back of the Italian colony.

[524] "Miserabili! Traditori!," *La canaglia*, September 5, 1915.
[525] "Dopo l'<Aida> all'Anartarctica," *Il pasquino coloniale*, October 9, 1915.
[526] "Il bilancio del 'Pro-Patria'"; "Imminenti…arresti," *Il pasquino coloniale*, October 14, 1916.

Figure 37: *"*For a monument to the philanthropist"

Il pasquino coloniale, June 16, 1917

Among pro-war institutions, the mainstream Italian-language press stirred perhaps the greatest indignation within the anti-war movement. The opposition targeted the patriotic discourse of intellectuals who contributed to mainstream newspapers and spoke at pro-war rallies. Even contributors to *Il pasquino coloniale*, which supported the Italian war in some instances, deplored the oratory of men like Gaetano Pepe. They sarcastically suggested after hearing one speech that he should have been "a bit more generous to his king and spent ten thousand *reis* on an original cliché."[527] During one attack against *Fanfulla*, a writer at *Il pasquino coloniale* proposed the internment of Serpieri and the expulsion of his nationalist rhetoric with a catapult.[528] In the sketch below,

[527] "I concorsi della 'Dante'," *Il pasquino coloniale*, September 23, 1916.
[528] "Per la propaganda della nostra guerra," *Il pasquino coloniale*, July 13, 1916.

the newspaper suggested that such speeches were mere "chit-chat," while donations to the loan program were at least "actions."

Figure 38: "Superfluous commemorations and practical commemorations"

Il pasquino coloniale, May 26, 1917

For its part, *Avanti!* relentlessly pursued the contradictions and inconsistencies it saw in *Fanfulla*'s coverage of the pro-war mobilization. *Avanti!* felt that *Fanfulla* fabricated the telegrams and news it published and claimed to catch *Fanfulla* in a lie by referencing contradictory content in the *Correio Paulistano*.[529] The anti-war press did not spare *Il piccolo* or its publisher Antonio Piccarolo, who they saw as a hypocrite because of his pro-war stance, former leadership role at anti-war *Avanti!* and status as a "naturalized Brazilian."[530]

There was seemingly a consensus in the anti-war movement that the mainstream Italian-language newspapers in Atlantic South America received sponsorship and content

[529] "Noi e il 'Fanfulla'," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 13, 1917; "Uno per settimana," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), February 17, 1917.
[530] "Tre volte austriaco!," *Guerra sociale*, November 13, 1915.

from the Rome government. That sponsorship served to distort the information they delivered to immigrant communities, distortions that only increased after the Italian defeat at Caporetto in late 1917.[531] Similarly, the opposition believed that Italian authorities paid people like Achille Ricciardi, whose speeches at patriotic rallies required, in the words of *La Protesta*, "a strong stomach" to tolerate.[532]

Not able simply to oppose the war, however, participants in the anti-war movement had to mount a defense against attacks they faced from pro-war factions and the mainstream press. A number of anti-war publications made claims of censorship against Italian authorities and Italian-language periodicals in South America that controlled access to international newswires.[533] In at least one instance, the Matarazzo conglomerate in São Paulo pulled advertisements (and revenue) from a newspaper that lampooned the pro-war effort.[534] Many working-class newspapers faced funding shortages exacerbated by economic crisis. In 1917 and 1918, pressure on the anti-war movement increased as Brazilian authorities and citizens joined the pro-war camp. This was not the case in the capital cities of *Il Plata*. However, in January 1917, Buenos Aires' *La Protesta* warned of a censorship push in Italy that it feared would presage a crackdown on the anti-war movement.[535] As the conflict heated up, so did nationalist zeal and attacks

[531] "Italia," *La Protesta*, October 31, 1917; "Sfidiamo!," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.
[532] "El amor después de la guerra," *La Protesta*, December 23, 1917.
[533] "Brucia-brucia!," *Guerra sociale*, January 8, 1916; "Venduti?!," *Guerra sociale*, August 26, 1916; "Raccogliendo la bava…," *La canaglia*, August 15, 1915; "I trecentomila prigionieri," *Il pasquino coloniale*, July 22, 1916.
[534] "Parole chiarissime," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), February 3, 1917.
[535] "La censura en Italia," *La Protesta*, January 14, 1917.

on those opposed to the war. These attacks sought to limit transnational linkages that existed among anti-war groups, linkages to which this chapter now turns.

5.3 *LAVORATORI DI TUTTI I PAESI:* THE TRANSNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR

The activities against the war effort, and the Italian mobilization in particular, did not take place in isolation within the immigrant communities of Atlantic South America. They were part of a transnational struggle with roots in the struggles of international labor. Expressions of international solidarity among workers were central components of anti-war discourse against militarism in general, Italy's belligerence specifically and local pro-war mobilizations. There were several attempts to organize meetings and bring together anti-war groups in the Americas and Europe to form an international movement against the war. Yet the conflict placed constraints on the movement of people and threatened the very existence of working-class internationalism. Much of the transnational interaction among Italian immigrant communities in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo ultimately occurred through newspapers and other literature that circulated throughout the region. As nationalistic fervor and pro-war mobilization continued, anti-war groups held fast to their position and occasionally asserted the achievements of their opposition to the war through the use of cross-border initiatives.

International solidarity among organized labor groups was extremely common in the 1910s. Their cross-border networks had similar geographic footprints and structures to those described previously in regard to the pro-war mobilization. They extended across

the Atlantic between European cities like Genoa and American cities like Montevideo. They crossed national borders within Atlantic South America between places like Buenos Aires and São Paulo. They connected groups around the Americas, where larger cities served as conduits through which smaller communities in outlying areas might integrate themselves into an international web of interaction. Italian immigrant and other groups opposing the war communicated with one another through networks such as these.

