Flinders UNIVERSITY
ADELAIDE · SOUTH AUSTRALIA

‘I buy this piece of ground here’:

Establishing family market gardens and transplanting Veneto identity in Adelaide’s western suburbs 1920s – 1970s.

by

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Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences

6 October 2021

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Glossary

Bocce	Italian form of bowls that can be played recreationally and competitively.
Campanilismo	The identification with the village in which a person was born. The word *campanile* means the bell tower and signifies a close connection to the village.
Comare	Close friend, a woman usually formed through the relationship of godparent. The plural form is *comari.*
Comune	Italian local municipal area. The plural form is *comuni .*
Compare	Godparent of a child who becomes a significant member of the extended family*. The plural form is compari.*
Contadino/i	A male peasant farmer or agricultural worker*.* The plural form is *contadini.*
Contadina	A female peasant farmer or agricultural worker. The plural form is *contadine*.
Cuccagna	Greasy pole*.* This is a pole or branch of a tree covered in grease or oil to make it difficult to climb. It is used as a form of entertainment usually enjoyed by men.
Filò	The nightly gathering of extended families in the household stable to share stories and companionship. In the Veneto dialect it is called *fiò* and was a custom carried on in the market gardener community.
Italianità	The Italian character, sense of being and feeling Italian.
Mezzadria	A semi-feudal system of rural land tenure which required farmers to give half of their produce to the land owner.
Mezzadro	A tenant farmer working in the *mezzadria* system. The plural form is *mezzadri.*
La miseria	Extreme poverty, destitution, misery.
Nonno	Grandfather. The plural form is *nonni* which is also the word used to include both grandfather and grandmother.
Nonna	Grandmother. The plural form is *nonne.*

Osteria	A café or tavern that serves simple food and wine. Osterie (plural form) were often local meeting places for men.
Padrone	Owner, employer, landlord - masculine. The plural form is *padroni.* The feminine form is *padrona* and plural form is *padrone.*
Paese	Country of origin. A second meaning is village or small town. The plural form is *paesi*.
Paesano	A male person who comes from the same village. In the case of the Veneto market gardeners, the meaning extended to a person from the same province or even region. The plural (and generic) form is *paesani.*
Paesana	Female person who comes from the same village, as above. The plural form is *paesane.*
Piazza	The square in a village, a meeting place or location of the market.
Santolo	Male godparent. The plural (and generic) form is *santoli.*
Santola	Female godparent. The plural form is *santole.*
Sindaco	The local mayor in an Italian municipality. The plural form is *sindaci.*
Sistemazione	The process of establishing oneself with an income, house and opportunities to settle with family, an aspiration for new migrants. In this thesis I have extended the use to include the settlement processes of the Veneto community of market gardeners.
Vagòn	A railway carriage. The Tonellato vagòn became famous landmark in the market gardens at Lockleys. It was the family home and later, accommodation for post Second World War migrants.
Veneto	This is the adjective describing people or places relating to the Vento region. It is written in upper case. Veneta is feminine.
veneti	Noun describing Veneto people – generic form. This is not written in upper case. I used upper case for Veneti Market Gardeners Website as a break with the convention. Some publications use the upper case.
Zio	Uncle. The plural form is *zii* which is used to refer to both uncles and aunts.
Zia	Aunt. The plural form is *zie.*

Additional explanations of terms used in the thesis

1.5 generation	Children up to the age of late adolescence who arrive with their parents as migrants.
Narrator	The person who is interviewed in an oral history recording.
Pioneers	The Veneto men and one woman who arrived in Australia between 1926 and 1928. The group also includes the wives who joined the men on the market gardens. The pioneers were the first generation. This is a particular meaning of the concept of the early arrivals of a migrant group and their role in establishing the community.
Second generation	Children born in Australia to parents in the first generation or 1.5 generation.
Naturalisation	The legal process of changing nationality. The term is also spelled as 'naturalization' in documentation related to the Veneto market gardener cohort.

In the National Archives of Australia records, spelling of the names of the narrators is inconsistent and the citations replicate the spelling found in the items in the files. I use the word (*sic*) to indicate the inaccuracy.

Note on excerpts from oral history interviews

I have retained the exact words of narrators where I have used direct quotations from interviews. Although in some cases, quotations are short, they carry significance.

Thesis summary

During the interwar years a small number of Italian migrants converged on the outskirts of Adelaide, South Australia and began the processes of settlement using their skills as peasant farmers to establish commercial market gardens. This thesis analyses the formation of this group of Veneto market gardeners as a new community in a period of Australian migration history often neglected in favour of post Second World War studies of mass migration and multiculturalism. I examine strategies the *veneti* used in the processes of settlement, transformation of *contadino* practices and values in the new environment and the development and maintenance of family and community networks. I analyse change and continuity between generations, and factors that led to, and the implications of, the disappearance of the gardens. I argue that the Great Depression interrupted chain migration and enabled this initially disparate group to form a community in which hierarchies were flattened and neighbourhood ties replaced intergenerational households. Patriarchal dominance and rigid gender roles were ameliorated as families established the market gardens.

Leaving poverty in Italy, arriving with meagre education and facing xenophobia and marginalisation in Australia, the community created a sense of belonging; it prospered and endured. The narrative of the first generation from the late 1920s to the 1970s traces adjustments made by the market gardeners to live in their neighbourhood and Australian society.

This microhistory is based on sixty oral histories with members of three generations, archival materials from Australia and Italy, and published records of the interwar years in Australia. The narrators speak of everyday lives, illuminating land as an economic and emotional anchor for their community. The research explores the experience of families acquiring and working new land, moving glasshouses, selling vegetables, celebrating in packing sheds and sustaining community networks in an often hostile political, social and economic new world. The community was shaken by, but withstood, external forces of Fascism, the Second World War and the racialised White Australia environment. The stories of challenge, endeavour and success now live in permanent archives and on a dedicated community website.

The market gardens, I argue, were the stabilising force for the *veneti* whose experience of emplacement contrasted with the fragmentation and return migration of other immigrant groups at the time. Analysis of migrant attachment to land as the foundation of belonging and cohesion provides an innovative basis to explore the initiative, unity and vision that can enable a migrant community to flourish and belong in Australian society.

I came to this research as an outsider, recorded oral histories, and created a website that incorporates recordings, documents and images open to the local community, a transnational audience and a wider scholarly audience. My thesis situates a self-contained migrant community of men, women and their families within South Australian history. This intergenerational history of Veneto market gardeners at the fringe of urban space readjusts the focus on Anglo Australia, generating fresh questions for migration research about diversity and the role of place for migrants' adjustment, resilience, and belonging.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed Madeleine Regan

I confirm that I am a recipient of Australian Government Research Training Program support.

Acknowledgements

It takes many people to support a PhD student and I am very grateful to the individuals who have given me such generous support and encouragement during my studies.

First, thank you to my supervisors Christine Winter and Prudence Flowers who have provided me with ideas, challenges and guidance over the last twenty-one months. I have valued their insights, creative suggestions and interest in my project.

I was thrilled when Diana Glenn encouraged me in 2016 to consider doing a PhD using the oral history interviews recorded with the Veneto market gardeners. Thank you to Daniela Cosmini-Rose and Diana for guiding me in the first part of my studies and for supporting my successful applications for the Flinders Travel Grant and the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies scholarship in 2017.

I am grateful for the support of staff in the Office of Graduate Research and particularly acknowledge the guidance Dani Milos has provided me. I thank Susanne Schech, Research Higher Degrees Coordinator in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, for her advice and assistance in 2019.

I have been fortunate to have had generous support from Ian Halkett who, when I first thought about PhD studies, asked if I would like him to mentor me. I have appreciated Ian's kindness and unqualified interest in the human geography aspects of my research. We've had expansive conversations and I have valued Ian's support and ongoing reviews of my writing.

I acknowledge Chris Chevalier and our very fruitful skype sessions as we shared our experience of using oral history in our respective PhD studies.

Michael Campbell has provided wonderful technical support with the Veneto market gardeners website and solving formatting issues related to the thesis. I have been fortunate to have his expertise. Duncan Campbell also offered his professional skills to organise the sound files used at the beginning of each chapter. Jane Swift took on the role of proof-reader and I have valued her careful approach to that important task.

In 2006 Aida Innocente enabled me to take the first steps in the Veneto community through conversations with her parents, Angelo and Elsa, and through connections to the Veneto market gardeners. Aida arranged for me to meet her godmother's son, Johnny Marchioro, and his wife Eleonora, who in 2007, were still working their market garden at Bolivar. I have been privileged to become friends with Johnny and Eleonora who introduced me to descendants of Veneto pioneer market gardeners. They provided opportunities to extend my knowledge of the community and to collect oral histories. I have cherished their friendship over the last fourteen years.

I discussed initial ideas about the project with Viv Szekeres, former Director of the Migration Museum in Adelaide and she recommended I meet with June Edwards who, in 2007, was the Archival Field Officer at the State Library of South Australia. June called it a 'gem' and encouraged me to record oral histories with descendants of the Veneto market gardeners. The gem has grown into a much larger project than I could ever have imagined, and I thank June for inspiring me.

It has been a wonderful experience to have met and interviewed so many people in the Veneto market gardener community and I am very grateful to them. I have valued the opportunity to learn about the Veneto region, the enterprise of market gardens and the pioneer community of families. I appreciate the commitment of Johnny and Eleonora, Frankie and Maria Ballestrin and Bruno and Graziella Piovesan in our work together to organise public events and to the three men who co-presented with me when we delivered presentations to community groups. Thank you to Eleonora who recorded six interviews in Italian and Anna Mechis who recorded two others.

The oral history interviews recorded with members of the Veneto market gardener families and people closely associated with them have been the foundation of my research. I have been fortunate to receive the technical support of staff in the State Library of South Australia. I especially acknowledge Silver Moon, Peter Kolomitsev, Tonia Bradstreet, Enid Woodley and Andrea Hensing-Matto for their interest in my work in the Italian market gardeners' oral history project.

In the first years of the project Linda Lacey, Community Heritage Officer at the City of Charles Sturt, encouraged me to develop it as a new kind of local history. In 2013, I was delighted to receive a Cultural Heritage grant from the City of Charles Sturt to design the *Veneti* Market Gardeners' Website which was launched the following year.

In Italy I received a lot of support. I thank Irene Zampin who recorded two interviews, arranged three others and kindly provided me with support at the *comune* di Altivole and offered warm hospitality. Irene's husband Giuliano Berdusco assisted me with extensive research in the parish archives at Caselle d'Altivole. I am also grateful to others who were conduits to my work in parish archives: Diana Berno at Riese Pio X and Vallà, Renzo Bianco at Castelccuco and Silvana Cutri at Bigolino. Monica Urbani assisted me with research in the *comune* archives at Malo. Nevea Antonello helped me with many aspects of my fieldwork at Castelfranco Veneto and I thank Johnny Rebuli for his assistance.

Teresa Mazzarolo and Ann-Maree O'Connor have assisted with transcriptions of several oral history interviews, and I value their skill and patience. I am grateful to Ann-Maree for her expertise with checking the bibliography. I acknowledge Graziella Ledda who has generously assisted with translating blogs on the Veneto market gardeners' website.

I have valued discussions with family and friends who have listened graciously as I have spoken about the challenges and achievements related to my research. I would like to especially thank Anthony Regan for his advice and suggestions about my thesis. Patrick and Jeanette Regan

provided hospitality when I worked in the National Archives of Australia in Canberra. I appreciate the interest of Carmel Brown and many other friends who unfailingly asked about my progress.

To have been the recipient of several grants as I worked on my PhD has been a source of gratitude and satisfaction. I received a travel grant from the Flinders University Faculty of Education, Humanities and Law to present a paper at a public history conference in Ravenna, Italy in 2017. A student subsidy from the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies (ACIS) enabled me to present a paper at the ACIS conference in Prato, Italy that year.

In 2018 I was awarded the Dino De Poli scholarship by the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies to undertake fieldwork in Italy which included archival research and recording twelve oral history interviews. I was also pleased to receive a donation from the Veneto Club of South Australia Inc towards my fieldwork. In 2018 I was also presented with a student bursary to deliver a paper at the Melbourne session of *Diaspore Italiane* – Italy in Movement - Symposium on Three Continents, Australia, United States, Italy.

In 2019 it was an honour to be awarded a National Archives of Australia/ Australian Historical Association postgraduate scholarship which provided funds for digitising files that expanded my research into the lives of the Veneto market gardeners. I thank research officer, Penny Robb, for her advice and assistance with locating and accessing records and her interest in my project. A Flinders University Thesis Write Up scholarship was another welcome contribution to support my studies in 2019. I was pleased to receive from Oral History Australia South Australia/Northern Territory a student bursary to present a paper at the biennial Oral History Australia national conference in Brisbane. In 2020, I was gratified to be acknowledged as a “noteworthy applicant” by the Laura Bassi Scholarship Advisory Board which offered me publication support and partial fee waivers for editorial assistance.

Throughout my studies I have worked in offices with other postgraduate students who shared their challenges, successes, creativity and advice. Thank you to Stefano, Mel, Heather, Peter, Piri, Piper, Elise, Marina, Edith, Shannon, Vito, Meaghan and Natasha.

Finally, I thank Alex Bennett, my husband. The extent of his generosity, patience and support is not easily quantifiable. Alex has been beside me with energy and vision; I appreciated his suggestions after he read the full thesis and I have treasured his encouragement which has enabled me to persevere with the Veneto market gardeners project, a history I know that he also values.

I dedicate my thesis to the narrators who gave me the opportunity to learn about the Veneto market gardener community and the experience of migration in their families.

Introduction chapter: A new *paese*

So, a lot of them, whoever helped, helped each other, started working in the market garden and some of them decided why not? This sounds alright. They could see people making money like the Berno's and all of the others. And I think that's why a lot of them went into that game. And it was a very small community then, everybody knew each other and became friends because even in Italy where they come from, it was all very close as well.

(Adrian Tonellato interviewed by Madeleine Regan, JD Somerville Collection,
State Library of South Australia, OH 872/35, 30 January 2016, 54).

Click here to listen

In the background on the left, are stacks of wooden half-cases used to pack tomatoes for sale at market.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

Documenting a migrant community

Adrian recalls the intimacy of a community of Italian migrants who left their villages in the Veneto region during the interwar years and converged in an outer suburban area, eight kilometres west of Adelaide, South Australia, to establish commercial market gardens. The enterprise of the Veneto migrants, their vision of working the land as a livelihood and the interdependence and familiarity with close living in intergenerational households in Italy were all adapted to the new environment in which Adrian's grandparents settled and grew vegetables from the 1930s. During that time, three generations participated in the everyday life of the market gardens through work and community networks that served as proxy family relationships.[1] In the area they called 'Lockleys' the Veneto market gardener families cultivated their properties based on the peasant farmer tradition of affinity with land. They brought this attachment with them from their small villages in the north-east of Italy, gradually transforming Veneto culture to create a new *paese* in Australia after their experience of the Depression years. The members of the Veneto group, who were largely unknown to one another in Italy, looked to each other as they built a self-sufficient community where they nurtured a sense of belonging that endured on the margins of Anglo Australia for more than four decades.

From community engagement to academic studies

I came to PhD studies through my involvement with a community oral history project which grew from personal interest in market gardens and the Italian contribution to food production in South Australia. From 2006 I was interested in investigating the lives of Italian market gardeners in the western suburbs of Adelaide.[2] I took an oral history approach to recording the memories of elderly

[1] A market garden is defined as a small agricultural business which grows vegetables for commercial sale. In South Australia from the 1930s to the 1980s, market gardens were usually owned by families who lived and worked on the landholding. A large proportion were located on the fringes of urban areas.

[2] I have long had an interest in Italy through childhood friends in Italian families. As a young woman I lived in Florence for six months to study Italian and continued to learn the language over many years. Since 2007, I have made several visits to Italy, improving my Italian. In 2011, I made my first contact with relatives of narrators, and met them in three further visits including a period of fieldwork in the Veneto region in 2018.

Italians because I wanted to document their experiences before the history was lost.[3] My thesis, "'I buy this piece of ground here': Establishing family market gardens and transplanting Veneto identity in the western suburbs of Adelaide 1920s – 1970s," began not with a hypothesis but a pine box known as a 'half-case' or container used to sell tomatoes and celery at market until the early 1970s.[4] I knew the Innocente family who migrated from the Veneto region and manufactured the half-case boxes in Adelaide from the late 1950s to the 1970s, and was curious to learn about the business and reach of the market gardener customers.