Transatlantic connections were expressed in periodicals like São Paulo's *A Lanterna*, which in June 1914 offered support for workers in Italy targeted by state violence during the so-called *Settimana Rossa*, or Red Week.[536] The newspaper called for "action in solidarity with the comrades that were victims of the reactionary fury of the authorities of the Italian monarchy" and publicized a fundraising drive for victims' families in Italy. Other newspapers in São Paulo shared news of labor protests or government repression happening elsewhere. In one instance, *Avanti!* reported on news it received from Buenos Aires about the release of Italian immigrant activist Carlo Tresca from a Minnesota prison; celebrated solidarity displayed by workers in North America and Brazil during Tresca's imprisonment; and printed telegrams from Chicago, Duluth and Milan applauding Tresca's release.[537] Among the many connections working-class groups in São Paulo had with workers and Italians residing elsewhere, their most intimate ties were with comrades in *Il Plata*. *Guerra sociale* printed editorial contributions from "the Uruguayan"

[536] "Pelas vitimas politicas da reaccão italiana," *A Lanterna*, June 27, 1914.
[537] "L'avv. Carlo Tresca è stato liberato," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), January 27, 1917.

and letters from readers in Argentina. One letter described the regular arrival of the newspaper in Buenos Aires 15 days after its publication.[538]

Just as working-class literature was available in multiple languages in the libraries and meeting rooms of labor organizations in Atlantic South America, so were publications from other cities in the region and further afield. Buenos Aires anarchist periodical *La canaglia* had vendors in Brazil and Uruguay, in addition to provincial cities in Argentina.[539] The Socialist library in Buenos Aires took orders from elsewhere in the region for "books, pamphlets and other publications." São Paulo's *Avanti!* suggested that despite being written in Spanish, these publications "are useful in this country, thanks to the affinity of language and the lack of pamphlets [published in Brazil]."[540]

There were more intimate and dense connections within *Il Plata* between Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Groups associated with the periodicals *La Batalla*, *La canaglia, La Protesta* and *La rivolta* collaborated with one another. Such cooperation extended to the anti-war movement, while the war at times served as an impetus for further international solidarity.[541] Montevideo-based *La Batalla*'s aggressive stance against militarization included calls for regional cooperation. It announced to its readers that:

> On the other side of the Rio de la Plata you have a community of brothers and across the Cuareim [River] there is another community of brothers that waits for you, and only here inside the country is your true enemy.[542]

[538] "Chi è stato il primo?," *Guerra sociale*, June 16, 1917; "Piccola Posta," *Guerra sociale*, June 23, 1917.
[539] "Agenti di 'La canaglia'," *La canaglia*, 1st Half of July, 1915.
[540] "Bibliotheca Socialista Argentina," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), April 7, 1917.
[541] "La guerra," *La Obra*, May 20, 1917.
[542] "Contra el servicio militar," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of July, 1915.

In this instance, the enemy was Uruguay's elite and its plans for mandatory military service.

In Buenos Aires, *La Protesta* responded in kind to proposals for international solidarity.[543] It published reports from its special correspondent in Naples; printed opinion columns from *l'Era Nuova* of Patterson, New Jersey; circulated notes from *Na Barricada* of Rio de Janeiro; and republished articles translated into Spanish from *La rivolta*, which was also printed in Buenos Aires.[544] In October 1915, *La Protesta* published a letter with the headline, "for the king's war, not one man not one cent," signed by "the anarchists of Philadelphia to the Italian reservists in the Americas."[545] Information circulated widely across borders and oceans; was read in Italian, Portuguese, Spanish or some combination thereof; and moved among groups participating actively in Atlantic South America's anti-war movement.

In the period 1914-1918, opposition to the war was the issue around which most international solidarity occurred among working-class Italian immigrants and others in favor of social revolution. São Paulo's *Guerra sociale* was an important node in this network. It published content and news it received from "cousins" at periodicals like *Il Libertario* in La Spezia and *L'avvenire* in Pisa working to revitalize the Anarchist

[543] "Crónicas internacionales; El Congreso del Brasil," *La Protesta*, September 22, 1915.
[544] "Crónica extranjera; Desde Italia," *La Protesta*, January 10, 1915; "Crónicas internacionales; También Italia," August 3, 1915; "Crónicas internacionales; Del Brasil," *La Protesta*, September 5, 1915; "Crónicas internacionales; La guerra y los italianos," *La Protesta*, August 22, 1915.
[545] "Crónicas internacionales; Para la guerra del rey, ni un hombre ni un centavo," *La Protesta*, October 12, 1915.

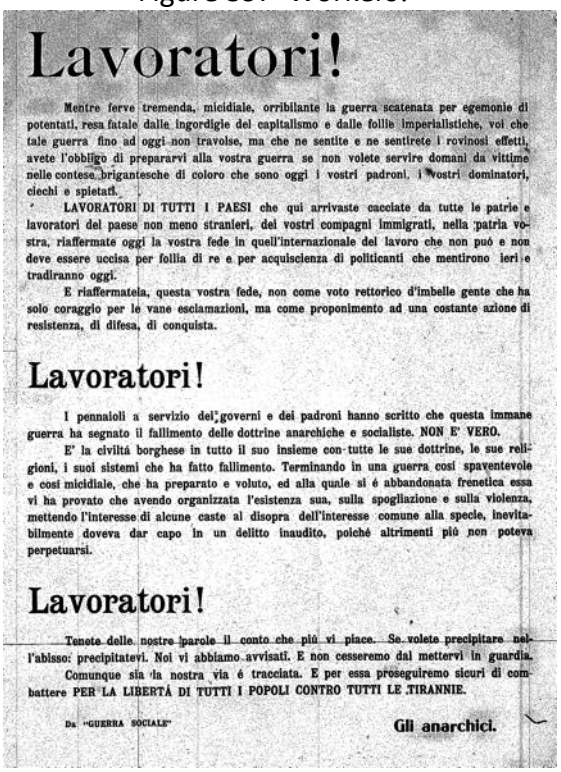
International in opposition to the war.[546] It reported on anti-war meetings in Milan at which anarchist groups from around northern Italy gathered,

> This stirring of Italian comrades, who seek to unite and…to prepare for tomorrow in spite of the state of war and the thousands of pitfalls to which they are exposed, should serve as a provocation to the comrades of these lands…

Contributors to *Guerra sociale* looked to carry these currents of solidarity to the Anarchist Alliance in Brazil and to similar efforts in Buenos Aires. They issued broad calls for unity throughout South America.[547] The newspaper maintained correspondence with like-minded groups elsewhere, including "old friends" in Rosario, Argentina.[548] It circulated manifestos like one that appeared in Buenos Aires' *La canaglia* in May 1916 addressing "workers from all countries."

[546] "I cugini…d'Italia," *Guerra sociale*, April 29, 1916.
[547] "Il bollettino della 'Allianza anarchica'," *Guerra sociale*, October 4, 1916.
[548] "Buenos vientos," *Guerra sociale*, February 20, 1917.

Figure 39: "Workers!"



Lavoratori!

Mentre ferve tremenda, micidiale, orribilante la guerra scatenata per egemonie di potentati, resa fatale dalle ingordigie del capitalismo e dalle follie imperialistiche, voi che tale guerra fino ad oggi non travolse, ma che ne sentite e ne sentirete i rovinosi effetti, avete l'obbligo di prepararvi alla vostra guerra se non volete servire domani da vittime nelle contese brigantesche di coloro che sono oggi i vostri padroni, i vostri dominatori, ciechi e spietati.

LAVORATORI DI TUTTI I PAESI che qui arrivaste cacciate da tutte le patrie e lavoratori del paese non meno stranieri, dei vostri compagni immigrati, nella patria vostra, riaffermate oggi la vostra fede in quell'internazionale del lavoro che non può e non deve essere uccisa per follia di re e per acquiscienza di politicanti che mentirono ieri e tradiranno oggi.

E riaffermatela, questa vostra fede, non come voto rettorico d'imbelle gente che ha solo coraggio per le vane esclamazioni, ma come proponimento ad una costante azione di resistenza, di difesa, di conquista.

Lavoratori!

I pennaioli a servizio dei governi e dei padroni hanno scritto che questa immane guerra ha segnato il fallimento delle dottrine anarchiche e socialiste. NON E' VERO.

E' la civiltà borghese in tutto il suo insieme con tutte le sue dottrine, le sue religioni, i suoi sistemi che ha fatto fallimento. Terminando in una guerra così spaventevole e così micidiale, che ha preparato e voluto, ed alla quale si é abbandonata frenetica essa vi ha provato che avendo organizzata l'esistenza sua, sulla spogliazione e sulla violenza, mettendo l'interesse di alcune caste al disopra dell'interesse comune alla specie, inevitabilmente doveva dar capo in un delitto inaudito, poiché altrimenti più non poteva perpetuarsi.

Lavoratori!

Tenete delle nostre parole il conto che più vi piace. Se volete precipitare nell'abisso: precipitatevi. Noi vi abbiamo avvisati. E non cesseremo dal mettervi in guardia.

Comunque sia la nostra via é tracciata. E per essa proseguiremo sicuri di combattere PER LA LIBERTÀ DI TUTTI I POPOLI CONTRO TUTTI LE TIRANNIE.

Da "GUERRA SOCIALE"

Gli anarchici.

La canaglia, 2nd Half of May, 1916

La canaglia in Buenos Aires similarly kept its readers aware of anti-war mobilization occurring in Italy and other Italian immigrant communities while seeking to foment greater international solidarity against the war. It published a manifesto written by a group of Italian anarchists in Los Angeles, California, who condemned Italy's entry into the conflict and the pro-war activities of Italian immigrants in the United States.[549] A note from a *La canaglia* contributor published alongside this manifesto attacked "the blasphemies of Savoy" and claimed that "all over the world the voice of the enlightened and rebellious Anarchist cries out against these illustrious delinquents and their accomplices." In February 1916, *La canaglia* sent its own manifesto, written by Buenos Aires anarchist leader Remo Cotti, to groups in São Paulo and Montevideo as well as Chile,

[549] "La guerra e gl'italiani," *La canaglia*, September 5, 1915.

Peru, Mexico, the United States, Switzerland and Italy.[550] A few months later it published a "referendum" in Italian and Spanish meant for distribution around the Americas. It called for anti-war groups to submit responses to a survey about how collective action should be organized.[551] Montevideo's *La Batalla* similarly felt that international collective action should be based on responses gathered from a survey sent around the region to groups opposing the war.[552] This was partly because the Montevideo anarchists it represented were unable to attend an anti-war meeting held in Rio de Janeiro in October 1915.

The Rio meeting was both the most significant effort to organize international opposition to the war in Atlantic South America as well as an illustration of the anti-war movement's limitations. In 1915, the Brazilian Workers' Confederation (COB) called for "an international meeting of Socialists, Syndicalists and Anarchists to discuss the means for combatting the terrible European war," according to Rio's *Na Barricada*.[553] The COB arranged the meeting in response to the preemptive shutdown by "belligerent governments" of a meeting set for the previous April in Ferrol, Spain, to discuss the reconstitution of the international movement against the war. At the Rio meeting, delegates addressed the coordination of their propaganda, protests and boycotts; declared their opposition to nation-states, churches, masonic groups, "materialists," positivists and Socialists favoring the war; and established an International Relations

[550] "L'iniziative del F.R.I.," *La canaglia*, 1st Half of February, 1916
[551] "Referendum," *La canaglia*, 2nd Half of April, 1916.
[552] "Congreso Pro-Paz," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of August, 1915.
[553] "Pela paz," *Na Barricada*, September 2, 1915.