Figure 2: Half-case belonging to Gianfranco (Johnny) and Eleonora Marchioro.

Photo by Alex Bennett.

Through my friendship with his daughter, Aida, I interviewed Mr Innocente who had arrived in Adelaide from the village of Caselle di Altivole in 1950. With his links to growers who bought his half cases, I realised he would be a valuable resource for documenting the history of the Italian market gardens. [5] The Innocente family provided me with a path that became a community project and ultimately evolved into doctoral studies.

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[3] Since beginning interviews with descendants and others closely associated with the market gardens, thirteen narrators have died.

[4] Half-cases were made of pine and their dimensions were nineteen by nine inches and six inches in height and carried the stamp of the market gardener owners. They became Introduction of cardboard boxes for distribution of vegetables made pine half-cases obsolete from the 1970s.

[5] In an entry in my journal for 23 February 2006 I explore the idea of a writing project about market gardens: "… the making of a garden … a garden that has a more public focus – a market garden – which could

I bring together oral history and archival research to examine the history of migration and settlement of the Veneto market gardener families across three generations from the late 1920s to the 1970s. My study is a microhistory of the Veneto market gardeners and the structures that they established to organise themselves into an enduring community.[6] The investigation of the Veneto market gardeners relies on oral histories because there is no published history of the group or wider knowledge of their arrival in the late 1920s, of the cohesion and consolidation of the community and of their trajectory to prosperity as market gardeners who sold their land to developers in the 1960s. Until the development of this project, the history of the Veneto pioneer families, the market gardens and the life within the *paese* at Lockleys was held within the community. I use the term, 'pioneers' to describe the members of the first group of *veneti* who arrived in Adelaide in the 1920s.[7]

Before I describe the path from the community project to my thesis, I explain the purpose of two significant elements of my study: the use of first person and assigning the term "narrator" to the people with whom I have recorded oral history interviews. Using first person in my study reflects my close association with members of the Veneto community since I took tentative steps to document a history of Italian market gardens. I have gained my knowledge of the history of the Veneto community through the collection of sixty oral history interviews. I assign the term,

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incorporate the theme of migrants. I'm thinking now of Aida's parents who supported the development of market gardens through their business of making wooden half-cases … a history of market gardening in the western suburbs in 1950s and 1960s. I could interview Italians who developed market gardens and see what 'grew' from compiling the stories."

[6] Giovannni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd ed. ed. Peter Burke (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 99. Levi identifies three elements that characterise microhistory: the contracted scale of examination, a fine or "microscopic" analysis and the concentrated focus on documentary evidence. My study reflects the three elements.

[7] This meaning differs from the settler colonial context associated with the dispossession of land of First Nations groups.

“narrators” to describe the people I have interviewed in preference to “interviewees.” The word “narrator” designates more authority and agency to the person telling their story in an interview.[8]

I include the voices of narrators at the beginning of each chapter, in addition to excerpts from transcripts. The use of voices illustrates the importance of oral history as a resource in gaining knowledge of a period of Australian migration history that has been overlooked in favour of the post-war narrative which focuses on mass migration and the development of multiculturalism.

When I began following leads for interviews, I discovered that a substantial cohort of Italians had migrated to Australia between the wars. Until then, I had assumed that most Italian migrants had arrived after the Second World War. Learning about Italian migration before the war widened my understanding of the experience of migrants in Australia in relation to issues such as the White Australia policy, the impacts of the Depression, the Second World War, assimilation and multiculturalism. I have learned about Italian migrants who arrived almost a century ago through interacting with their descendants and comparing their experience with a more recent past in Australian migration history.[9]

From 2007, without realising the trajectory, I shaped the community project with the assistance of Johnny Marchioro, the son of a pioneer.[10] At that time, Johnny and his wife, Eleonora, still worked

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[8] Feminist oral historian, Katherine Fobear argues that oral historians must give the authority to the narrator in an oral history interview particularly in the interpretation of what is told. She views this as an essential feminist practice. See, “Do You Understand? Unsettling Authority in Feminist Oral History,” *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 10, no. 10 (2016): 74-75. See also Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zemrzycki, “Who’s Afraid of Oral History History? Fifty Years of Debates and Anxieties about Ethics,” *The Oral History Review* 43, no. 2 (2016): 345-351 who emphasise the intersubjectivity and collaboration between interviewer and narrator.

[9] Samuel S. Wineburg*, Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 5 – 7. Wineburg argues that managing the tension between the familiar and the unknown past assists us to understand ourselves in the stream of historical knowledge and the experience of being human and connected to others.

[10] I use the term “pioneer” to describe the cohort of the nineteen adults who emigrated from the Veneto region between 1926 and 1928 and became market gardeners in Adelaide’s western suburbs in the 1930s.

their market garden at Bolivar, twenty kilometres north of the city of Adelaide.[11] In meeting Johnny, I found a conduit to a larger community and its history. Johnny was born in 1940 and his father was one of several Veneto men who had migrated in the late 1920s and developed market gardens close to each other at Lockleys, eight kilometres west of the city. I met his peers, also children of the first Veneto market gardeners, and discovered the coincidence of the time of arrival of the pioneers in Adelaide. Fourteen of the nineteen adults who arrived between 1926 and 1928 had disembarked in 1927.[12]

Figure 3: Eleonora and Johnny Marchioro, Bolivar, c 1975. Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

After my initial discovery of the group of the Veneto market gardeners and acting on my interest in oral history, I contacted the Archival Field Officer at the State Library of South Australia to gauge interest in the idea of the project. The Officer encouraged me to undertake oral history training to

[11] I met the couple through my friend, Aida, the daughter of Mr Innocente. The close relationships in the Veneto market gardener community were evident in the connections between the two families; Johnny's mother was Aida's godmother.

[12] In 1927, the population of Italian immigrants in South Australia increased to the largest cohort seen up to that time. See Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, (Kent Town, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996), 93-96.

document the history of the market gardeners through interviews because she saw that the project addressed four significant themes: the history of a migrant group who lived and worked in a defined area, the social history of an area, the economic contribution of migrants to South Australia and changing use of land in urban Adelaide.[13]

My early aims were "documentary in intent."[14] I undertook oral history training and deposited recordings of interviews with the State Library of South Australia using its consent and copyright procedures.[15] My goal of collecting oral history interviews about the Veneto market gardens concentrated on aspects of work, crops and relationships with other families. This limited focus reflects one of the categories of oral history defined by Thompson and Bornat in their primer on oral history.[16] I took this approach and concentrated on the family working life. In the early stages of the project I explained to narrators prior to interviews that I would ask them to remember the past through their experience of being a member of a Veneto family who had worked market gardeners between the wars.

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[13] June Edwards, Archival Field Officer at the State Library of South Australia, also confirmed that the project met the guidelines for archival collection as a priority subject - the experiences of migrants and refugees: Government of South Australia, "State Library of South Australia Collection Development Policy" ed. Tony Leschen, 2006.

[14] Linda Shopes, "'Insights and Oversights': Reflections on the Documentary Traditions and the Theoretical Turn in Oral History," *The Oral History Review* 41, no. 2 (2014): 260. Shopes argues that although collecting documentary information is a starting point, oral historians need to go beyond and explore the significance of what narrators remember about events or historical periods that they recount in interviews.

[15] Since 2008, recordings of interviews for the Italian market gardeners project have been deposited in a series in the JD Somerville Oral History Collection in the State Library of South Australia (OH 872). In this series there are more than one hundred and forty-two hours of recordings. 'The Conditions of Use Form for Oral History Interviews' of the State Library specifies joint ownership of the copyright of the interview with the person who is interviewed. This includes rights to use the interview in circumstances such as reproducing, publishing, broadcasting, transmitting, performing or adapting it. In allowing the interview to be made available to the public, it also enables the narrator to place restrictions on its use.

[16] Paul Thompson and Joanna Bornat, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History,* 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), viii. The authors define oral history as a recorded conversation in which the narrator speaks about the past and the three forms include remembering the past through a single theme or topic, and secondly, a life story in which narrators begin with childhood and end with the present. The third form is oral tradition where family stories are passed from one generation to another.

While narrators transmit family memories, it was an unexpected outcome to discover that I was facilitating the process of collecting intergenerational history with voices from three generations. The oral histories were not just the memories of the market gardens; narrators were incorporating themes about transnational migration, transformation and continuity of identity in migrant families and a community.[17] For example, a second-generation woman, Assunta, speaks at the end of her interview about the need to pass on memories of the achievement of the pioneers. She refers to her participation in a group of descendants of pioneers in their late seventies-early eighties who regularly spent time together and often recalled the history of the Veneto market gardener community. She speaks about the intergenerational heritage of migrant families and begins with self-deprecatory laughter about remembering the past revealing perhaps, an awareness of her nostalgic feelings about the market gardener community. Norrick suggests that laughter in an oral history interview can indicate a narrator's re-evaluation of the past against their circumstances in the present.[18] In the following quotation, Assunta reflects that she and her elderly friends discuss former times and she positions herself in the present and acknowledges that younger generations should know about the history and identity of their migrant families:

> We talk about the old times. [laughter] And I'm always telling them, 'Pass onto your kids all of this information,' you know … and find out where your family came from and what they did. You know some of those families sacrificed a lot for their children and if they've done well today, they've got to thank their grandparents or their great grandparents or whatever that was at the time …
>
> (Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato OH 872/6, 9 October 2014, 38).

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[17] Cindy Zeiher, "Historical Memory and Ethnic Myths," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*, ed. Steven Ratuva, (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 73, argues the link between history and memory provides a distinctive path to the past that is particular to an ethnic community because the processes of combining both provide context through language, place and culture which can also include myth.

[18] Ned R. Norrick, "Humour in Oral History Interviews," *Oral History* 34, no. 2, (2006): 86-88, emphasises that older narrators have the scope of years and experience to re-evaluate their lives and humour can mark the contrast about what was known in the past and how it can be assessed in the present. The narrator can tell the story and give it new meaning through laughter. In Assunta's case, her laughter could convey recognition of nostalgia for the comfort and security of "the old times" when the pioneer generation was alive.

I agree with Assunta's proposition about the need to transmit stories of earlier generations and the particular value for migrant families who have two streams of history to pass on to descendants; the origin story of the family in the home country and life in the new country. In oral history interviews there are opportunities for an interviewer to interact with the narrator and draw out the meaning of migration and settlement in the experience of a family in successive generations.[19]

Over time I reflected on my role in collecting the oral history interviews from members of a community that had been unknown to me previously.[20] For oral historians, this is a question of subjectivity. It is an acknowledgement that the interviewer builds a relationship with the narrator in the interview at a particular time in the lives of both participants who are influenced by their own cultural experiences.[21] Italian oral historian scholars, Luisa Passerini and Alessandro Portelli, have

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[19] Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*, 178-181, discuss the role of oral history in valuing the experience of migration from the perspective of migrants including the movement from a country of origin to the formation of community in the new country and ongoing transnational links. See also, Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, (London: Routledge, 2016), 158, 171; Rina Benmayor and Andor Skotnes, eds. *Migration and Identity.* (New Brunswick U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 14-18; Alexander Freund, "Oral History and Ethnic History*," Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series*, Booklet no. 32, (Ontario: Canadian Historical Association, 2014), 30; Alistair Thomson, "Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies," *Oral History* 27, no. 1 (1999): 24-37.

[20] Nicholas Brown, "Using Lives: Working with Life Stories in a Time of Revolution," in *Integrity and Historical Research*, ed. Tony Gibbons and Emily Sutherland (Hoboken, US: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 108-130, reminds historians of the need to apply the ethical practice of locating themselves within the research in using a biographical approach and the imperative to focus on inclusion in representing the lives of individuals and groups in historical writing.

[21] See Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* 58-63. Abrams argues that interviewer and narrator are involved in a three-way conversation. The third 'voice' is the context of culture and identity which brings together experience and subjectivities to produce narratives in interviews. See also Daniel James, *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 119-156. James discusses the issues relating to oral history, the relationship between interviewer and narrator and the social construction of knowledge generated in the interview that are the result of class, gender and other ways of representing the self through the passage of time. See also Wendy Ugolini, "The Internal Enemy 'Other': Recovering the World War Two narratives of Italian Scottish Women," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 24, no. 2 (2005): 145-147. Ugolini examines the processes involved in recording oral histories with Italian Scottish women and their experience of the Second World War and argues that the interviewer can influence the memory of narrators because of the research agenda.

written extensively about the oral history interview within the context of subjectivity and remind us that although the interview is an account of past events there is meaning and significance in the information the narrator brings to the interview as they record their memories in the present.[22] Daniel James, a British historian, advocates for the use of oral history as part of historical research and cautions the interviewer to be aware of the interaction with the narrator who comes to the interview with "communal and national narratives."[23]

I became increasingly aware of my position as outsider as a fifth-generation Irish Australian woman. I did not have the experience of what it meant to be a 1.5 or second-generation Italian Australian and I was considerably younger than most narrators.[24] Nor did I have much knowledge of market gardens and the history of primary production in South Australia. I recorded seven of the first ten interviews with men who I had anticipated would comprise the cohort of market gardeners. However, as I interviewed more people, I learned that women were vital members of the family work unit and the roles of men, women and also children were shared in the market gardens. At first, I felt the awkwardness of being an outsider.[25] On the other hand, I understood the advantages of not being a community member that include being detached from personalities and context, and of the opportunity to learn about a subject as opposed to taking knowledge for granted as an

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[22] Luisa Passerini, "Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism," *History Workshop Journal* 8, no. 1 (1979): 82-108; Luisa Passerini, "A Passion for Memory," *History Workshop Journal* 72, no. 1 (2011): 241-250; Luisa Passerini, "Response on Borders, Conflict Zones, and Memory," *Women's History Review* 25, no. 3 (2016): 447-457; Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 50-51, 55-5; Alessandro Portelli, "A Dialogical Relationship: An Approach to Oral History," *Expressions Annual,* 2005; Alessandro Portelli, "Living Voices: The Oral History Interview as Dialogue and Experience," *The Oral History Review* 45, no. 2 (2018): 245-246.

[23] James, *Doña María's Story,* 124-125. See also Benmayor and Skotnes, *Migration and Identity*, 14. The editors discuss the position of the interviewer in oral history interviews about migration "as a factor in the research process."

[24] Six of the first thirteen narrators I interviewed were born in the 1920s.

[25] See Louise Ryan. "Inside and Outside of What or Where? Researching Migration through Multi-Positionalities." *Forum, Qualitative Social Research* 16, no. 2 (2015). The author analyses her experience of interviewing representatives of a migrant community and argues that multi-positionality is a more useful construct than categorising 'insider' and 'outsider' roles in examining interactions in an oral history interview.

insider.[26] As an outsider I could not assume shared meanings with the narrators about market gardening or about my role, particularly at the beginning of the project.[27]

Consistent with the aim of an oral history project that focuses on a single theme, I invited narrators to place themselves in the family market gardens as the context for their memories.[28] I interviewed the narrators in their homes and devised a series of questions that covered the context of family history, life in Italy, reasons for the parents' decision to migrate and their experience after arrival in Adelaide. I asked about the market gardens at Lockleys, the size and use of land, planting, cultivating and harvesting. I enquired about the ways the pioneers worked the land, equipment and machinery used over time, dimensions and care of glasshouses. I also questioned about the range of crops, selling vegetables at market and sharing labour with family members. In addition to the physical place of the market gardens, I asked about the community, the social lives and networks of families that comprised the *paese* at Lockleys. In early interviews, I focused on the concrete details about the market gardens whereas later, I was more able to inquire about the formation of identity and belonging or the influence of gender in families; a progression into subjective aspects about the sense of self.[29]

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[26] See Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past,* 211-212.

[27] See Susan H. Armitage and Sherna Berger Gluck, "Reflections on Women's Oral History: An Exchange." *Frontiers (Boulder)* 19, no. 3 (1998): 1-11. The authors refer to the complex process of recording an oral history interview and the need for the interviewer to be reflexive, aware of relationships and "the historical moment" of recording the interview. See also Amy Tooth Murphy, "Listening in, Listening Out: Intersubjectivity and the Impact of Insider and Outsider Status in Oral History Interviews," *Oral History* 48, no. 1 (2020): 35-44, discusses two different oral history interviews and reflects on the impact of being respectively an insider and outsider. She argues the interviewer must consider her subjectivity in generating the purpose of the interview and the interactions with the narrator.