Committee in Rio.[554] Other than delegations from Rio, São Paulo and Buenos Aires, however, few representatives took part in the meeting. Even Chilean and Uruguayan labor groups were absent. Perhaps as a result, participants agreed to move forward with a mostly regional (rather than global) effort to be led by Bautista Mansilla of the Argentina's FORA. *La rivolta* reprinted the meeting's manifesto as late as 1917 and reported on international anti-war conferences in places like London and The Hague. However, little concrete action took place after the Rio conference.[555]

Part of the reason for the poor attendance and lack of coordinated action following the meeting was the resistance that the anti-war movement faced on both sides of the Atlantic. Authorities in Europe limited the movement of anti-war activists, including those from neutral countries. In Atlantic South America officials at times shut down opposition protests as part of their repression of organized labor more generally. In São Paulo, for example, the police stopped a rally in 1914, when the war was still in its infancy and had hardly impacted Brazil.[556]

Most of the resistance to international solidarity opposing the war occurred through censorship. Italy's censors and the pro-war newspapers' filters left anti-war periodicals in Atlantic South America arguing that the perception of a pro-war consensus in Italy and elsewhere was a fabrication.[557] Where possible, they used alternative means to get information they felt was free of nationalistic slant, among them Italian labor periodicals smuggled across the Atlantic or newswire dispatches from London less

[554] "Congresso Internacional da Paz," *Na Barricada*, October 21, 1915.
[555] "Permanente," *La rivolta*, September 9, 1917.
[556] "Abaixo a guerra," *A Lanterna*, August 8, 1914.
[557] "La concordia nazionale," *La canaglia*, 2nd Half of March, 1916.

interested in spinning news from the Italian front.[558] In 1917, Brazil's entry into the war led authorities in São Paulo to crack down even on satirical publication *Il pasquino coloniale*.[559] Italian-language labor periodicals also encountered financial issues, partly due to their loss of advertising dollars from businesses run by immigrants favoring the war. Newspapers like *Avanti!* clamored for regular readers to subscribe or for existing subscribers to pay their dues.

Following repeated attempts to raise additional funds from readers facing their own financial constraints, *La canaglia* folded in May 1917. Before closing it delivered a strident criticism of "gangrenous governments," the "gangster bourgeoisie" and "sell-out journalists" who claimed that *La canaglia* was printed "with German gold."[560] Even larger newspapers like *La Protesta* and *Guerra sociale* faced financial difficulties as war-time conditions squeezed the wages of their supporters. The latter raised its own "war loan" meant to finance class war rather than the Italian war effort.[561] At the same time, fissures emerged in the Anarchist Alliances, anarchist-socialist *détente* and the Internationalist movement in South America that up to 1917 seemed to hold on to some of its vigor even as international solidarity among workers in Europe dissolved.

The conflict's creep into the Western Hemisphere increased the pressures on the Italian anti-war effort, especially in Brazil and Uruguay, where governments backed the *Entente* cause. However, the war's spread across the Atlantic also bolstered anti-war

[558] "Gli abusi intollerabili del governaccio italiano; La censura," *La canaglia*, July 28, 1915; "Che sordi!," *Guerra sociale*, April 26, 1916; "Crónicas internacionales," *La Protesta*, September 5, 1915.
[559] "Il Pasquino censurato," *Il pasquino coloniale*, December 8, 1917.
[560] "La canaglia," *La canaglia*, May 1, 1917.
[561] "Per il nostro Prestito di guerra," *Guerra sociale*, June 3, 1916.

immigrants' rhetoric of solidarity. Montevideo's *La Batalla* invoked the memory and writings of Italian anarchist Pietro Gori as its contributors reached out to working-class groups in Argentina and Brazil to stir protest against the war.[562] *La Protesta* reprinted an anti-war manifesto signed by *La Batalla* and criticized pro-war Brazilian senator Ruy Barbosa.[563] São Paulo's *Avanti!* rebuked Socialists in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and the United States for professing nationalistic sentiment, while praising its own commitment to the anti-war movement and the Socialist International.[564] *La rivolta*, in Buenos Aires, took a similarly strident tone against the entry of Brazil into the war in 1917, criticizing Brazilian anarchists for not doing enough to prevent Brazil's declaration.[565] One contributor to the newspaper wrote, "Deserters from all countries, remember: The war will not be made if we do not want!"[566] For *Guerra sociale*, workers in Atlantic South America with diverse origins needed to operate as "one family" in opposition to the bourgeoisie—including the Italian immigrant bourgeoisie—that stirred "the antipathies of race, of ancestry, of color."[567] Just as the newspaper spoke of decades of contributions that Italian immigrants had made to Brazilian development, it argued that working-class Italians remained "foreigners" due to their opposition to nationalism, governments and war.

[562] "Frente al la guerra" and "Agitación anti-guerra," *La Batalla*, 2nd Half of April, 1917.
[563] "El proletariado frente la guerra," *La Protesta*, May 6, 1917.
[564] "Il Brasile e la guerra," *Avanti!* (São Paulo), February 17, 1917.
[565] "Siamo allarmisti, noi?," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.
[566] "Contro la guerra; Per la rivoluzione," *La rivolta*, September 23, 1917.
[567] "Stranieri," *Guerra sociale*, August 11, 1917.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Working-class Italian immigrants and their collaborators in Atlantic South America that participated in the labor movement organized a strident opposition to the war. They built that opposition upon decades of organizational development and ideological discourse that connected groups within the region and around the Atlantic basin. Class conflict in the region and within Italian immigrant communities also drove anti-war protests. Individually and collectively the periodicals – and the editorials, letters, manifestos and telegrams found within them – published by organized labor sought to expose the reprehensible underbelly of the war and the corruption within the pro-war mobilization in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo. The anti-war movement saw the accumulation of capital, power and social status occurring through the pro-war effort at the expense of the "flesh" of the working classes, both on the battlefield in Europe and the streets of these cities. It could claim some success in the widespread desertion from military service by Italians and those immigrants who refused to donate or otherwise participate in pro-war causes. But it could not reverse the tide of nationalism, racism, militarism and other forces that by 1917 spanned the Atlantic. While the anti-war movement hoped the war might spur social revolution, as it had in Russia, peace that came only when the belligerent sides stopped fighting left mostly devastation and sorrow.