[28] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 47, states that while the oral historian may have a purpose for the oral history interview, the narrator may wish to represent themselves in a different way. Narrators in this project were generally responsive to the focus of the market gardens although some initiated memories that reflected significant family cultural experience. For example, two narrators, without prompting, early in their interviews spoke about their parents' experience during the Second World War because they felt that their parents had been treated unfairly after Italy entered the war against the allies.

[29] See Mary Chamberlain, and Selma Leydesdorff, "Transnational Families: Memories and Narratives," *Global Networks* 4, no. 3 (2004): 227-241, for discussion of the cultural narratives in oral history interviews

The sense of belonging to the community was a common theme in the oral history interviews and I observed this attachment in the relationships between narrators through social occasions. Descendants of the pioneer market gardener families became more involved in the project through a series of public events I arranged with the support of a small sub-group of volunteers. Although they all attended oral history training, Eleonora Marchioro took on the role of interviewing older narrators, sometimes in dialect.[30] In 2011 we worked as a group to hold an exhibition that presented stories, aural and textual excerpts from the oral history interviews and family photos collected to that point.[31]

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and the differing roles of interviewer and narrator in the context of remembering in migrant families. See also Alistair Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," in The Oxford Handbook of Oral History, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 79-80; Anna Green, "Can Memory be Collective?," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History,* ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 100-101; Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 54-77.

[30] Another member of the community interviewed an elderly man, a relative of a pioneer family, who had arrived after the war from the Veneto region and worked casually for a pioneer market garden family.

[31] The findings of the research collected from the oral histories up to August 2011 were disseminated publicly in the exhibition which was partly funded by a grant from Multicultural SA and the City of Charles Sturt. Around two hundred people attended the event. Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 235, identifies the last stage of a community project as: "the public presentation of information."

Figure 4: Exhibition: Veneto market gardeners, Findon, August 2011.

Photo by Linda Lacey.

Through public events the project became more well-known and a number of people made a request to be interviewed and were interested to represent themselves in relation to their Veneto identity and connections to the market gardens. [32] There was a transnational reach for the project as early as 2011 when narrators put me in touch with relatives to contact during a visit I made to the Veneto region.[33] By this time I had initiated a partnership with Linda Lacey, the Cultural Heritage Officer at the local council, the City of Charles Sturt who supported the project over many years until she moved to other employment. She considered the project in the light of gaining new

[32] See Alison McDougall and Madeleine Regan, "A History of an Oral History Project: Italian Market Gardeners," *Word of Mouth,* (Newsletter of the South Australian/Northern Territory Association of Oral History Australia Inc, no. 77, Spring 2019), 31-34. McDougall and Regan provide a report on the history of the Veneto market gardeners community oral history project from 2007-2019, based largely on Regan's previous articles. The articles in this newsletter are not peer-reviewed.

[33] The narrators' connection to their families in the Veneto region has become a valuable transnational aspect of the project and has been developed through the website.

knowledge for the local council about changes in the population, migrant groups, economic activity and use of land in the locality prior to the Second World War.

In 2011, I co-presented a paper about the Veneto market gardeners oral history project at the biennial national conference of Oral History Association of Australia with Johnny and Eleonora Marchioro and Linda Lacey.[34] Johnny and Eleonora spoke about the experience of market gardening, Linda used the community history project to demonstrate an alternative to the focus of local historical societies and I presented the historical context of the Veneto market gardeners and the oral history project. In her section, Linda promoted the methodology of the Veneto market gardeners' oral history project as a way of giving voice to community and argued that it challenged "the authoritative voice in local history" which she regarded as "a new approach to local history."[35]

Although no longer a total outsider nor was I an insider in the community of the Veneto market gardener families. The boundaries had become blurred and I reflected on my role within the context of the oral history methodology and ways to involve the community in the project. In 1990 oral historian scholar, Michael Frisch, called for oral historians to create "a shared authority" with narrators.[36] Since that time questions have been posed about authority and the dynamics of power and about the efficacy of collaboration in an interviewer-narrator relationship.[37] I endeavoured to

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[34] We delivered the paper, "Communicating knowledge of a community: second-generation accounts of Italian market gardeners in an Adelaide suburb 1920s-1970s," at the Oral History Association of Australia conference, Melbourne, 7-9 October, 2011.

[35] See Frank Bongiorno and Erik Eklund, "The Problem of Belonging: Contested Country in Australian Local History," *New Scholar: An International Journal for the Humanities, Creative Arts and Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2014): 39-54, for discussion of the challenge for "new" local history and how to represent different accounts of place: Indigenous history, settler stories and the experience of migrants. It incorporates the tensions of belonging, identity and place from perspectives of the individual, the local, national, and also references Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities."

[36] See Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York, 1990).

[37] For example, see Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 162-169; Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories,* 29-44, 55-58*,* for discussion of aspects of oral history methodology and practice including the relationship between interviewer and narrator; Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*, 354-356;

follow the practice of working closely with the community and involved some narrators in initiatives to extend the project beyond oral history interviews and the documentary approach alone. Opportunities to share findings about family life on the market gardens included discussions with the group of narrators who collaborated with me to give public presentations about the history of the Veneto market gardeners.[38]

Mediating the past and present

Knowing that oral history recordings often end up sitting on archive shelves, I looked for ways to broaden access to the project to a larger audience.[39] In 2014, I received funding and created a website that incorporates recordings of interviews, family photos, maps and other documents that represent family and community memories of the market gardens.[40] Although the physical market gardens at Lockleys now only exist in the minds of those who were associated with them and in family photos or those published on the website, they are present in the memories in the oral history interviews. The descendants of the market gardeners express a strong emotional

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Graham Smith, "Toward a Public Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 430-431; Sheftel and Zembrzycki, "Who's Afraid of Oral History?", 349-351. For discussion of collaboration and development of interpretative authority in a feminist research project focused on oral histories with LGBT refugees, see Katherine Fobear, "Do You Understand?" 61-77.

[38] I was invited to deliver presentations about the project to local history groups in Adelaide and asked three men in the organising group who had been raised in pioneer market gardener families to co-present with me. We delivered about eight sessions to audiences over three years. Through this association with the group I was invited to family occasions such as birthdays, wedding anniversaries and funerals. I delivered a paper to a group associated with the province of Treviso, *Trevisani nel Mondo*, in 2011 and I presented with Johnny and Eleonora Marchioro at an event at the Veneto Club of South Australia Inc. in 2017.

[39] Luisa Del Giudice, "Italian-American Oral History and its Digitized Sites," *Digital Media Review* 3, no. 2 (2013): 154-165. Del Giudice argues that few of the vast range of oral history interviews with Italian Americans collected since the 1970s are accessible outside the institutions that archive them. She advocates for academic and community organisations to contribute resources for digitising them as records of migration and settlement. See also Jean-Philippe Warren and Steven High, "Memory of a Bygone Era: Oral History in Quebec, 1979-1986," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (2014): 454.

[40] I received a Cultural Heritage grant from City of Charles Sturt (the local council area in which the market gardens were located) to develop a website to feature the history of the Veneto market gardener families. The website was launched in May 2014: www.venetimarketgardeners1927.net

attachment to the place where the community had its origins in Adelaide.[41] The interviews with the three generations provide details of daily life and work on the market gardens and the connections within the community.

The recordings of the interviews are accessible to a transnational audience. In 2015 the National Library of Australia recognised the historical and cultural significance of the Veneto market gardeners' website and added the site to its PANDORA archive of web publications and websites relating to Australia and Australians.[42] Community members report that they listen to interviews recorded by other narrators and/or read the transcripts because they are interested to learn more about other families in the market gardener group, and take pleasure in examining old family photos, identifying subjects and recalling life in the *paese* at Lockleys in visits to the website.

There is nostalgia for some narrators in recalling the origins of the pioneers, connections to other families, the rituals of working market gardens, the celebrations and structures that held the community together at Lockleys. The website transmits the history of the Veneto families as migrants, market gardeners and now, as memory-makers. It is the second generation, in particular, who contributes to the dedicated website and see it as a valuable means of sharing family and community histories through oral history recordings, transcripts and photos. I write blogs about family histories, events or issues based on my research, and invite other contributors to communicate memories of family or community life. Eulogies are now added to the website and

[41] Helle Dalsgaard Pedersen, "Is Out of Sight Out of Mind? Place Attachment among Rural Youth Out Migrants." *Sociologia Ruralis* 58, no. 1 (2018): 690-692, Pedersen argues that the concept of place attachment as an emotional bond transcends the idea of a physical place.

[42] PANDORA was established in 1996 by the National Library of Australia which collaborates with nine other libraries in Australia to collect and preserve documentary resources that reflect the history of Australia and make them widely and permanently accessible. See the link to the 2019 version of the website preserved by the National Library of Australia: https://webarchive.nla.gov.au/awa/20190313044924/http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/147595/20190313-0056/venetimarketgardeners1927.net/index.html

have become a way of preserving histories of individuals who have been members of the community. Several transnational correspondents have contacted the website through searching for family names which include pioneer families. During 2020 contributors from Italy and Canada, as well as Australia, posted blogs on the website.

Shaping community history into doctoral studies

By 2016 when I took the step to shape the research into a more systematic analysis through doctoral studies, I had collected thirty-six interviews.[43] I had also identified that themes of place and community were emphasised in the memories of narrators and anticipated that these would become the basis of analysing the history of the market gardener community in my thesis. I still encountered the challenge of repositioning the community oral history project into an academic study. There is ample literature on the theory and practice of academics working in collaboration with the community in oral history and other projects.[44] However, the literature does not generally address the challenges of transposing a community project to an academic context.[45]

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[43] At that time, I had recorded thirty-one interviews, five had been recorded by trained community members who were able to interview in Veneto dialect.

[44] See for example, Linda Shopes, Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (2002): 588-598; Joanna Bornat, "Reminiscence and Oral History: Parallel Universes or Shared Endeavour," *Ageing and Society* 21, no. 2 (2001): 230-238, for discussion of questions about developing partnerships between researchers and narrators; Steven High, "Sharing Authority: An Introduction," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 12-34; examines collaborative projects between community and university researchers; Laura King and Gary Rivett, "Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus," *History Workshop Journal* 80, (2015): 218-233, discuss collaboration between academics and "citizen historians." The Montreal Life Stories Project is an example of a collaborative project based at Concordia University Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling with university and community researchers: http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=9077,102013703&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL
See also Fobear, "Do You Understand," 61-77, for discussion of the role of researcher in developing an oral history project with participants who were LGBT refugees and collaborating in interpreting the interviews.

[45] Graeme Davison, *Lost Relations: Fortunes of my Family in Australia's Golden Age, (*Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2015), xii, also observes the challenge to research and write family history in contrast to his professional role to write "academic history." The problem is similar to the issue of how local histories have developed as both vernacular and academic expressions as discussed by Bongiorno and Eklund, "The Problem of Belonging," 39-40. See also Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 154-

I saw two ends of a continuum as I reflected on the differences between my initial aim in recording descendants' memories of the market gardens and the sharper academic focus in examining the oral histories for wider themes and the context of migration history in Australia. At one end sits an oral history project that honours a community and perhaps is nostalgic about a past that is lost and remembered fondly by narrators. I was aware that the project took on characteristics of "the collective retrieval of a shared past."[46] At the other end of the continuum is a scholarly analysis of meaning in the narrators' accounts and language and the need to consider the impacts of change on the migrant community in the context of broader political, social and economic frameworks.

Oral history scholars who discuss community oral history projects argue for critical engagement about the purpose of a project, enlistment of narrators, the complexity of a community and the need to address the context of a historical period. The scholars caution against compiling a simple celebratory document from oral histories.[47] My new challenge was to make the shift from recording fascinating individual stories while maintaining close relationships with some narrators in the community, to working with the interviews to address questions about migration and settlement of the Veneto market gardeners within the history of immigration in Australia.[48]

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161 for examination of the role of oral history in feminist research in giving voice to women's experience and incorporating it into academic history. See also Donna Lee Brien and Jill Adams, "Oral History as a Key Methodology in Higher Degree Research in Writing: Issues and Possibilities," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 36, (2014): 37-42, for use of oral history interviews as a research method in higher degrees.

[46] Joanna Bornat, "Two Oral Histories: Valuing Our Difference," *The Oral History Review* 21, no. 1 (1993): 78.

[47] See for example, Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 153-174; Bornat, "Two Oral Histories," 73-95; Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities," 588-598; Shopes, "Community Oral History: Where we have been, Where we are going," *Oral History* 43, no. 1 (2015): 97-106; Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*, 21-22, 286-297; Alistair Thomson, "Oral History and Community History in Britain: Personal and Critical Reflections on Twenty-Five Years of Continuity and Change," *Oral History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 95-104.

[48] Eric Richards, "Hearing Voices: An Introduction: Visible and Audible Immigrants," in *Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, ed. A James Hammerton and Eric Richards (Canberra: History Program and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, 2002), 18-19. Richards confirms that oral history has the capacity to address and analyse bigger questions about migration and migration history through

In adapting my community-based research to the purpose of a thesis I have developed an overarching framework addressed by Dellios in her call to include memories of settlement "at the familial and intimate level" within a migrant community.[49] I argue that the market gardens enabled the formation of a new kind of community of Veneto families or a new form of *paese*. In my analysis the market gardens embody three meanings. Firstly, they represent the land that provided the economic base for the families and place of permanent settlement.[50] The second meaning relates to the feeling of attachment to land that linked the pioneers back to their *contadino* or peasant farmer heritage in the Veneto region. The narrators express a third meaning and reconstruct the market gardens as a space that transcends the physical and becomes an emotional and social site of attachment.[51]

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interpreting individual accounts; Janis Wilton, "Generations of Journeys," in *Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, ed. A James Hammerton and Eric Richards (Canberra: History Program and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, 2002), 154-155. Wilton refers to the importance of family migration stories which combine individual, cultural and even national significance and address the formation of identity across generations.

[49] Alexandra Dellios, 'It was Just You and Your Child': Single Migrant Mothers, Generational Storytelling and Australia's Migrant Heritage," *Memory Studies* 13, no. 4 (2018): 589. In the context of post Second World War migration in Australia, Dellios argues for the inclusion of alternative stories about the experience of migrant women and children to add to the public narratives and heritage practices about migration and settlement to acknowledge the emotional layers of migration and settlement. This argument is also reflected in the judgement that Benmayor and Skotnes, *Migration and Identity*, 14, make about the value of personal testimony that "allows glimpses into the lived interior of migration processes."

[50] For examination of the study of place through oral history, see Shelley Trower, ed., *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Several contributors examine community oral history projects based on memories of place.

[51] See Pedersen, "Is Out of Sight Out of Mind?" 690-692.

Figure 5: Angelina Marchioro and Margherita Marchioro, harvesting onions, Frogmore Road, c 1945.

Photo by Lina Marchioro.

Exploring the Veneto market gardeners' occupation and connection to land, my study builds on social geographer Sarah James's hypothesis that pre-migration experience of small-scale farming is a critical aspect for a group of migrant market gardeners. [52] In her case study of market gardeners from Lebanese, Maltese, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Chinese backgrounds in Sydney, James identifies that for these groups market gardening is a "translocation of tradition from their country of origin and part of the processes and cultures of settlement into the new country."[53] I investigate the ways that the Veneto pioneers created a vision of their future family life in Australia based on their tradition and identity as *contadini* and their "emplacement" on their market gardens at Lockleys.[54] Italian Australian migration historian, Ricatti, explains that post

[52] Sarah James, *Farming on the Fringe: Peri-Urban Agriculture, Cultural Diversity and Sustainability in Sydney* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 7.

[53] James, *Farming on the Fringe,* 103.

[54] See Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*: *History, Memory, Identity* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 37-39, for discussion of "emplacement" as a physical and emotional state that involves the processes of finding a place to belong as they adapt to their new country. The concept in this study is used

Second World War Italian migrants have moved to new locations as they negotiated economic and social mobility in their aspiration for emplacement, while in this study the focus is on the enduring presence of the community of Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys. Once the *veneti* leased land in the 1930s, they were committed to building their livelihood as market gardeners and there was no reason to move away from their community where they had developed their sense of belonging.

Through my research, I was influenced by a question that Canadian oral historian, Alexander Freund, asks about the use of oral history to understand the experience of migration. "Why not ask immigrants and their descendants themselves if we want to find about their experiences of migration, settlement and integration?"[55] Freund follows up his advice to ask the migrants by affirming the need to put their narratives in context with both subjective and historical meanings in order to understand the complexity of individual lives within a migrant family. As I recorded interviews, I was also learning about the processes of forming identity through intergenerational experience in the family stories of narrators.[56] As well as collecting evidence about the development of the Veneto market gardener community through my research, I was building understanding about the role of memory and how it shaped the stories that narrators shared in their interviews and the subjective meaning of events and their telling in the present.[57] My thesis

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to focus on the Veneto families enduring experience of being 'in place' on the market gardens at Lockleys rather than a series of locations as migrants become more economically and socially mobile.

[55] Freund, "Oral History and Ethnic History*,"* 24.

[56] See Loretta Baldassar, *Visits Home: Migration Experiences between Italy and Australia* (Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 8-13. Baldassar discusses the ongoing formation of identity through generations of migrant families. See also Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*, 168-173, for discussion of and examples of generational change within families recorded in oral history projects.

[57] For example, see Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 52-53, for explanation of the process of remembering for an individual person who, in the context of a group in a family or community is able to reconstruct memories of a past environment because they are familiar with the situation. See also Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de* Mémoire, trans. Marc Roudebush. *Representations* 26, no. 26 (1989): 7-25, for discussion of the role of memory in history and the significance of places of memory that can be private as well as public with national meaning. See also Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 35-44; Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*, 207-208, 126-131; Alistair Thomson, "Memory and

reflects an underlying tension between examining individual and group identities and I purposely hold the two in focus because the history of the Veneto market gardeners focuses on stories of individuals and the continuity of the community.

Figure 6: Reunion of Rossetto families, Adelaide 1948.

Angelo and Maria Rossetto arrived from Italy with their three children joining

seven Rossetto siblings and their families in Adelaide.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

Oral histories – cohorts of narrators

The oral histories with individual narrators represent eight different groups. Each narrator contributes to the larger story of transformation within the Veneto market gardener community at Lockleys.[58] The following table sets out the cohorts of the narrators:

Remembering in Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 77-95; For a view of the links between migrants' memories told through oral history, see Alexandra Dellios, "Migration History, Memory and Oral History," Australian Migration History Network, https://amigrationhn.wordpress.com/2018/07/29/migration-history-memory-and-oral-history/

[58] The contribution of some narrators interviewed in Italy for this project is less direct because their families were not associated with the Veneto market gardeners in Adelaide. However, their reflections on migration and the impact of having been born in Australia and living in Italy as adults illuminate the narrative of migration in a family. Their reflections demonstrate the emotional and long-lasting effects of attachment to

Narrator groups	Characteristics	Number and ages of narrators
Pioneer couple	Interviewed in a separate project in 1984	2 – (70 and 78 years at interview) *Both have died since the interview*
1.5 generation	Cohort who arrived between 1 and 14 years	10 – (average age at interview, 83 years) *Five have died since the interview*
Second generation	Born in Adelaide between 1927 and 1953	25 - (average age at interview, 73 years) *Five have died since the interview*
Relatives of pioneers	Post-war migrants – including five interviewed in Italy	8 – (Aged from 92 to 60 years when interviewed) *One has died since the interview*
Third generation	Born in Adelaide	1 – (early 20s) Requested interview to be restricted for 20 years
Children of other Italian market gardeners in the Lockleys area	Second generation	3 – (average age at interview, 74 years)
Children of Anglo Australian market gardeners in the area	Representatives in two families	3 – (average age at interview, 77 years)
Other *veneti* in Adelaide with connections to the market gardens	Post WWII migrants	2 – (aged 94 and 88 years at interviews) *Both have died since being interviewed*
Other *veneti* in Italy	Includes one who lived in Adelaide as a child. All interviewed in Italy	6 – aged between 50 and 70 years
		60

Figure 7: Cohorts of narrators in the oral history project.

I have included more interviews recorded with women (thirty-six of sixty interviews) although I had expected to record mainly the stories of men because I assumed that they were the market gardeners. I soon learned that women were integral to the labour on the market gardens, and more

place and community and changes in family relationships that occur in migration; a rich ground for further research.

women were available to interview because they had outlived their husbands.[59] I discovered that it is less common for women's perspectives to be represented in migration history and yet, women's role in the experience of migration and settlement requires representation and interpretation.[60] I argue that the lives of women and men are equally as significant in the context of family experience of migration. Through the processes of migration gender roles can be realigned and reorganised as they were for the pioneer families on the market gardens.[61] Women contributed to the success of the family unit through their labour on the market gardens, their work in the household and raising children, a subject discussed further in Chapter 3.

The voices of the pioneers, the 1.5 generation who arrived as children, and the second generation bring together individual memories and create a communal account of experience of migration and settlement. The voices are differentiated because they represent experiences of three distinct generations. The project developed organically, and I was content to rely on the second-generation contacts in the community to recommend potential narrators rather than consider representation of particular groups or cohorts. It was already too late to meet any of the pioneer generation who had arrived as adults in the late 1920s. However, the discovery of interviews recorded in 1984 with a pioneer couple, Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro, was a valuable addition to the project.[62]

Listening to interviews with the two pioneers provides a basis for understanding the experience and role of settler parents from the late 1930s and their imperative of building a future for children

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[59] Interviews with six Zampin sisters also increased the proportion of women narrators.

[60] Oral historian, Marilyn Barber, "Hearing Women's Voices: Female Migration to Canada in the Early Twentieth Century," *Oral History* 33, no. 1 (2005): 68, argues that studies of migration in the past have usually focused on the experience of men and migrant women's experience has not been examined and their voices have not been audible.

[61] Stephanie J. Nawyn "Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies," *Sociology Compass* 4, no. 9 (2010): 751- 753 notes that as a result of migration, gender relations are transformed, and the experience of migration is different for women and men and requires both perspectives to be examined.

[62] Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro recorded interviews in 1984 with Michael Tsounis for the Migrant Oral History Project (Social History Museums) and deposited in the State Library of South Australia, J.D. Somerville Collection, OH 12/1. I coincidentally discovered the interviews late in the research for my thesis.

in Australia. Vittorio and Angelina were in their seventies when interviewed, and they reflected on their childhood and questioned the hardship or *the la miseria* they endured in Italy, living in poor families that relied on children's outwork for survival.[63] Their respective accounts of the early years in Australia illustrate the desperation of poverty for Vittorio who was without regular work before he partnered with his brother and sister-in-law to lease land for market gardens at Lockleys. Angelina Marchioro's memories of her first years as a proxy bride when she knew no-one else in Adelaide, indicates the loneliness and sorrow of leaving her family to marry an unknown man in Australia.

Figure 8: Angelina Marchioro and Vittorio Marchioro, c 1937.

The two images were taken separately – Angelina, in Malo and Vittorio, in Adelaide – before their proxy marriage.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

In their interviews, Vittorio and Angelina assert their happiness as elderly migrants and appreciate the security and wellbeing of their two sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren in Adelaide. They also express contentment in being among *paesani* and living on the land that had been their market garden. Angelina emphatically states at the end of the interview that life continued to improve: "Everything going better and better..." (Angelina Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984). Contrasting the themes contained in the two pioneer interviews with those expressed by the 1.5 and second-generation narrators, I was alerted to the emotional reframing of intergenerational memory. Angelina and Vittorio were unreserved about the early experience of deprivation, sadness

[63] *La miseria* was the extreme poverty and destitution experienced particularly by *contadini* post the First World War in Italy.

and loneliness in their first years. The children remember their parents as stoic, resourceful and courageous, and above all, hard-working market gardeners who made their lives as migrants.

Until I met the 1.5 generation cohort in this project, I was not aware of that category to describe individuals in migrant families. Although not always used to identify different generations of migrants, the term, 1.5 generation, defines individuals who arrive in a new country as children or teenagers, usually accompanying a parent.[64] Many studies in the area of migration subsume the 1.5 generation and focus on the first and second generations although the definition of second generation can be complex.[65] Voices of the 1.5 generation are overlooked because this cohort is not considered as having had agency in the decision to migrate and their authority to speak is therefore not as valued. Yet they bridge the experience of a migrant family between the home of origin and their experience as adults in the new country.[66]

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[64] See Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States," *International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 1166, 1167. Rumbaut used the term in research undertaken in 1976 and 1991 to describe Cuban and South East Asian youths who arrived before the age of twelve years in the USA. In an Australian context, the term 1.5 generation is used in Loretta Baldassar, Joanne Pyke, and Danny Ben-Moshe, *The Italian Diaspora in Australia: Current and Potential Links to the Homeland – Report of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project*, (Geelong, Victoria: Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, 2012), 9. In my study I use the 1.5 classification to include all ten narrators who arrived before eighteen years of age accompanied by their mothers.

[65] Ellie Vasta, "The Second Generation," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, ed. Stephen Castles et al (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 155-156. Vasta refers to three definitions of the second generation based on: statistical categories of children born to migrant parents in Australia; a social definition that includes children born in Australia as well as those who arrived as children: and a subjective classification which suggests individuals can choose multiple identities such as Italian-Australian.

[66] Annmarie Reid discusses the voice of the child migrant and her own experience of "being in between 'two cultures.'" She reflects on the loss of what and who was left behind in England as her parents settled their family in Adelaide in the late 1960s. She emphasises the child's lack of agency in a family's decision to migrate. See "Ella's Clippy Mat: Progging The Memories of Migrants from England's North East" (Ph.D., University of South Australia, 2015), 362-263.

In this study, the voices in the cohort of the ten elderly 1.5 generation differentiate the experience of migration because some provide memories of their childhood in Fascist Italy and their coming of age in the Second World War in Adelaide when Italy and Australia were enemies.[67] Reflecting the research of Rumbaut, I found that the experience of most of the 1.5 generation was closer to that of the first generation than to the cohort born in Australia.[68] The sons in the 1.5 generation (and two daughters) assisted their parents in the market gardens and worked their own properties after marriage and maintained the family endeavour of market gardening as a livelihood on land in the same locality.

The cohort of twenty-six narrators in the second generation includes a woman born in 1927, and the youngest man I interviewed was born in 1953. The large span of years explains the difference in experience and memories within the narrators in this study. For example, Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro born in 1927, the year that fifteen of the Veneto pioneers arrived, could remember lone men who met for social occasions at the place where Angelo Piovesan and Secondo Tonellato were neighbours on Frogmore Road, a time before the pioneers could afford to buy glasshouses.

Lina recalls that she was six or seven years when she witnessed early gatherings of the pioneers.[69] Her memories evoke the recreation of Veneto traditions and customs and familiarity:

> At least twice a week the men would go there of a night time and Mum would be roasting some chestnuts and the men would be singing, and that was lovely. I can still hear them singing, mm … and I know there was seven … and there was another Mr Atto Rossetto**,** he used to come from the city to

[67] In this study the voices of the two pioneers are also differentiated from those of the 1.5 generation because of their particular experience as first-generation migrants.

[68] See Rumbaut, *Ages, Life Stages*, 1167, who refined the category of adolescents aged between thirteen and seventeen years as a 1.25 generation. He argued they are closer to the first generation in age and patterns of behaviour than they are to the second generation because of their direct link to the home country – although this would also depend on the age on arrival.

[69] Lina refers to “bachelors” which identifies that they arrived as lone men. Some men were married with wives and children in Italy. Later in the interview she gives details of the men who had been married in Italy and those who married after settling in Adelaide.

> come down and spend the evening with these men, you know, they were all bachelors, and they all knew each other … Oh, the singing was beautiful.
> I can still hear them singing. I feel as though, you know, I can remember them all standing out with their arms around each other's shoulders, you know, singing away [laughs] … my mother was the only woman. There was another lady, a Mrs Rossetto, but she lived near.
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2020, 8-9).

Younger narrators have recollections from the 1950s when the community had been in existence for nearly twenty years, had experienced the challenges of the Second World War and were incorporating new Veneto migrants into the *paese* as labourers on the market gardens or supporting their settlement by providing accommodation, social gatherings and advice.

Rather than a pre-given hypothesis of the structure of the market gardener community, themes such as work, formation of community, intergenerational networks and life during the war emerged from the processes of the interviews. I also sought out interviews with other market gardeners whose families had worked in the Lockleys area. These interviews assisted in exploring exclusionary and inclusionary tendencies of a mainly Veneto-based group. In addition to the sons and daughters of the Veneto pioneers, I incorporated interviews with members of two other Italian families who were market gardeners in the Lockleys area and grew up as peers with the *veneti.* For example, the Recchi family whose parents were from Abbruzzo and Naples were neighbours to several pioneers and regarded as members of the Veneto market gardener community. When I asked Aida Valentini nee Recchi if there were differences in the relationships between Veneto pioneers and her family, she described the inclusivity in the community:

> We got on as one family with all the neighbours that we had around. We used to know everybody and when there was a party going on, we were always together … We went to Doro Ballestrin's, he had many parties at his home because he had a big shed. We used to celebrate there.
>
> (Aida Valentini nee Recchi, OH 872/38, 28 September 2016, 16).

There were similarities in the ways that all market gardener families structured their working lives and households because of the nature of small-scale family farming. This became evident when I interviewed adult children in two Anglo Australian market gardener families who lived within the three-kilometre area where the Veneto families resided. Even in the Anglo Australian families, sons were expected to take on their parents' occupation and daughters left home early to marry. Although there were similar practices and expectations, the contrast in cultural experience was marked in the Anglo Australia families whose parents were reluctant to interact with the *veneti* and who spoke out against a Veneto who attempted to buy land during the war.[70] The voices of outsiders or "outliers" added different cultural layers to the information I gathered from the narrators in the pioneer families which reflected their Veneto heritage and origins.[71]

Sources: group biography as bricolage

Although my thesis is based on oral history interviews, I undertook extensive archival research in both Australia and Italy relating to individuals and family circumstances and addressed a range of secondary sources. In the National Archives of Australia through accessing a range of files, I pieced together details of the lives of individual pioneers from the date of their arrival through landing documents, to applications for naturalisation, requests to own land and records of the conscription to the Allied Works Council during the Second World War and some taxation files.[72] Other files in the National Archives of Australia such as records of earnings and applications for admission of relatives and friends expanded the knowledge of the working lives and the *paesani* bonds that were significant to the pioneers. I also examined lands titles records which confirmed that all the pioneer families, including members in the 1.5 generation, achieved the dream of

[70] This matter is examined in Chapter 2.

[71] "Outliers" is the term given to people who are outside the community in a community oral history project. Linda Shopes, "Community Oral History," 102. Shopes argues it is necessary to include a wider range of voices and perspectives beyond the central group in a community oral history project to understand the context more deeply. It was not possible in my project to interview other market gardeners from different backgrounds because the first generation had died and there were few avenues of contact.

[72] Through a National Archives of Australia/Australian Historical Association postgraduate scholarship awarded in 2019 I gained access to the services of a Senior Reference Officer and an extensive range of digitised records relating to individual Veneto market gardeners in the National Archives' collection.

becoming landowners in the 1950s. The close study of individuals was a counter balance to the context of immigration policy, employment problems during the Depression, citizenship rights and the regulations developed to manage the lives of Italian and other migrants during the war.

When I undertook fieldwork in Italy, I accessed files in parish and *comune* archives in six of seven municipal areas (located in two provinces in the Veneto region) from where the pioneers emigrated in the late 1920s.[73] I traced the origins of the pioneers and learned about the size of families and numbers of siblings who migrated. In some families, siblings migrated to another country; for example, to Canada or to a South American country and from this I learned about the motivation of individuals who assumed agency for constructing their future away from the familiar structures of the household and village.[74] The archives also confirmed dates of birth and marriages for pioneers and deaths of parents. Sometimes families were fragmented by circumstances that preceded migration. For example, I learned that the parents in the Tonellato family had died within four days of each other in 1900 when the youngest child was one year old after which the children were looked after by relatives. All five siblings emigrated as adults; three went to Canada and two came to Australia.

[73] I was a recipient of an Australasian Centre for Italian Studies Cassamarca Scholarship which provided funds for my fieldwork in Italy and I also received a subsidy from the Veneto Club of South Australia Inc.
[74] Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians: Veneto Migrants in Australia*, (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2005), 23, argue that the v*eneti* were active agents in the act of emigration and through the experience of grandfathers, fathers and other relatives, understood the consequences of seasonal and permanent migration.

Figure 9: Baptismal registers, parish archives of Caselle di Altivole. 2018.

The earliest records I examined were in a register dated from 1846 to 1869.

Photo by Madeleine Regan.