Figure 40: “Meditation”

Diario de la Mañana, April 23, 1919

Juxtaposed with the pro-war mobilization discussed in earlier chapters, the anti-war movement illustrates the class-based discord that existed within Italian immigrant communities in Atlantic South America. It highlights the very different – at times completely contradictory – views that Italians might have about their experience as immigrants, the cities in which they resided, their relationship to Italy and Italian immigrants elsewhere, the idea of Italy itself and their place in a world roiled by conflict. It also shows that while many immigrants maintained connections across borders, the networks in which they were situated could be wholly different. Perhaps most interestingly, while working-class organizations and newspapers spoke of the pursuit of international solidarity, their lived experience seemed to leave them more insulated in their own communities and left to pursue solidarity through discourse. And while the mouthpieces of organized labor expressed their disgust toward the notions of national or

ethnic belonging promoted by the pro-war camp, they seemed to be living in something of a “Latin” working-class world in which Italian, Portuguese and Spanish speakers were using cultural commonalities to intermingle and even assimilate with one another.

6.0 CONCLUSION: DISTANT LOYALTIES

6.1 *LA SMOBILITAZZIONE POSTGUERRA*: A GLANCE AT THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PERIOD

On March 14, 1919, *La Patria degli italiani* reported on the landing of the *Tomaso di Savoia* at the port of Buenos Aires. This was the first shipload of returning soldiers to arrive since the war had ended the previous year. Coverage included descriptions and photographs of the ship's deck filled with soldiers, docks lined with onlookers holding Italian flags and returnees embracing their children. The newspaper profiled returning officers and leaders of the pro-war mobilization. A banner headline affirmed the "triumphant reception of the victorious veterans."[568] These were, in many ways, mirror images of the ceremonies that surrounded the departure of the *Mafalda* nearly four years earlier.

[568] "Arrivo del *Tomaso di Savoia*; Trionfale ricevimento dei reduci vittoriosi," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 14, 1919.

Figure 41: "Arrival of *Tomaso di Savoia*; Triumphant return of the victorious veterans"

ARRIVO DEL *TOMASO DI SAVOIA*

TRIONFALE RICEVIMENTO DEI REDUCI VITTORIOSI

La Patria degli italiani, March 14, 1919

After the soldiers disembarked, a procession through the streets ended at the gilded Plaza Hotel. Later, the Italian War Committee hosted a banquet for the veterans at the Società Unione Operai Italiani, where the committee's leadership lauded the soldiers as well as immigrant efforts on the Buenos Aires home front. This was the first in a series of similar ship arrivals, although others did not receive as much attention.[569]

These and other activities in the immediate post-war period, through the first half of 1919, served as an extension of the war-time mobilization. The pages of *La Patria degli italiani* showcase the central position that Italian-language newspapers continued to play during the culmination of the war effort. The newspaper even suggested that

[569] "L'arrivo del 'Garibaldi'; Gli altri reduci della guerra," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 22, 1919; "L'arrivo del 'Re Vittorio,'" *La Patria degli italiani*, April 2, 1919.

subscriptions offered "proof of [one's] patriotism."[570] In November 1918, when Germany surrendered, and continuing through the fourth anniversary, in May 1919, of Italy's declaration of war, a series of patriotic rallies took place in Buenos Aires.[571] Fundraisers and goods collections focused on the delivery of assistance to *reduci*, or veterans, who had returned.[572] There were also appeals for the construction of monuments to commemorate the war effort.[573]

Patriotic activities in Buenos Aires continued to take place as part of a broader transatlantic effort. Propaganda encouraged contributions to a "victory loan" to finance Italian reconstruction.[574] Donation drives supported *reduci* in Italy and the delivery of provisions to the war-ravaged country from "the land of beef."[575] The immigrant *irredentismo* movement celebrated the seizure of Trent and Trieste and promoted Italy's annexation of the Istrian peninsula, Fiume (present-day Rijeka) and the Dalmatian

[570] "Connazionali! È prova di patriottismo abbondarsi alla Patria degli Italiani; Il primo giornale italiano all'estero," *La Patria degli italiani*, December 29, 1919.
[571] "L'annunzio della capitolazione della Germania," *La Patria degli italiani*, November 8, 1919; "Il gran banchetto della vittoria al Club Italiano," *La Patria degli italiani*, November 15, 1918; "La grande manifestazione di ieri sera; Spettacolo grandioso di solidarietà e di patriottismo," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 30, 1919; "Il IV anniversario della dichiarazione di guerra; La commemorazione al teatro 'Opera'," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 27, 1919.
[572] "Per i reduci della guerra," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 18, 1919; "La Croce Rossa ed i soldati (con i reduci della guerra)," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 25,1919; "La grande serata in onore dei reduci al 'Marconi'; L'avvocato Caranci parla 'Per i reduci ai reduci,'" *La Patria degli italiani*, May 7, 1919.
[573] "Monumenti alla vittoria," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 13, 1919.
[574] "Sottoscrizione della vittoria," *La Patria degli italiani*, January 15, 1919; "Per la sottoscrizione della vittoria; Un nuovo appello del ministro d'Italia; La riunione d'ieri alla legazione," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 27, 1919; "L'eloquenza di un'offerta," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 10, 1919.
[575] "Per l'assistenza ai reduci della guerra," *Il Patria degli italiani*, January 5, 1919; "Dal paese della carne; Un momento di crisi per l'Italia," *La Patria degli italiani*, February 18, 1919.

coast.[576] One group of "italo-argentine" women sent a plaque to Queen Elena meant to honor their female compatriots in Italy.[577]