I undertook a thematic analysis of the oral histories using NVivo, the qualitative data analysis software package.[75] Seven major themes emerged from the iterative process of data analysis: emigration, settlement, family life, work and roles within the family, community, identity, and experience of the Second World War. The processes of analysing the oral history interviews of the 1.5 and second-generation narrators involved several steps in organising the themes addressed in recordings with the two cohorts to tell the story of their parents' migration and settlement which contributed to the group biography or prosopography.[76]

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[75] NVivo has been developed by QSR International, qualitative software research developer and I used Version 12, 2018. The package enabled me to identify themes across the interviews.

[76] For examples of the use of prosopography to study social groups in a historical context, see Annamaria Davine, "*Neither Here nor There:" Italians and Swiss-Italians on the Walhalla Goldfield 1865-1915,* (Macleod, Victoria: Italian Australian Institute La Trobe University, 2009); Moria Scollay, *Lalor: The Peter Lalor Home Building Co-operative 1946-2012* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2012). Robert Pascoe, Forward (sic) in Davine, "Neither Here nor There," xi-xiii. Historian, Pascoe argues that prosopography sits between the larger historical accounts and community histories and as a methodology, allows a finer examination of the lives of men and women and families in the context of their immigration to Australia.

I was also aware, as an oral historian, that the actual voices of the narrators were an important key to interpretation, and I had the chance to listen to many of them again as I transcribed forty interviews.[77] Although a lengthy process, it brought the benefits of being close to the narrators, the nuances, silences, hesitations and humour that are embedded in the dialogues. The need to respect the aurality of oral history and address the challenges of transcription is discussed by several scholars.[78]

Figure 10: Ermenegilda Simeoni listens to her interview, Riese Pio X, 22 October 2018.

Photo by Madeleine Regan.

I have moved beyond text to incorporate sound and photographs in my thesis. Including the sound of the voices of narrators in brief clips at the beginning of each chapter emphasises their role as

[77] The State Library of South Australia had transcribed the first five interviews I recorded, and some families were interested to pay for transcripts prior to my undertaking these studies.

[78] See for example, Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 144-151; Francis Good, "Voice, Ear and Text: Words, Meaning and Transcription," *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, no. 22 (2000): 102-109; Linda Shopes, "Editing Oral History for Publication," in *The Oral History Reader,* 3rd edition*,* ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London: Routledge , 2016), 470-489; Steven High, Jessica Mills Stacey Zembrzycki, "Telling Our Stories/Animating Our Past: A Status Report on Oral History and New Media," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 37 no. 3, (2012): 383-403. Alessandro Portelli, "Living Voices, 239-248; Alistair Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," *The Oral History Review* 34, no. 1 (2007): 49-70.

history-tellers and the aurality of oral history.[79] The short extracts from interviews offer a small opportunity to listen to the voices of some descendants of the pioneers of different ages. A selection of other quotations from oral history interviews are woven into the thesis to complement the documentary information relating to the market gardener families. The use of many narrators to tell the stories reflects the view that history is transmitted through a combination of diverse voices, or as Portelli, argues, using a combination of oral histories to narrate a community history can create through its many voices, "a montage … a form of bricolage in which a new significant whole is created out of an array of fragments, bits and pieces (each, in turn, extracted from another, significant whole)."[80]

The selection of images from family photograph albums conveys a sense of intimacy through activities and interactions in the everyday lives in households, on the market gardens and in social gatherings.[81] The photographs create a visual awareness of the families and the community and capture the presence of different generations and the changes over time. They communicate an intimacy and provide insight into the everyday experience of families and historical evidence of the lives of the market gardener community at Lockleys.[82] The continuity of the community is

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[79] Oral history scholar Michael Frisch argues in favour of listening to oral history interviews because of the significance and dynamism of individual voices but concedes that oral history is more valued in reading transcripts because it takes less time to read a transcript than the real-time experience of listening to an interview. Michael Frisch, "Oral History and the Digital Revolution: Towards a Post-Documentary Sensibility," in *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd ed. eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, (London: Routledge, 2006),102-114.

[80] Alessandro Portelli uses this approach in *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral* History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11. See also Matt Rogers, "Contextualizing Theories and Practices of Bricolage Research," Qualitative Report 17, no 48 (2012): 1-17, for an overview of the practice of bricolage used in qualitative research.

[81] I was disappointed that there were not more images of the families at work on the market garden and realised that photos were often about celebratory or social occasions rather than labour which was a taken-for-granted activity. In any case, who would have had time to take many photos of work activity?

[82] See Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past, 109-110,* who explain the value of using photographs as a means to support the narrator's memory in oral history interviews. See also various chapters that discuss processes of working with narrators and their photographs in oral history accounts in Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson, eds., *Oral History and Photography* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

reproduced in the collection of images, from the earliest photo taken in the 1930s to the most recent image of a social gathering in 2021.

Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee granted approval (#7273) for the study on 27 June 2016. When I initiated the oral history project in 2008, I had adopted consent, copyright and preservation procedures consistent with the guidelines established by the State Library of South Australia for community oral history projects.[83] In allowing the interview to be made available to the public, it also enables the person interviewed to place restrictions on its use. Between 2008 and November 2018, fifty-eight interviews were recorded or over one hundred and forty hours, and only one narrator placed restrictions on the use of the recording.[84]

Examination of migration and settlement

This thesis explores narrations of two past community origins, namely peasant life in the Veneto region and the market gardens in Adelaide. In order to understand how Veneto culture enabled a new community to transform Veneto culture, a short historical overview is necessary. In the following section I outline the context of the Veneto region at the time the pioneers emigrated and summarise other accounts of Veneto migration and settlement in Australia.

Historical context of the Veneto region

The experience of life in the Veneto region during the first decades of the twentieth century provides a basis for understanding the creation of the market gardener community at Lockleys. I draw on a range of sources to examine the background of the life of *contadino* families in the

[83] The 'Conditions of Use Form for Oral History Interviews' of the State Library specifies joint ownership of the copyright of the interview with the person who is interviewed. This includes rights to use the interview in circumstances such as reproducing, publishing, broadcasting, transmitting, performing or adapting. The two interviews recorded with Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro in 1984 were among the first interviews collected by the State Library of South Australia.

[84] The narrator was a third-generation descendant who had offered to be interviewed as we walked along Frogmore Road. He described the various landowners who had market gardens. After listening to the recording, he chose to embargo the interview for twenty years.

Veneto and to understand the context and meaning of migration in a region characterised by poverty.[85] Using the image that "the search for bread" was a common reason for Italian and Veneto emigration, I build a picture of the life of the *contadini* in the Veneto region in the period after the First World War.[86] Australia became a major destination after the United States introduced a quota system in the early 1920s that severely reduced the intake of Italians and triggered increased rates of Italian migrants settlement across Australia.[87]

Migration to Australia was not a unique event but one of many migrations that involved Italian people. The *contadini* in the Veneto region were predisposed to seasonal or permanent migration

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[85] See scholars such as Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 19-23. The authors examine the reasons for the high incidence of migration in the lives of people from the Veneto region from the 19th Century which they argue were not just because of poverty or *la miseria*; it was also about wanting better opportunities – economic and cultural motivation. Diana Ruzzene Grollo, *Cooper's Creek Gippsland: The Trevisani*, (Thornbury, Victoria: Mure, 2004). In Chapter 3 Grollo gives an overview of the history of the province of Treviso from where all but three of the pioneers had originated. Rina Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova: A Comparative Study of Italian Settlers in Sydney and Griffith*, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1977), 15-29, provides an analysis of the circumstances of agriculture and households in the Veneto region prior to the Second World War; Rose Noble, *Polenta in Australia: The Story of Giuseppe and Rosa Griguol and their Family* (Para Hills, South Australia, R. Noble,1996), examines the life in the intergenerational household in a village in the province of Treviso prior to the Second World War.

[86] Donna Gabaccia, "International Approaches to Italian Labour Migration," in *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe,* ed. George E. Pozzetta and Bruno Ramirez (Ontario: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992), 22.

[87] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 44. The authors state that Australia was a "default" destination for Italian migrants in the 1920s because of the impediments of the restrictive legislation in the United States of America and because possibilities of employment had reduced in Brazil and Argentina. This period in the history of Italian emigration, including to Australia, has been examined by numerous scholars. See for example: Philip Cannistraro and Gianfausto Rosoli, "Fascist Emigration Policy in the 1920s: An Interpretive Framework," *International Migration Review* 13, no. 4 (1979): 673-692; Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 51-72; James Jupp, *Immigration,* 2nd ed. *(Melbourne: Oxford University Press 1998),* 61; Charles A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963), 85-100. For more detail about Australian immigration policy in the 1920s, see Livia Iacovino, *Legislative and Administrative Requirements in relation to Italian Migration to Australia during the Interwar Years* (Carlton, Victoria: Co.As.It. Italian Historical Society, 1983), 2-16.

which had been the experience of the *veneti* since the nineteenth century.[88] Fathers and/or sons had travelled away for seasonal work to supplement the income of the intergenerational household. Such men were known as "sojourners."[89] Daughters in some families also left home at a young age for employment as domestic servants.[90]

The small size of land holdings for the majority of *contadini* limited the capacity to support large intergenerational households which resulted in family separations because of seasonal migration. However, none of the pioneer *veneti* returned permanently in the first twenty-five years in contrast to the large numbers of Italians who remigrated in the interwar years. For example, Price estimates that between 1921 and 1940 about one third of the southern European migrants remigrated. [91] Baldassar and Pesman refer to the same period and calculate that the same percentage of *veneti* remigrated.[92] The unique feature of this thesis, beyond the narrative of migration between the

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[88] See the following for discussion of seasonal migration of *veneti*; Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 28-29; Lesley Jenkins, *Power of the Land = Il Potere della Terra: A Social History of Italian Settlement in Lismore = Una Storia delle attività dell'Insediamento Italiano di Lismore* (Mullumbimby, N.S.W.: L. Jenkins, 1993), 20-21. See also Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 20-21, 26, 30.

[89] Jacqueline Templeton, "Here, There or Nowhere? Italian Sojourners Write Home," in The Australian Immigrant in *The Australian Immigrant in the 20th Century: Searching Neglected Sources. Visible Immigrants Five*, ed. Eric Richards and Jacqueline Templeton (Canberra: Division of Historical Studies and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1998), 65-67. Templeton discusses the long-established pattern of migration of *contadino* men who travelled from the Valtellina area in north-west Italy for local, seasonal and temporary work as sojourners, many of whom came to Australia.

[90] For a memoir of the experience of a young girl who worked as a domestic servant see Marietta S. Rossetto, *La Pioggia nelle Scarpe: Aneddoti di Una Protagonista – Memoirs of an Italo-Australian Female Migrant* (Adelaide: Via Magenta, 1995).

[91] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 101-104, discusses the high incidence of return migration of southern European men. He estimates that between 1921 and 1940 about one third remigrated to their countries of origin. Wilfrid David Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1954), 76, notes that about one third of Italian men who arrived in Queensland between 1927 and 1943 returned to Italy and 75% of those re-migrated to Australia.

[92] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 26, report that of the cohort of around twelve thousand *veneti* who migrated to Australia in the interwar years, an estimated one-third had remigrated to Italy by 1940.

wars, is an examination of a new community and transposition of “home” to the *paese* at Lockleys. The study analyses the strategies that the pioneers applied to transform Veneto culture and construct an economic and social foothold on the market gardens that supported family and community endeavours to achieve *sistemazione* and a sense of belonging in Australia.

In the Veneto region, a proportion of peasant families lived under the *mezzadria* system; a feudal-like arrangement in which the *contadini* could not own the land they worked.[93] They were housed by, and worked for, the landlord or *padrone* who took half of the produce and livestock annually. In large families the impact of the *mezzadria* was a particular burden with three generations or more living together in a household on the same land. A narrator learned about the *mezzadria* through conversations with his uncle:

> There were many landlords and many of them were very strict as the one
> where my grandfather and my mother used to live. --- They shared, the rent
> was paid, on *mezzadria* means half, it means exactly half of the crop and half
> of the produce, say --- produce means also like the --- poultry, the eggs,
> whatever was produced, half belonged to the landlord and half to the *mezzadria* ... And my
> Uncle, my mother's eldest brother, my *zio* Nino, he used to say,
> he was very strict. He always would choose the fattest hen, he would always choose the
> best, when they split, you know, he would choose the best calf
> that was born … He could remember that was how poor they were, I mean,
> and probably that was one of the things that probably sparked off the migration because
> there was very little there and they had to live on what they produced,
> that was it. There was a lot of barter, very little money going around because
> you know, it was just a matter --- they'd barter the wheat for flour … Once they
> used to trade, you know, everything …
>
> (Remo Berno, interview OH 872/46, 27 June 2017).[94]

[93] While it was not possible through oral history interviews to confirm the number of families in the Veneto pioneer cohort who had been *mezzadri*, many narrators reported that their grandparents had lived in this semi-feudal arrangement.

[94] I interviewed Remo in Italy in 2017. He was raised in one of the market gardener families at Lockleys and went to live in Italy at the age of eighteen when his parents remigrated. Remo has learned of the *contadino* existence after the First World War when his father and uncle emigrated. He also knows the circumstances

Figure 11: The Pastro family household – Remo Berno's mother's family, Riese Pio X, late 1940s.

Photo supplied by Remo Berno.

Remo's account of the *mezzadria* system demonstrates the power and control of the *padrone*, the subservience of the *contadino* family and the hard work and frugality required to meet daily needs of large households outside a wage economy. The image of the semi-feudal relationship between the *padrone* and the *contadino* family highlights the lack of hope and mobility for the younger generations and goes some way to explain their motivation to leave the household either for a season or permanent overseas migration. Remo also introduces an image of the *mezzadria* system, born out of necessity, and which the migrants took with them to Australia.

For the first fifteen to twenty years, rather than a reliance on cultural or religious institutions for a sense of community, wellbeing and cohesion, the market gardens and the *paese* were the unifying

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of the Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys up to the late 1960s when his family left. See interview recorded with Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017.

forces for the *veneti*. This thesis therefore asks what structures were established by the pioneers in the new market garden community. Did the *paesani* become equals in a horizontally constructed network? Or did a new hierarchy emerge at Lockleys replacing the role of *padrone*? What was the role of the Church in assisting the pioneers to adapt to life in Australia? How did the roles of women and men transform in the *paese* of the market gardens? How did the pioneers adapt to new roles?

Who were the pioneers?

In the Veneto region, *contadini* families generally grew small crops of wheat, corn and grapes, and some farmers had pigs, and in gendered role demarcation, women's work was domestic although they raised chickens, grew kitchen vegetables and assisted in the fields in busy times.[95] A strong feature of the Veneto region in the years after the First World War was decentralisation manifested by the large number of dispersed small villages, *una terra di paesi,* a land of small villages or settlements.[96] The experience of the scattered, small settlements in Italy had a bearing on the way that the Veneto market gardeners established their separate market gardens within walking distance of each other in the 1930s.

The pioneer market gardeners emigrated from two provinces in the Veneto region in the north-east of Italy, Treviso and Vicenza, which are represented in Figure 12.[97]

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[95] For more information about the *contadino* way of life in the province of Treviso in the Veneto region after the First World War, see Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 18-28; Noble, *Polenta in Australia*, 69-93.

[96] Giovanni Zalin, *Trasformazioni Economiche e Movimenti Sociali nella Venezia tra L'Unità e il Fascismo* (Verona: Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1983), 314.

[97] The six *comuni* from which the pioneers emigrated in the province of Treviso were Castelcucco, Altivole, Riese, Vallà, Ponzano Veneto and Valdobbiadene.

Figure 12: Map of north-east Italy and the Veneto region.

The provinces of Vicenza and Treviso adjoin each other.

Provinces of Veneto map.png - Wikimedia Commons. Creative Commons CC-BY-SA 3.0

Of the nineteen adults who emigrated, sixteen came from six *comuni* in the province of Treviso, two originated from the *comune* of Malo and one from the *comune* of Monte di Malo in the province of Vicenza.[98] In both provinces, most families worked the land as *contadini*. The long tradition of agricultural employment in the Veneto region is evident in McDonald's study of emigration of Italians. He found that at the beginning of the twentieth century over fifty per cent of males in the Veneto region were engaged in agricultural work from the age of eight years.[99] These figures, of course, do not reflect the proportion of women in the region who contributed to the family

[98] See Appendix 1: Overview of the pioneers and their context. Details for each pioneer include date and place of birth and death, marriage, number of children and occupations.

[99] For more information about the working lives of *contadino* sons in northern Italy, see J. S. McDonald, "Migration from Italy to Australia with Special Reference to Selected Groups" (Ph.D., Australian National University, 1958), 57; Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 26, suggests that prior to the Second World War most *veneti* had attended school for between one and three years. This would have meant that children as young as seven years worked the land.

enterprise of working on the land through specific roles and young daughters who left the household to work as domestic servants.

Histories written under the auspices of *comuni* in the Veneto region provide local perspectives of the impact of the First World War on areas within the Veneto region and address some causal factors for emigration. Because of its location close to the Austrian Hungarian front, many villages and districts were destroyed in military campaigns, and for large numbers of families, the solution to the survival of a large household was the emigration of young men.[100] Apart from the experience of poverty and challenges of living in post-war north-eastern Italy, some of the *veneti* migrated because of the impact of Fascism and the challenges for families who were anti-Fascist.

One narrator explains that Fascism was the principal reason for seven of his mother's siblings in the Rossetto family to emigrate before the Second World War:

> There was three girls and six boys, and all the boys apparently were anti-Fascists, by what I remember. And at night when they would go to the various *osterias* and the subject would come up about politics and Mussolini and all like that, they were so very much against it and arguments would develop, you know, and as they were leaving the osteria to go home, the very strong Fascists of the village would wait for them outside and beat them up.
>
> (Johnny Tormena, OH 872/18, 25 May 2012, 13-14).

However, politics is marginal in most of the narratives of the 1.5 and second generation. The lack of political allegiance is not surprising given the drive of the pioneers to make a living through the

[100] See for example, G. Lanaro *et al, Valigia e Passaporto: Storie di Emigranti del Comune di Riese Pio X*, (Comune di Riese Pio X (TV), 1999), 72-80, who document the history of villagers who emigrated between the two wars and outlines the causes including the poverty post-First World War and the influence of Fascism; Angelo Ceron, ed., *La Famiglia Trevigiana: Una Storia per Immagini,* Vol. 2: "Grande Guerra e Fascismo" (Padova: La Biblioteca – La Tribuna di Treviso – Il Mattino di Padova – La Nova di Venezia e Mestre, 2008) explains the consequences of the First World War and Fascism and accompanying photos offer evidence of the challenges of daily life in the province of Treviso during the 1920s.

physical labour on the land. While it has not been possible to reconstruct political preferences of the pioneers from the memory of the children, I have endeavoured to consult archival and other sources to ascertain an insight into politics. [101] Through archival research it was possible to locate evidence about pioneer, Gelindo Rossetto, an anti-Fascist activist among the Veneto market gardeners and his experience is examined in Chapter 5. Although the Italian diaspora in Australia was divided in allegiances to Fascism and anti-Fascism, it seems that the *veneti* in the market gardens were generally apolitical.

Figure 13: The Rossetto family, Bigolino, c 1918.

Note the military uniform of two brothers in the back row who had served in the First World War.

Eight of the nine children migrated as adults to Australia between the wars.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

[101] For examination of studies of Italian migrants and Fascism and anti-Fascism in Australia, see such as Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980)*;* Gianfranco Cresciani, "Refractory Migrants. Fascist Surveillance on Italians in Australia, 1922-1943," *Altreitalie*, gennaio-giugno (2004): 6-47. For an examination of the Fascist and anti-Fascist movements in South Australia, see Desmond O'Connor*, No Need to be Afraid,* 143-162.

Veneto migrants in Australia

The microhistory of the pioneer families incorporates pre-migration and post-migration circumstances and I build the context for understanding the dynamics of the community through considering other studies of Italian migrant groups in Australia. My examination of the Veneto pioneer community sits within a broad range of studies of Italians in Australia. While studies refer to pre-Second World War the focus is predominantly on the cohort of nearly two and half million migrants who arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1972.[102]

Desmond O'Connor's history of settlement of Italians in South Australia analyses the impact of political and economic circumstances and sheds light on the experience of the Italian community and the influence of "the dominant British monoculture" from the first years of the colony to the challenging circumstances of pre-war years.[103] The migration and settlement experience of Italians in Port Pirie has been addressed in two significant studies.[104] Since 2008 a number of regional Italian community organisations have commissioned written accounts of their settlement history in South Australia. These publications emphasise the migration and settlement experience of the

[102] Charles A. Price, "Australian Immigration: The Whitlam Government 1972 – 1975", in *Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No. 3* in A1 ed. Charles. A. Price and Jean I. Martin (Canberra: Australian National University 1976), A3. A range of scholars analyse Italian migration including authors in Stephen Castles et al., *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992). See also Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia, who* covers the sweep of Italian migrant from colonial times to the era of mass migration; Robert Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage* (Richmond, Victoria: Greenhouse Publications, 1987), examines Italians in Australia through a series of historical characterisations. See also Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* who examines the history of Italian migration in Australia using an approach that incorporates transcultural, decolonial and intersectional aspects of the migrant experience.

[103] Desmond O'Connor*, No Need to be Afraid*,1, 4. O'Connor acknowledges the assistance of several Veneto people in his introduction and cites some of the Veneto pioneer market gardeners in his review of the occupations of Italians prior to the Second World War, 123, 191.

[104] Michael Peter Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie: A Social History* (Port Pirie SA: Our Lady of Martyrs, Port Pirie Italian Community, 1992); Bromley, J. E. "The Italians of Port Pirie." (M.A. thesis, Australian National University, 1955).

cohort of post Second World War migrants.[105] Two theses analyse aspects of Italian settlement in South Australia. [106] For example, Sara King's study of the contribution of Italians to agriculture in South Australia includes a section on market gardeners and incorporates references to several of the Veneto market gardeners. Cosmini-Rose's thesis examines a group of migrants from a single *comune* in Calabria who settled in Adelaide. In contrast to these histories of Italian migration and settlement, this thesis explores regional identity as *veneti*, as market gardeners who established a *paese* between the wars. The Veneto market gardener community is also distinctive because it was not formed through chain migration, the ubiquitous pattern of migration and settlement of Italians and other southern Europeans who migrated to Australia from the nineteenth century.[107]

To understand the presence of Veneto migrants in Australia, I located two principal approaches to research: a general history and smaller studies that focus on geographical settlements. The approach taken by Baldassar and Pesman examines the experience of emigration in the lives of Veneto people who have settled in various parts of Australia.[108] The analysis of Veneto traditions

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[105] See for example, Daniela Cosmini-Rose and Desmond O'Connor. *Caulonia in the heart: the settlement in Australia of migrants from a southern Italian town = Caulonia nel Cuore: Insediamento in Australia di Emigrati Italiani Provenienti da una Cittadina del Sud* (Lythrum Press, Adelaide, South Australia, 2008); Don Longo ed., *Terra Lasci, Terra Trovi: From Molinara to Adelaide: The History of a Southern Italian Community in South Australia 1927-2007 = La Storia di una Communità Italiana Meridionale in Sud Australia 1927-*2007 (Adelaide: Molinara Social and Sports Club Inc. and Lythrum Press, 2010); Antonio Mercurio and Angela Scarino, *We Left: Narratives of the Sangiorgesi in South Australia = E Partimmo: Narrazioni die Sangiorgesi del Sud Australia* (Adelaide, SA: San Giorgio la Molara Community Centre, 2004).

[106] See also Sara Sophie King, "Agriculture in South Australia: The Italian Contribution" (Ph.D., Flinders University, 2007); Daniela Cosmini-Rose. "Making Connections: A study of Australian Migrants from Caulonia (Calabria) with Special Reference to South Australia" (Ph. D., Flinders University, 2009).

[107] For a definition of chain migration and depiction of types of chain migration, see Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 107-112. See also an analysis of the links between chain migration and concentration of Italian migrant groups in particular areas of Australia in Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Territorial Composition of Italian Emigration to Australia, 1876 to 1962," *International Migration* 2, no. 2 (1964): 247-265; Frank Lancaster Jones, "Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation: An Australian Case Study," *Social Forces* 45, no. 3 (1967): 412-423.

[108] Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, argue that migration was a common feature in the lives of the *veneti* who accounted for nearly 12 per cent of all Italian emigrants between the 1870s and the 1970s (Rosoli in Baldassar and Pesman, 22)

of working the land and living in small communities close to their *paesani* provides a framework for understanding the connection to their origins as *veneti* who have settled in different states since the late nineteenth century. Local studies of settlement of Veneto migrants in the interwar years in states other than South Australia highlight that chain migration was a factor in the clustered settlements of Veneto migrants.[109] Although these studies examine Italian communities in the same period during which the Veneto market gardeners settled, there are two main differences apart from the issue of chain migration. The Veneto groups in Victoria and New South Wales settled in rural regions and worked in a range of occupations including as wage earners. These cohorts did not share a single occupation or live in a close community like the Veneto pioneers whose *paese* was formed mostly through post-migration relationships.

Other studies explore transnational connections between home villages in the Veneto and the experience in Australia. Baldassar examines the relationships between a community of *veneti* in Western Australia and San Fior, the village of origin in the province of Treviso through an autobiographical account.[110] In another study, *veneti* are highlighted as a group who remigrated to the province of Treviso in the Veneto region between 1960 and 1970 because of their

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[109] See Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco Ma Simo Veneti: A Study of the Immigration and Settlement of the Veneti in Central and West Gippsland 1925-1970,* (Macleod Victoria: Italian Australian Institute, La Trobe University, 2006). Davine examines the settlement in the Gippsland area of Victoria between 1925 and 1970 of a group of *veneti*, thirty-nine males and twenty-one women from two provinces in the Veneto region as an example of chain migration. The *veneti* worked in a variety of occupations including working the land and working for wages. Grollo, *Coopers Creek*, provides an overview of the province of Treviso from where men began emigrating in the 1920s and settled in a location in Gippsland where men worked in quarries and associated industries and established a "micro-cluster"(18); Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, in an anthropological study, documents the chain migration of a group of *veneti* who originated from two *comuni* in the province of Treviso in the Veneto region and began settling in the Griffith area from before the First World War and compares the settlement with a study of Veneto migrants in urban Sydney. Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, uses oral histories to examine the lives of migrants from the Veneto and Friuli regions of Italy who settled in the Lismore area of New South Wales,1920s to the 1970s and worked in rural occupations.

[110] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 14, explains that people from San Fior, a village in the north-east of the province of Treviso had begun migrating to Perth from the 1920s. Baldassar identifies eight time periods up to the 1970s and different categories of visits of migrants who returned to San Fior.

dissatisfaction with life in Australia.[111] The social and cultural life of the community is discussed in a history of the Veneto Club of South Australia and in an additional publication, historian O'Connor, analyses Veneto clubs and associations.[112] My thesis builds on these studies and asks how Veneto migrants made the transition from their villages to their new lives in Australia, and what kinds of negotiations they undertook to create a permanent community at Lockleys. I argue that the group of Veneto market gardeners built a *paese* from disparate experiences of migration and early settlement and they developed an identity and achieved a sense of belonging in Australia.

Patterns of settlement

The processes of chain migration in the settlement of Italians (and other southern Europeans) have defined the history of many migrant communities in Australia, and in other countries. Individuals or small groups, usually men, found a livelihood and accommodation before calling their wives, relatives and *paesani* to join them and build a community in Australia. Chain migration settlement explains why groups of Italian migrants were often drawn to live in particular areas and work in particular occupations.[113] While early studies by Price and Borrie focus particularly on chain migration, their analysis of the demographic factors and experience of Italians in that period

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[111] Stephanie L. Thompson, *Australia Through Italian Eyes: A Study of Settlers returning from Australia to Italy* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980), 29-65. Thompson analyses the reasons that *veneti* remigrated including increased employment opportunities in the Veneto region from the mid-1960s related to economic development which attracted migrants to return. In Australia the experience of hard work, lack of social life, isolation and discrimination were some factors that led to a high return rate of Veneto migrants.

[112] In a publication, Adelaide Veneto Club Incorporated: *The First 25 Years of its History*, Adelaide Veneto Club Inc., 1999, the Club documents its early establishment. However, there are few details about the distinctive waves of Veneto migration to South Australia. In another publications there is a chapter about the Veneto clubs and organisations in South Australia which is by Desmond O'Connor, "Club e Associazioni dei Veneti nel South Australia," in *Veneti d'Australia*, ed. Luciano Segafreddo and Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2005), 177-187.

[113] For a definition of chain migration and depiction of types of chain migration, see Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 107-112. See also an analysis of the links between chain migration and concentration of Italian migrant groups in particular areas of Australia in Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Territorial Composition of Italian Emigration to Australia, 1876 to 1962," *International Migration* 2, no. 2 (1964): 247-265; Frank Lancaster Jones, "Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation: An Australian Case Study," *Social Forces* 45, no. 3 (1967): 412-423.

assisted me to understand the exceptional nature of the permanent settlement of the Veneto pioneer market gardeners who did not settle as a result of chain migration.[114] The pioneers were not part of a structure of group settlement that had been set up before they left Italy because as stated previously, not all of them knew each other before they migrated. Price estimates that between 1890 and 1940 only seven per cent of southern European immigration to Australia occurred outside the structures of chain migration.[115] Although they nominated sponsors, the Veneto market gardeners were part of that small cohort of migrants who did not emigrate as part of a formal chain that incorporated increasing numbers from the same village or the family.

Price argues there is an accidental aspect to the settlement of groups which determined the way that clusters of migrants arrived, gathered, lived and entered occupations in Australia.[116] My research does not support this theory, which, as Davine points out, is based mainly on statistical or naturalisation records and cannot comprehensively explain why particular groups, like the pioneer market gardeners, settled in close proximity.[117] As alternatives to chain migration, Price offers examples of two other processes that created intentional group settlements of migrants: the

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[114] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia, 143-144;* and Price*, Southern Europeans in Australia*, 109-139, Charles A. Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement: With Special Reference to European Settlers in Australia, Canada and the United States," in *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants: A Survey based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference held in Havana, April 1956*, ed. Wilfrid David Borrie (Paris: UNESCO 1959), 267-287.

[115] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 109.

[116] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 133, 164-165; Other scholars also link chain migration as the source of group settlements. See for example, Longo, *Terra Lasci, Terra Trovi,* 39, who demonstrates that two men began a chain migration in the 1920s which continued in Adelaide until the 1970s. Chain migration is also a factor in the settlement of Italian migrants in the United States as noted by Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 26-28.

[117] Annamaria Davine, "Italian Speakers on the Walhalla Goldfield: A Micro-History Approach." *Provenance*, No. 7, 2008: 48-57; Annamaria Davine, "*Neither Here nor There" Italians and Swiss-Italians in the Walhalla Gold Mining District 1865-1915* (MacLeod, Victoria: Italian Australian Institute, La Trobe University, 2009), 12-14. Davine suggests there could be more complexity in the reasons that a single occupational group settled in a particular area. In the case of the *veneti,* the complexity of the Depression years dispersed them to different rural and remote areas but the pioneers were drawn back to Adelaide and were made aware of land that could be leased for market gardens where the pioneers established themselves in the 1930s.

"organized" group settlement established by a community united by a political or religious purpose including, for example, the Mennonite communities who migrated in the seventeenth century to Pennsylvania or the Lutherans from Prussia who settled in the Barossa Valley in South Australia during the nineteenth century.[118]

The second example, "gravitation settlement," refers to a community formed after arrival and established because of shared attributes such as language or traditions.[119] This process described by Price is consistent with the way in which the *veneti* gathered as a community on their market gardens at Lockleys. Their shared origins through their Veneto culture and occupation as *contadini* accounts for their settlement which was the result of neither a chain nor an accident. The availability of land suitable for small-scale farming was certainly a factor in the choice to settle in the same location.

I support Alcorso's explanation that the success of Italians on small farms reflected their social conditioning within patriarchal households in which family members contributed labour.[120] I also assert that the Veneto pioneers built on their heritage as *contadini* which gave them knowledge about intensive farming practices, focused energy on physical work, use of the family labour unit and frugality in daily life. Unlike some groups of Italians who collaborated and worked a single

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[118] Price, *"Immigration and Group Settlement*," 270.

[119] Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement," 270-273.

[120] Caroline Alcorso, "Early Italian Migration and the Construction of European Australia 1788-1939," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, ed. Stephen Castles et al. (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 11. Alcorso identifies these characteristics in the 19th Century Italian migrants who were labourers and farmers and also suggests that they were the basis of the success of Italians who owned small family businesses later. Jock Collins, "Cappuccino Capitalism: Italian immigrants and Australian Business," In *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, ed. Stephen Castles et al. (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 73-74 refers to "cultural continuity" as a reason for Italians entering a small business such as farming before the Second World War; Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 218-219, 291, explains that the peasant farmer knowledge of agriculture facilitated the entry of southern Europeans into small-scale farming in Australia. Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 71, report that many *veneti* in the interwar years began their working lives at Griffith working for *paesani* before buying their own farms.

property in the early days of settlement, the Veneto market gardeners found and leased separate properties near each other. [121] They made a transition from their role as subservient *contadini* in the Veneto region to independent leaseholders, primary producers and small business owners in Adelaide. At Lockleys, the market gardens were not just a simple continuation of Veneto farming practices but an adaptation or transformation into a new agricultural and social community that endured over several decades.