Figure 42: Plaque Sent by "Italo-Argentines" to Queen Elena of Italy

La Patria degli italiani, May 11, 1919

La Patria degli italiani described "the heart of the *colonia* [beating] in unison with the heart of all of Italy."[578]

Transatlantic solidarity also emanated from Italy. Newspapers sent tributes across the Atlantic to "the soldiers of South America" and spoke of their relationship with General Enrico Caviglia.[579] The Buenos Aires opera staged a trilogy of new work from composer Giacomo Puccini intended to bolster immigrant *italianità*.[580] Commerce

[576] "La bandiera italiana sventola su Trento e Trieste," *La Patria degli italiani*, November 4, 1919; "La trafizione italiana nella Dalmazia," *La Patria degli italiani*, November 30, 1919; "A Fiume…," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 19, 1919.
[577] "La targa delle donne italo-argentine alle donne italiane," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 11, 1919.
[578] "Il cuore della colonia all'unisono col cuore di tutta l'Italia," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 30, 1919; "La solidarietà della nostra colonia col governo e col popolo italiano; Il grande comizio di questa sera," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 29, 1919.
[579] "Per i soldati dell'America del Sud; Dalla 'Tribuna' di Roma," *La Patria degli italiani*, January 21, 1919; "Il generale Caviglia e i soldati d'America," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 6, 1919.
[580] "Le tre nuove opera di Puccini a Buenos Aires," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 24, 1919.

remained a central focus of transatlantic ties with overseas communities.[581] Yet the greatest push by the Italian government to sustain immigrant nationalism came through its dispatch of Italian airplane pilots to South America. *La Patria degli italiani* was one of many newspapers that closely tracked their arrival in February 1919, celebrations held in their honor at Italian immigrant societies, test flights in Greater Buenos Aires and a trip north to Santa Fé.[582] When a plane crashed and three pilots died, a funeral procession for the "aviation martyrs" drew a massive crowd to Florida Street in central Buenos Aires.[583]

Figure 43: "The first seaplane in Buenos Aires;
Yesterday's test-flights in San Fernando"

IL PRIMO IDROVOLANTE SU BUENOS AIRES

Le prove d'ieri a San Fernando

Un avvenimento eccezionale ha avuto luogo ieri a San Fernando, a causa del primo idrovolante che ha compiuto le sue evoluzioni nel cielo argentino.

Il magnifico velivolo, un apparecchio da caccia appartenente alla Missione aviatoria militare italiana, si sollevò ieri mattina, alle 9 e 45 dalla punta del molo situato tra il ceis e come il collega meritò i più frenetici applausi degli spettatori.

Tra questi si notavano, oltre al capitano della Missione Ezio Giovannardi, il regio agente consolare d'Italia, dottor Zunino, varie autorità marittime del luogo, il sotto prefetto signor Rodolfo Diaz e molti nostri connazionali.

I valorosi piloti furono personalrecchi da bombardamento che pilotera l'aviatore Mattiello.

Nel pomeriggio il sottotenente di vascello, barone De Reseis ha di nuovo ieri ripreso posto sulla fusoliera dell'idrovolante M. 7 per recarsi a volo sin sopra la città di Buenos Aires e ritornare di qui a San Fernando.

L'IDROVOLANTE "M 7" — NEL MEZZO I PILOTI: DE RES EIS, MEROLA E MATTIELLO

La Patria degli Italiani, May 24, 1919

[581] "Per la piccola industria italiana nei rapporti con la grande industria," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 3, 1919; "L'Italia nel presente e nell'avvenire," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 15, 1919.
[582] "Aviatori italiani nell'Argentina," *La Patria degli italiani*, February 18, 1919; "Il Club Italiano alla nostra missione aeronautica militare; La brillante festa dell'altra sera," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 14, 1919; "Il primo idrovolante su Buenos Aires; Le prove d'ieri a San Fernando," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 24, 1919; "Viaggio da Buenos Aires a Santa Fe; Forzato atterraggio a Rosario e ad Arocena," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 22, 1919.
[583] "Tre nuovi martiri dell'aviazione," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 14, 1919.

In June 1919, Italian pilots took a round-trip flight between Buenos Aires and Montevideo.[584] The trip offered immigrants throughout *Il Plata* an opportunity to celebrate Italy's military achievements, growing stature overseas and their place in a cross-border network of solidarity and exchange. Italian aviators eventually flew to Paraguay, Brazil and across the Andes to Chile. In early 1919, news coverage in Buenos Aires of Italian immigrants' patriotic activities in those countries suggested that diasporic consciousness continued to course through inter-American networks of overseas Italians.[585] Events related to Brazil and Uruguay received the greatest attention.[586] Yet coverage extended to Italian immigrants in the United States.[587] Meanwhile, in Italy, a "colonial convention" sought to advance the pursuit of emigrant representation in the Italian Parliament by citing overseas Italians' participation in the war effort as justification for their enfranchisement.[588]

As the post-war period began, and the pro-war mobilization evolved, Italian nationalism continued to shape immigrant behavior and cross-border interaction in the Italian South Atlantic and the broader Italian Atlantic.

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[584] "I voli d'ieri; Duplice raid Buenos Aires-Montevideo e ritorno," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 21, 1919.
[585] "I reduci italiani del Cile," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 16, 1919; "I nostri connazionali del Brasile: Il riconoscimento dei benefici politici e economici della emigrazione italiana; L'ambasciatore Bosdari nelle colonie," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 23, 1919; "Dimostrazione Italiana nel Paraguay," *La Patria degli italiani*, July 17, 1919.
[586] "Un banchetto a Roma in onore dei marinai della divisione brasiliana," *La Patria degli italiani*, April 2, 1919; "Il presidente del Brasile a Roma," *La Patria degli italiani*, May 19, 1919; "La politica uruguayana turbata," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 24, 1919; "La politica dell'Uruguay," *La Patria degli italiani*, June 27, 1919.
[587] "Commemorazione del XX Settembre in New York," *La Patria degli italiani*, November 21, 1919; "Fratellanza italo-americana, 'Columbus Day'; Il patriottismo del 'Cafone'," *La Patria degli italiani*, December 6, 1919.
[588] "Il convegno coloniale di Roma; La rappresentanza delle colonie," *La Patria degli italiani*, March 16, 1919. Overseas Italians would not vote in Italian elections until 2003.

At the same time, the immigrant anti-war movement maintained its criticism of the conflict, the nation-states that propagated it, Italy's government and Italian nationalism. São Paulo's *Alba rossa*, an Italian-language anarchist weekly, referred to peace negotiations as a "crime" obscuring the horrors of war, and to patriotism as "jingoism" and "chauvinism."[589] It argued, in this instance in Portuguese, that "20 million hearts that stopped beating…and that spilled their precious blood in defense of *la patria*" should unify all workers "against the oppressor."[590] That oppressor was the nation, while Italy and the Italian war effort were primary targets of the newspaper's indignation.[591] *Alba rossa* countered post-war Italy's presumed path toward modernization with "the naked and soiled reality" of unemployment, low wages and poverty: "Here are the advantages of *la patria più grande*! Go, Italian workers, if you want to learn how to starve, go to Italy."[592] The newspaper denounced patriotic celebrations of the anniversary of Giuseppe Mazzini's death, while comparing Gabriele d'Annunzio's irredentist pursuits in the Adriatic to the avarice of Judas and the megalomania of Nero.[593] It also helped organize protests against Italo-Brazilian businessmen meeting at São Paulo's *Circolo Italiano*.[594] After the armistice, the anti-war movement would not stand down as pro-war immigrants celebrated their "victory."

[589] "La pace," *Alba rossa*, January 26, 1919; "Patriottismo e governo," *Alba rossa*, January 31, 1919. *Alba rossa* was launched in January 1919 by former directors of *Guerra sociale*, which it replaced as the primary Italian-language anarchist periodical in São Paulo.
[590] "O proletario e a guerra," *Alba rossa*, February 8, 1919.
[591] "A Italia na guerra," *Alba rossa*, March 22, 1919.
[592] "I benefici della vittoria," *Alba rossa*, February 8, 1919.
[593] "11-3-1919," *Alba rossa*, March 15, 1919; "La pace," *Alba rossa*, March 22, 1919.
[594] "Importantissimo; Circolo Italiano," *Alba rossa*, May 10, 1919.

In the immediate post-war period, *Alba rossa* embedded its protests in local and international working-class struggles. Those struggles continued to condemn perpetrators of the conflict and connected São Paulo immigrants to Italians around the Italian South Atlantic. *Alba rossa* collaborated with like-minded São Paulo publications like *Spartacus* and *A Plebe* in pursuit of solidarity at the local level.[595] Yet a large portion of the newspaper fit under the heading "Rassegna settimanale delle agitazioni proletarie," or the "Weekly Review of Proletarian Agitation," which reported on working-class mobilizations around the Americas and Europe. In early 1919, this section focused particular attention on worker demonstrations and government suppression of Italian anarchists in Buenos Aires during and after the bloody *Semana Trágica*, or Tragic Week.[596] It covered labor unrest in Italy, including demonstrations by print workers in Naples.[597] *Alba rossa* also supported the principles and activities of the *Lega tra i mutilati in guerra*, a mutual-aid society established in Italy by wounded soldiers and inspired by working-class ideologies.[598] Indeed, the brutality of the conflict remained a touchstone for the newspaper. "The European conflagration has left a legacy of pain and sickness, abject poverty and hunger," the paper reported.[599] This was the result of a "deformed" mentality that led nations to cordon off "Italy to the Italians, France to the French, Germany and Russia respectively…to the Germans and the Russians, [and] similarly for

[595] "Cosa vogliono gli 'Spartacus'," *Alba rossa*, February 16, 1919; "A Plebe," *Alba rossa*, March 1, 1919.
[596] "Rassegna settimanale delle agitazioni proletarie," *Alba rossa*, January 31, 1919; "Attenti!," *Alba rossa*, March 1, 1919.
[597] "Rassegna settimanale delle agitazioni proletarie," *Alba rossa*, April 3, 1919.
[598] "Rassegna settimanale delle agitazioni proletarie," *Alba rossa*, March 1, 1919.
[599] "L'alba di domani," *Alba rossa*, July 20, 1919.

other nations." As long as such conditions lasted, the "brawl" would continue, the paper believed, eventually producing a "proletarian avalanche."

6.2 LESSONS FROM THE PARENTHESES OF WAR

The paragraphs above provide further evidence of the many ways Italy's involvement in World War I impacted the lives of Italian immigrants in Atlantic South America. Those impacts manifested themselves through a vast network of institutions of civil society built by the millions of overseas Italians who had migrated to the region beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. It was precisely when migratory flows nearly stopped that these institutions' reach and ability to foster solidarity among immigrants became most evident. Hundreds of institutions—mutual-aid societies, businesses and banks, newspapers, local chapters of international cultural and social organizations, and committees formed expressly as a result of the war—collaborated in an array of activities to support the Italian war effort. The pro-war mobilization organized the departure of thousands of soldiers, the transfer of tens of millions of *lira*, the dispatch of patriotic messages, and the delivery of food, wool, hand-made *scaldaranci* and other goods from Buenos Aires, Montevideo and São Paulo to Italy. Using newspaper propaganda and social gatherings to promote collections of money and goods, these institutions also helped support the families of soldiers who left to fight.