Historical circumstances facilitated the opportunity for the Veneto pioneers to establish their *paese*. For example, the redirection of Italian migrants to Australia after the United States of America introduced the quota system in the early 1920s and the challenges of the Depression years were political and economic factors that impacted the arrival and settlement of the pioneers. Australia demanded a guarantee from a sponsor or a considerable payment of £40 as a landing fee at the time in which the Veneto pioneers migrated.[122] The sponsorship system should have facilitated the ongoing chain migration; however, the Depression interrupted the ability of sponsors to assist the newcomers. Once in Australia, the pioneers were unable to fall back on the security of chain migration or ongoing support of sponsors in gaining work and ongoing accommodation. Somewhere between the stage of individual unconnected Veneto men working as itinerant labourers and the network of interconnected market garden families, a process started that connected the Veneto men, and then integrated their wives and children as a *paese*.

I argue that a third way of migration and settlement emerged for the Veneto market gardeners. It was neither a chain migration nor a simple individual quest but carried traces of both. The *veneti*

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[121] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia,* 110, refers to Italians who share-farmed before owning their own properties and 144-145, to the co-operation between individuals or families who formed a single labour unit. See also Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 53, notes that many *veneti* in Gippsland shared households between the wars.

[122] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 88, 93; O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 3-4; Iacovino, Livia, *Legislative and Administrative Requirements in relation to Italian Migration to Australia during the Interwar Years.* Carlton, Victoria: Co.As.It., 1983.

made individual decisions to occupy land close to others from the Veneto region who took up the leaseholds for market gardens in the Lockleys area. This thesis argues that "gravitation" settlement underpinned the Veneto market gardener experiences and continued to draw their descendants into reaffirming and remaking the *paese* that their parents had established in the 1930s.

Place and community

As I gathered interviews for the project from 2008, I identified 'place' and 'community' as two interconnected strands that frame the history of the market gardeners at Lockleys.[123] However, two meanings of place for the pioneers complicate this idea. The association with the ancestral home and intergenerational household was embodied in the familiar image of the *paese* in the Veneto region. The *paese* was the place that the pioneers remembered, where they had worked the land in the family household and lived within a close multi-generational community. The second meaning relates to the new 'place' or the new permanent home on the market gardens at Lockleys. It was there that the pioneers became settlers in Australia. They assumed the role as leaseholders and developed their family business on the land and eventually, held the status as landowners and transmitted this identity to the 1.5 and second generations.[124] The attachment to the land transcended the literal business of the market gardens.

The second strand, 'community', relates to the social network and the formation of new bonds the pioneers developed at Lockleys. Although the nuclear family structure was unfamiliar to them, the *veneti* established their individual households and connected into a network of *paesani* who shared

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[123] Robert Pascoe, "Place and Community: The Construction of an Italo-Australian Space," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, ed. Stephen Castles et al., (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 85-97. Pascoe discusses the importance of placemaking and development of community for Italians and argues that the opportunity to set themselves up in a particular place creates the possibilities for establishing their identity in Australia.

[124] Anne-Marie Fortier, Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)," *Theory, Culture & Society* 16 no. 2 (199,9): 47; Anne-Marie Fortier, *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 141. Fortier argues that descendants of Italian migrants whose ancestors first settled in a locality in London attribute significance to it as "the second place of origin" of the family. The first place is the home village in Italy.

the culture of the Veneto region. The importance of the role of community for migrants has been the subject of a range of studies as a theoretical perspective and a social resource for migrants to assist in the settlement processes. [125] Using the two strands, it is possible to understand that the *veneti* created a *paese* through the closeness of market gardens and the ties that developed between the families at Lockleys. The pioneers did not construct a static reproduction of old customs. They initiated a new network as part of the processes of adapting to their new environment in the absence of family and intergenerational relationships. The words of Angelina Marchioro, pioneer market gardener, reinforce the synthesis of the two concepts, place and community, and the experience of life within the Veneto market gardener *paese*:

> We got Italian people all around from there down the street, my house is in the middle of the garden …
>
> (Angelina Marchioro, OH 12/1, 13 March 1984, 11).

The importance of land and cultivation in the history of Italian migration in Australia is discussed by a range of scholars although a concentrated focus on a market gardener community in the interwar years is rare. Mantello's study of the Sicilian families who farmed in Werribee South in Victoria is the study most similar to this research into the Veneto pioneer families. Mantello

[125] For discussion of micro-structures that migrants establish to support themselves in the processes of migration and settlement that sit in relief to the macro-structures that determine migration and settlement policy and practices, see Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration" International Population Movements in the Modern World,* 3rd ed. (Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1993), 22-25. Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press, Collier Macmillan, 1962), 36-41. Gans explains the structure of the "peer-group society," a strong social network which characterised the urban Italian community in Boston from birth to death. See Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 159-17, for discussion of the neighbourhood as part of the informal structures that assisted migrants to adapt to their new circumstances in Buenos Aires and New York in the late nineteenth century. For another approach to the significance of community structures established within an Italian community see, Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 137-174, for examination of the characteristics of the Molfettese fisher community and the connections between families at Port Pirie particularly pre-Second World War.

examines the lives of the market gardener families in a close settlement during the same historical period although that group was smaller, formed through chain migration with just six families.[126] Further, the Werribee South community was disbanded after the land owner, the Catholic Church, did not renew leases in the late 1940s, an indication of the tenuous conditions of leasing land on which families made a livelihood. The Veneto market gardeners also faced this insecurity as leaseholders until they purchased their market gardens in the 1950s. However, the pioneers adapted practices of their *contadino* origins using opportunities to develop the livelihood of their families, community and place, through cultivating land at Lockleys.

Research questions

This thesis argues that the structure of a *paese*, a specific community in a specific place and time, was held and transformed by the Veneto market gardeners and their descendants. Into the twenty-first century, this microhistory finds that the enduring thread of the *paese*, the ongoing relational network, and the literal and emotional sense of personal and group identity is woven through the community. The focus of the thesis is the transformation of the identity of the Veneto *contadini* as they adapted to life in Australia during the interwar years. Five main questions guide my research into the history of settlement of the market gardeners. The first relates to the traditions of the *contadino*. I ask how the Veneto pioneers adapted these practices and values to their market gardens and met the demands of the commercial market in Adelaide. In this context I also investigate the steps in their settlement. What enabled them to make the transition from their ordered life in the intergenerational Veneto household to the uncertain search for casual labouring jobs in the first years in Australia? How did the pioneers occupy land that enabled them to develop livelihoods as market gardeners in conjunction with other *veneti* at Lockleys?

The second question examines the strategies the Veneto market gardeners used in the processes of settlement. I investigate how the pioneers achieved *sistemazione* as independent family units in

[126] Maria Mantello, *Now and Then: The Sicilian Farming Community at Werribee Park, 1929*-1949 (Carlton, Victoria: Globe Press Pty. Ltd., 1986).

their new context as settlers.[127] I build on Baldassar's concept that individual families endeavoured to achieve *sistemazione* and extend it to include the role of the pioneer community at Lockleys. From this perspective I ask to what extent was the presence of the community a factor in the development of security and permanent settlement of the pioneers on the market gardens. The pioneers were invested in building their network and their presence together as a way of strengthening a sense of belonging which was not possible in the external Anglo Australian community. What was more important for the Veneto pioneers: to achieve *sistemazione* in their community at Lockleys or to assimilate and conform to Anglo Australian society?

The third question relates to the ways that the *veneti* developed and maintained community networks on the market gardens. I examine the extent to which the closeness of the community of *paesani* on the market gardens assisted them to negotiate the processes of adapting to life in Adelaide. How did the pioneers support each other establishing their market garden businesses during difficult circumstances such as the later years of the Depression? How did the community respond to the early deaths of three pioneers with young families? How did the Second World War threaten the coherence and safety of the community?

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[127] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 40-42, argues that *sistemazione* was a process undertaken by young adults at marriage which, in the late 1920s would have been impossible in the Veneto region because all family members lived in the same household and after marriage, the young woman joined her husband's family. For migrants, *sistemazione* took on a new meaning because it was a clear means of achieving independence and setting up family and home in a new country. They established stability through gaining economic stability and purchasing a house in which to contain a marriage and family in their new country. Other scholars examine the processes of *sistemazione* for Italian migrants in Australia. See for example, Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 36. Ricatti's interpretation of s*istemazione* applies primarily to Italians who were part of the mass migration wave after the Second World War and he questions the definition of "comfortable stability" with the challenges faced by migrants in the processes of settlement. See also Mariastella Pulvirenti, "The Morality of Immigrant Home Ownership: Gender, Work and Italian-Australian Sistemazione," *Australian Geographer* 31, no. 2 (2000): 237-249. Pulvirenti equates the aspiration to achieve *sistemazione* with owning a home which she sees a gendered moral imperative, particularly for an Italian woman in a family that settled in Australia after the Second World War.

In the fourth question I examine the adaptations that occurred in the generations of the Veneto market gardener families. I investigate the dynamics of intergenerational relationships in the community and ask how did generations within families manage the business of their market gardens? Further, I analyse the role of the three generations in work and social networks to understand the transformation of the experience of place and community through the life cycle of the pioneer families.

Finally, I explore the issue of continuity and change in relation to market gardens and their disappearance through urban expansion in the 1960s. I explore ways that families maintained the *paese* at Lockleys after the loss of the market gardens, the physical site of social connection. How did the community reshape the *paese*? What has bridged the past and present for the community? In an innovative approach to migration history, I ask if a website could be considered a virtual *paese*. Has the website the capacity to mediate between the past and the present for the community? I propose that it is possible to view the website as a space of connection between family stories in Lockleys and the place of family origin in the Veneto region as a virtual *paese*.

After four decades and continuous family labour, the market gardens disappeared gradually as pioneers died and urban development replaced agricultural land at Lockleys. The thesis considers questions related to transformation in the *paese* over time. For example, what happened when the 1.5 generation, who had maintained the pioneer settlement of market gardens for decades, reached retirement? What connections were possible for the second generation when the gardens were no longer present? What took the place of the social network of the *paese*?

Fragmentation and disconnection were likely outcomes for the community once the market gardens were gone. However, the community has maintained its connections and many 1.5 and second-generation members have continued to live in the area or returned after marriage, a topic addressed in Chapter 7. I have witnessed the bonds between 1.5 and second-generation members of the community especially as the 1.5 men and women have aged. The community has participated in annual public gatherings and shared memories of the history of the market

gardeners and the *paese* at Lockleys, in a manner that is similar to the pioneer family gatherings in the packing sheds.

Figure 14: Launch of the Veneto market gardeners' website, May 2014.

Photo by Michael Campbell.

In addition, the formation of the website is an enhancement and a way to remember and imagine the market gardens which has brought a new form of cohesion to the community, "for common imaginings of a shared past … a recent past."[128]

Organisation of the thesis

The transformation of the market garden community is explored through an overarching chronological order. The development of the physical *paese* is explored and the relational *paese* is also examined through three generations whose connections have extended beyond physical attachment to the site of the market gardens. Life on the market gardens occupies several

[128] Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2002), 167-168. Kuhn suggests that the recent past equates to the period when parents and grandparents were alive. For the *veneti*, the narratives reflect the memories of two generations – the community that lives in the memories of the narrators who remember their parents' generation of pioneer market gardeners.

chapters organised according to questions of structure, gender and intergenerational developments. In the first chapter, *Beginnings in Adelaide*, I address the circumstances in the early years of the Veneto pioneers who arrived in Australia between 1926 and 1928. I examine the movement of *veneti* from their transient working lives in the Depression to their role as market gardeners. I argue that although they were vulnerable as drifting new migrants in the first years after arrival, they fixed their vision on *sistemazione*, or the process of establishing themselves and their families in work and accommodation at Lockleys. The strategies that the pioneers employed enabled the group to achieve stability although the nuclear family in Australia was a new status for *contadini*. The chapter sets the context for the narrative of the pioneers from the first uncertain years, settlement, to the development of an identity within the *paese* at Lockleys and permanent community at Lockleys.

In chapter 2, *Attachment to land,* I explore the adaptation of *contadino* values and practices through examining the pioneers' affinity and attachment to land and how it featured in the development of their community at Lockleys. I argue that the imperative for *contadini* to occupy and cultivate land motivated the pioneers to negotiate the land tenure system in South Australia. I use case studies to demonstrate that families used different strategies to own land. I also examine the paths taken by the pioneer and the 1.5 generations to negotiate the land tenure system and achieve *sistemazione* and independence by becoming landowners in the 1950s, a status that they could not have imagined as *contadini* in the Veneto region.

The cohesion of the market gardener community and its separateness from the broader Anglo Australian community are addressed in Chapters 3 and 4. In the third chapter, *Family life and labour,* I argue that changes in family structures evolved among the Veneto market gardeners which were necessary for them to achieve their goal of *sistemazione* at Lockleys. I investigate gendered roles including the authority of men and suggest that women occupied new positions in the household because of their role as labourers on the market gardens. I also analyse generational issues through considering the separate roles of the 1.5 and second generation, and their gendered relationships within their families and to the market gardens.

The focus in Chapter 4, *Life within the community*, charts the everyday life of Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys and the social arrangements that provided the foundations in the self-contained community from the 1930s to the 1970s. I argue that the pioneers developed structures within their community that supported daily activities and reconfigured how they understood the *paese* at Lockleys. I suggest that the pioneers created proxy family models. For example, the role of godparents cemented bonds that provided children with special connections to the older generation. The *veneti* developed nurturing relationships that became significant intergenerational links between families that provided support when tragedy struck the community. I also examine the role of the Catholic Church in the life of the community. A further aspect I explore in the context of community is the attachment to the Veneto as place of origin through return visits of the pioneers in the 1960s and enduring transnational connections for the 1.5 and second generations.

In the fifth chapter, *Community in times of crisis*, I examine questions related to the strength of the community and resistance to xenophobia. I investigate the impact of the Second World War and how the market gardeners managed everyday life after Italy joined the war against the allies and Italians became 'enemy aliens.' I argue that the cohesion within the community at Lockleys was maintained despite the challenges that families faced in the restrictions of everyday freedoms, prohibitions of leasing and purchasing land and conscription of a small number of the pioneers and relatives to the Civil Aliens Corps. Further, I argue that the market gardener community retained its identity and the sense of belonging was deepened in the face of the hostility of Anglo Australia.

In Chapter 6, *Pathways – 1.5 and second generations*, I examine differences between the generations: the pioneers, 1.5 generation and second-generation and their understanding of land and livelihood earned on the land.[129] I argue that discontinuity was most obvious in the second generation who took new directions away from the market gardens. The changes were foreseeable

[129] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 65, acknowledge the significance of land for the *veneti* and refer to the "the centuries-old peasant desire to acquire land." See also Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 141-142; and Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 131-132 for arguments related to the peasant farmer need for independence and to own land as the basis for existence.

given the broader experience of the second generation in education, in options for occupations and more expansive choice of marriage partners for young second-generation women and men. Additionally, I explore the loosening of ties to the physical site of the market gardens because of the new pathways balanced with maintaining links to the community.

The focus of Chapter 7, *Transforming the paese,* is the changing identity and adjustments in the Veneto community at Lockleys. I investigate the movement away from the market gardens and shed gatherings to wider social interactions through the formation of the Veneto Club and transnational links formed by the 1.5 and second generations. I argue that the attachment to place, the Veneto as the family foundation and the maintenance of the *paese* at Lockleys, provide symbolic meaning for the community. I consider the role of the website in maintaining the Veneto market gardener family community and whether it can replace or reshape the market gardens as a virtual *paese* not just for the ageing 1.5 and second generation but also for their children and grandchildren. Finally, I argue that family narratives and collective memories contribute to a more complex and nuanced understanding of the past ninety years of migrant experience and Australian history.[130] The experience of migration within three generations of a family and the formation of physical, relational and virtual communities shape a new method to examine changes in identity and the path to belonging in Australia.