These activities represented a pronounced departure for immigrants and their institutions from quotidian concerns that affected their wellbeing in more immediate

ways. In other words, the pro-war mobilization had little to do with the practices and processes of settlement, employment, assimilation, social status, economic welfare and discrimination as they related to native, mainstream society. Instead, immigrants responded to a set of external stimuli emanating from their place of origin, while contexts ranging from familial pressure to geopolitics conditioned their behavior. The efforts by many immigrants to support Italy's war and mitigate the crises it spawned offer migration scholars a historical case study of a "mobilizing diaspora" that used material, financial and cultural resources to assist their homeland. These efforts mirror events like the "Hope for Haiti Now" telethon or other activities of Wyclef Jean's Yéle Haiti foundation after the Haitian earthquake of 2010, for example.[600]

This study finds that a nation-state in existence for only 50 years, and which millions of its citizens had felt compelled to leave, succeeded in eliciting a major response from leading immigrant institutions to help advance national interests. To be sure, the Italian government and institutions in Italy interested in emigrant affairs crafted a strategy to mobilize overseas Italians based on a belief that *italianità* resided in one's blood and could be inherited by children in these *colonias*. Yet we do find large segments of immigrant society willing to answer the call from *la patria*. To be "Italian" mattered to a host of immigrant institutions and their members. From the opposite side of the Atlantic they continued to connect their lives to the survival, expansion and "Great Power" status of Italy and the Italian "race." These sentiments also drove pro-war Italians to condemn

[600] "Telethon tries to raise 'Hope for Haiti'," *CNN*, January 23, 2010: http://www.cnn.com/2010/SHOWBIZ/TV/01/22/haiti.telethon/

dissenters and neutralists, and to vilify or see as degenerate the German immigrants living in their communities. Scholars should not, therefore, be too wary of referring to these immigrants as "Italian" even if they were also *abruzzesi* or *napolitani*.

There were, however, groups of immigrants in Atlantic South America with opinions of the war so different from those mentioned above that they appeared to live in an alternate reality. For immigrants participating in the anti-war movement, Italy was a deplorable polity administered by a wretched class of elites whose purpose was to further the exploitative capacities of capitalism and advance imperialist suppression of workers. These immigrants saw *la patria*, and the propaganda surrounding it, as a false god hypnotizing and provoking the masses to participate in a "slaughter." War opponents inspired especially by anarchism replaced nationalist symbols like Garibaldi and Mazzini with Pietro Gori and Gaetano Bresci, the Italian king's assassin. They used their own propaganda to try to expose and burn down the effigies of Italian nationalism and other structures of global power that brought forth the conflict and its devastating effects on the working classes.

Immigrants participating in the anti-war movement were, nevertheless, responding to many of the same stimuli as those involved in the pro-war mobilization. They received news of the war, Italy's entry and Italian government efforts to mobilize overseas Italians, then responded according to their own set of beliefs. As with those who supported the war, the conflict and its corresponding crises drew anti-war Italians' attention away from quotidian concerns and compelled them to divide the time they devoted to social protests between war dissidence and demonstrations related to more

local struggles like higher wages and an eight-hour workweek. In some sense, anti-war immigrants appeared just as "Italian" as those who supported the war. And in this light, this study shows how notions of *italianità* could be the source of social division as well as social cohesion within immigrant communities. Indeed, many anti-war protests targeted the pro-war immigrant mobilization and its leadership rather than the Italian government and military.

As we have seen, proponents and opponents of the war collaborated with like-minded groups in other places. A study of the period of the war sheds critical light on the structure and function of transatlantic and inter-American relationships among Italians. Many of these relationships existed before the war and then were strengthened as a result of the conflict. In some instances, interaction occurred as local branches of Italian government agencies and non-government institutions based in Italy collaborated across borders. They arranged the boarding of recruits onto steamships that stopped in multiple ports and exchanged propaganda materials designed in Rome. In other instances, independent institutions of immigrant civil society also interacted with similar groups in other places. Anarchist newspapers around Italy and South America shared content and circulated information about the regional anti-war meeting held in Rio de Janeiro, for example. Opera players from Buenos Aires performed at a pro-war fundraiser in São Paulo, while Italians from Montevideo purchased war bonds from immigrant banks in Buenos Aires. Immigrant mobility and transnational exchange occurred even when migration did not.

Through its analysis, this project darkens the lines of a dense and multi-linear network of cross-border interaction among Italian communities. It exposes strong notions of collective belonging in both the pro-war mobilization and the anti-war movement that grew out of common origins in Italy, even if it was an "imagined community." It reveals the presence of an "Italian" diaspora based on loyalties that stretched across considerable distances and that might seem distant in the minds of immigrants during periods of time not marked by homeland crisis. This war-time "Italian" diaspora was perhaps one of Italy's many diasporas, stretching in this case through *Il Plata*, Atlantic South America, the Americas and beyond. It was a diaspora defined by Italian nationalism.

The profound interaction uncovered in this study occurred through multi-layered systems of cross-border exchange built around transportation, communication, mass media, financial, commercial, institutional and other networks that parallel those used by present-day immigrants often said to operate in transnational space. Similar patterns of interaction and exchange (albeit at different speeds) between historical and present-day cases suggest that patterns of assimilation, repatriation and other behaviors related to migration may also, ultimately, progress similarly. Overseas Brazilians today who maintain connections to their homeland by watching *O Globo* television may not be that different from overseas Italians reading *Fanfulla*. The impacts of remittance transfers on cross-border family networks may not vary whether processing takes a few weeks or a few seconds. Communication among immigrants may have been just as effective through telegram as it is through WhatsApp.

The case discussed in this study is nevertheless connected with a particular period of time when millions of Italian citizens (and millions of their children) lived abroad and the world was being ravaged by a global, industrialized and "total" war. As a result of those conditions, government and non-government institutions in Italy looked toward their "colonies" for assistance, while many immigrants in Italian overseas communities felt compelled to respond in some way. This shared experience and inter-dependence suggests that individuals and institutions in Europe and South America inhabited an Italian South Atlantic that was part of a larger Italian Atlantic that existed during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Moreover, the pro- and anti-war activities that occurred within and circulated through the Italian Atlantic connect the histories of European mass migration and Atlantic South America to World War I, and advance the study of the conflict as a truly global phenomenon.

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