The oral history of the Veneto market gardeners in this study provides not just a counter-narrative to the Anglo Australian record of migration in Australia between the wars; it is a new strand.[131] The narrative of the Veneto community at Lockleys assigns perspective to the history of Anglo Australia

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[130] For discussion of including family memory and identity as a new form of historical study to insert into national narratives, see Katie Barclay and Nena Javette Koefoed, “Family, Memory and Identity: An Introduction,” *Journal of Family History* (October 2020): 1-10; Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 147-169; Kereen Reiger, “Telling Families and Locating Identity: Narratives of Late Modern Life,” *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 1 (2016): 58-74.

[131] Barry York, "Oral History: A Maltese Australian Perspective," Oral History Association of Australia Journal, no. 15 (1993): 100, disputes the value of earlier written histories up until the1970s which he argues ignored the histories of minority ethnic groups in Australia.

at that time and asks about the presence and role of migrant groups. The promotion and maintenance of British-Australian values and interests through the White Australia policy resulted in resentment and hostility towards southern Europeans particularly in the Depression years when jobs were scarce and during the war years when Italians were regarded as national enemies.[132] The experience of southern European migrant communities who, like the Veneto market gardeners, developed initiatives, aspirations and made economic and social contributions were not incorporated into the narrative of the nation.[133] Like Benmayor and Skotnes, I assert that the account of a migrant nation that views the movement from assimilation to integration of migrant populations as a seamless trajectory is promulgated as a myth and provides a version of history that magnifies homogeneity.[134] The documentation of the lives of the Veneto market gardeners shifts the boundaries of Australian experience between the wars and investigates issues of inclusion and exclusion, belonging and participation.

It was not until 1979 when the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs was established that governments recognised the need to document migrant experience. One of the aims of the Institute was to develop repositories of knowledge, including oral histories, about the experience of

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[132] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 213-216. Price asserts that were many examples of friction and hostility in different areas in Australia because of the success of Southern Europeans who were seen to compete economically with British Australians. See also Gaetano Rando, "Italians in Australia: Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism," in *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe*, eds. George E. Pozzetta and Bruno Ramirez (Ontario: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992), 53-56. Rando argues that anti-Italian sentiments increased from the late nineteenth century as larger numbers of Italians arrived through chain migration and became more visible in rural and urban areas of Australia.

[133] Scholars who examine and question migration in the context of national narrative in Australia include Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 3. Ricatti argues that the public discourse in Australia promotes the history of migration as a "gradual evolution" from assimilation to integration and multiculturalism without examining the challenges for migrants. Canadian oral historian, Alexander Freund refers to "nation-centred historical master-narratives," in Alexander Freund, "Transnationalizing Home in Winnipeg: Refugees' Stories of the Places between the 'Here-and-There,'" *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 47, no. 1 (2015): 61.

[134] Benmayor and Skotnes, *Migration and Identity*, 5, argue that nations create myths that uncritically detail the assimilation and integration of ethnic groups in their stories about migration.

migrants settling in Australia.[135] However, migrants who had arrived before the Second World War were generally not represented in commissioned migrant oral history projects at that time because their experience did not conform to the myth of Australian multiculturalism created after the successful settlement of the post-war migrant communities in the 1970s.[136] Large numbers of migrants who had arrived prior to the war were elderly or had died by this period.

The Veneto market gardener community and descendants have experienced three major stages in migration policy in Australia. The pioneers lived during the monocultural British environment which determined Italian migrants as aliens between the wars. They became 'enemy aliens' during the war and endured sanctioned hostility. Some also witnessed the post-war acceptance of waves of migrants. The remaking of Australia through the 1970s and 1980s reflected multicultural aspirations. However, a further stage which began with the push for homogeneity through the policies of the Liberal Government under John Howard resulted in withdrawal from multiculturalism, reduction in the number of migrants, decline in support for migrant institutions and an aversion to diversity.[137] The idea of a smooth progression from Anglo Australia to multicultural nation cannot be used in today's history of migration.

Instead of an evolution of an alignment of migrant communities within the nation, I examine a far more open and ambiguous construction of how a migrant community developed its identity through attachment to land and occupation. I start from the perspective of the Veneto market gardeners and explore what community and home has been, and what it has become in three generations. I

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[135] Michael D. Kirby "Ethnic History in Australia", Speech to the State Library of New South Wales Seminar on Ethnic, Oral and Local History, 22 February 1982, 5.

[136] By the late 1970s, most migrants who had arrived in Australia between the wars, like the Veneto market gardeners, were either very elderly or dead. However, the presence of groups of migrants had not been examined in detail in local council histories such as for example, the documentation of the area in which the Veneto market gardeners had farmed for four decades, Susan Marsden, *A History of Woodville* (Woodville, SA: Corporation of the City of Woodville, 1977), 6-10.

[137] See Christine Winter, "Removing Danger: The Making of 'dangerous internees' in Australia," in *Home Fronts: Britain and the Empire at War 1939-45,* ed. Mark J. Crowley and Sandra Trudgen Dawson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2017), 208-210.

interpret several positions of identity transformation that include the years of settlement at Lockleys, the accounts of a pioneer couple, the 1.5 and second generations and for some, re-migration to Italy.

In an early study of the complexity of the processes of migration, Dirk Hoerder refers to the role of migrants and suggests that they carry responsibilities for linking back to their home country, making a life in the new country and creating new identities. He argued that migrants "mediated between cultures, living transcultural lives with multiple identities."[138] I contend that the pioneers mediated between the *contadino* culture, patriarchal roles in families, cultivation practices and new arrangements at Lockleys which included transformations in the role of women in the market gardens and wider opportunities for their Australian-born children.

My study adds to the national narrative of migration and settlement. The oral histories with the descendants of the pioneer Veneto market gardeners transmit knowledge about migrant belonging in the interwar years. Future generations can appreciate the strength of community coherence through attachment to the market gardens as a factor that enabled a migrant group to develop a new identity, reshape gender roles and support intergenerational relationships. The strands of continuity and links to the *contadino* heritage merge with the adaptations that occurred within each of the three generations of market gardener families who have maintained *paesani* relationships. The digital memory space of the website transmits the history of the Veneto market gardener community and mediates the experience of *paese*, lived through memory, and virtual means. The study contributes to migration research through examining the role of place and community and the re-instatement of home for understanding adjustment, resilience and belonging in the lives of migrants. The concept of a *paese*, physical, relational and transnational, demonstrates the continuities and discontinuities of migration and the formation of identity through generations.

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[138] Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History." *Magazine of History* 14, no. 1 (1999): 9. Hoerder argues that migrants held mental maps that stretched between continents and maintained strong connections with their birthplace.

Chapter one: Beginnings in Adelaide

Bruna Semola: Well, they were a pretty poor family and I think like everybody else, just wanted to make a new life and some of them migrated and hoped for the best when they got here. But conditions weren't the best. They had to take any job that was available at the time because I think it was around the Depression time, you know, so they just took what work they could.
Madeleine Regan: And do you know if your father's family had land?
Bruna Semola: In Italy? Yes, I think they had a bit of land, I don't know how much. But they used to work the land, they had a barn, cows and you know, just a family thing, nothing big.

(Bruna Semola nee Zampin interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 8 November 2016, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/39, 3- 4).

Click here to listen

Figure 15: Bruna Zampin - last on right. Adelaide, c 1955.

From the left: Angelina Marchioro, Amelia Zampin nee Shaw (Bruna's mother), Maria Ballestrin, Angelina Compostella.

Photo supplied by the Zampin family.

This chapter addresses the circumstances in the early years of the Veneto pioneers who arrived in Australia between 1926 and 1928. The pioneers were a sub-group of *veneti* who migrated to South Australia in that period. Bruna refers to the experience of her father, Silvano Zampin, and extends her recollections to the group of pioneers who migrated hoping for a better future than they could have expected if they had remained in their villages with their *contadino* families in the Veneto region. Although Bruna states that her father's family had some land, she acknowledges that it was "nothing big." The land would have constituted a fragmented plot that would not have sustained the needs of a large family.[139] Bruna's father was one of three brothers who migrated to Australia.

As Bruna states, after arrival, the pioneers faced the challenges of the Depression and unemployment and the uncertainty of existence in Australia, competing for what little work was available in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The restrictions of Australia's immigration policy that maintained focus on homogeneity impeded acceptance of non-British 'aliens' in a difficult economic period in which Silvano Zampin and other Italians struggled to exist.[140] Their imperative to survive forced them to travel to various locations including rural South Australia, Victoria and Queensland. The pioneers endured separation from family and home in Italy and tolerated the impact of the Depression in Australia alone. The impermanence of their existence was solved by leasing land, establishing market gardens and forming their own family units that enabled them to occupy land in a geographically and socially contained community.[141] The pioneers remade their home on the market gardens.

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[139] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova,* 20-21, discusses the limitations of land and the need for families to supplement their income for a household to survive in the agricultural areas of the Veneto before the Second World War.

[140] For discussion of immigration and the White Australian Policy in the 1920s at the time of the Veneto pioneers' migration and settlement, see Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 105-110; Gwenda Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia*, (Carlton North, Victoria: Scribe Publications, 2005), 7-29. For discussion of the situation of Italian migrants in South Australia in the 1920s, see O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 93-108.

[141] Christiane Harzig, Dirk Hoerder and Donna Gabaccia, *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 103, contend that the ideal employment situation for new migrants is to engage in work appropriate to their skills and knowledge which will serve to ease their settlement in a new country. The experience of their

I argue the *veneti* were vulnerable as new migrants in a country beginning to feel the effects of the Depression. The pioneers arrived without English language, education or skills that would have made it possible to occupy jobs in industry or trades or even in the catering area like large numbers of Greek migrants between the wars.[142] They had no safety net in terms of income, accommodation or emotional support. However, they fixed their vision on *sistemazione*, the process of establishing themselves, and wanted to set up their families and find a measure of security. They had arrived with skills acquired as *contadini* and their experience of subsistence. They gradually made the transition from ordered life in the intergenerational household to the peripatetic life of casual labourers in their first years in Australia. They made the step to commence livelihoods as market gardeners with other *veneti* in the area the community called 'Lockleys.'

I also identify the strategies that the pioneers applied to establish themselves and achieve independence through *sistemazione*, a primary goal for Italian migrants in adult life to become independent through marriage, to own a home and to raise a family. [143] I develop the proposition made by Ricatti that *sistemazione* is often made more complex because of the challenges of post-arrival settlement and associated uncertainties about initial survival.[144] In Australia, the process of *sistemazione* acquired a completely new significance for the pioneers because the nuclear family did not exist in the *contadino* existence. I examine family reunion and circumstances of marriage as key approaches used by the pioneers to achieve *sistemazione*, develop an identity within the *paese* and remain permanently in Australia.

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working life as *contadini* enabled the *veneti* to move into their long-term occupation as market gardeners after their transient working life in their first years in Australia.

[142] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 159-162, for analysis of the tendency of Greek migrants to work in catering businesses in the interwar years.

[143] See Loretta Baldassar. *Visits Home,* 40-42, 160-167, 183-184, for discussion of *sistemazione* in the lives of young Italians whose trajectory in Australia includes marriage, establishing a home of their own and raising a family. See also Loretta Baldassar, "Italians in Australia," in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World. Volume 2: Diaspora Communities*, Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard eds. (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004), 857.

[144] See Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 36, 40.

In this chapter, the narrators with progressive distance from the actual experience of migration in the late 1920s, reflect differences in memories of migration and settlement and the development of identity in the community. However, as a group, they speak with authority, recover their family's migration history between the wars and convey a consciousness of intergenerational differences in the experience of settlement of a small community: a personal and collective identity.[145]

From the Veneto region to Lockleys

The Veneto market gardeners were not a homogenous group. They originated from seven different villages in eight different *comuni* in the Veneto region with the two most distant approximately thirty kilometres apart.[146] The differences in age and marital status on arrival indicate the diversity of life experience. As stated in the Introduction, the migration and settlement pattern of the Veneto pioneers differs from the model of chain migration documented in many histories of migrants.[147]

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[145] Alistair Thomson, "Oral History and Community History in Britain," for discussion of the role of community oral history projects in the context of historical studies.

[146] Sarah James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 162, refers to migrants who associate with other migrant families in the market gardening businesses in outer Sydney. James argues that families who do not have a "pre-migration" relationship can develop a network through their shared occupation as market gardeners.

[147] The processes of chain migration followed a system in which relatives or people from the same village were "called" by one of their own who had met with some success and assisted the newcomers on arrival and usually formed a concentrated settlement. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 107-139, 278-289; argues that approximately ninety-three per cent of southern Europeans who arrived in Australia between the wars came through chain migration. For other scholars who examine chain migration of Italians in Australia, see also Borrie; *Italians and Germans in Australia,* 80-83, 129-130, 143-144; Ian Harry Burnley*, Population, Society and Environment in Australia: A Spatial and Temporal View* (Melbourne: Shillington House, 1982), 93-101; Joseph Gentilli, *Italian Roots in Australian Soil*: *Italian Migration to Western Australia 1829-1946* (Marangaroo, Western Australia: Italo-Australian Welfare Centre, 1983), 79, examines the roles of sponsors in examples of migration chains in Western Australia. Mantello, *Now and Then*, 12-13, for a study of the small group of Sicilians who settled in South Werribee between the wars through chain migration. For scholars who analyse chain migration in the Veneto migrant population, see Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians,* 33-37; Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco, 51-54,* for explanation of the chain migration of *veneti* from three provinces in the Veneto region; Belluno, Treviso and Vicenza, that formed clusters in a large rural area of Gippsland in Victoria between the wars; Grollo, *Coopers Creek Gippsland,* examines the settlement of a "micro-cluster" of *veneti* from nine villages in the province of Treviso in the Gippsland region from the late 1920s.

Like Baily, I use the term, “network” rather than “chain migration” to describe the bonds the Veneto pioneers formed in their early years of settlement.[148]

Whereas Baily’s studies of Italian migrants examine the role of the network from its origins in a family or *paese* and their settlement in destinations of either Buenos Aires or New York, this study provides evidence of the post-arrival initiatives of a group of immigrants from different localities in the Veneto region. The pioneers established an enduring network at Lockleys, a subject examined in Chapter 4. One second-generation narrator responded to a question about the pioneer market gardener relationships and reflects on the continuity of kinship-like ties in the second generation and the strength of the *santoli* connections:

> But you know what? We still do the same, we still interact because I have got lots of *veneti* --- friends ... And we're all related, godmother, godfather and so forth.
>
> (Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin, OH 872/28, 13 March 2014, 19).

For more information about chain migration in international studies of Italian migration see: Donna R. Gabaccia “Italian Diaspora”, in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World. Volume 1: Overviews and Topics*, ed. Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember and Ian Skoggard (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004), 146-148. Gabaccia uses the term “village-based diaspora” to describe Italian migrant groups who emigrated from the same village or *paese.* Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco,* 113-116, examines the migration of nine communities and highlights the high proportion of Italians (ninety per cent) who originated from the same town or village in his large study.

[148] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914, (*Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999*),* 13, 48-51, applies the term, “informal social network” rather than chain migration to describe settlement strategies undertaken by members of Italian migrant families who originated from single villages in Italy and settled in Buenos Aires and New York City in the early twentieth century; he provides evidence of the continuity of strong pre-migration and post-migration networks. Baily examines the origins of the social networks and confirms that they were a successful means of negotiating adjustments to the place of settlement.

Figure 16: Gathering of Veneto families and single men, Valetta Road, mid to late 1940s.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

Limits of land and migration

All nineteen Veneto adults who arrived in Adelaide in the late 1920s were from *contadino* families. Some had worked on inherited land and others operated under *padroni* or landowners in feudal-like relationships, compelled to share half of all the annual production as noted in the Introduction.[149] In either case, land holdings were small in the Veneto region and resulted in scarce possibilities to expand the family economy.[150] In his interview, Lino Tonellato, who arrived as a child, recalls that his parents leased about two and a half acres in Caselle di Altivole. He remembers the challenge for his mother, Elisabetta, to manage the property, feed herself and five children in the eight years after her husband, Secondo, emigrated in 1927:

[149] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 20-21, explains the customary relationship of family to land in the province of Treviso before the Second World War.

[150] For details of the size of land holdings in the Veneto prior to land reforms in 1950s see: Vera C. Lutz. *Italy: A Study in Economic Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 155-156; and Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 15. Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 33-35, outlines the importance of land in rural Italy up to the 1930s and emphasises the problems for families to live adequately on the land.

> I remember going down there and help her to weed the corns and make, then they used to make bread with it, that's all. That's the only bread we had out of corn … Oh yeah, there was poverty alright, yeah. See, most of the … that's why we couldn't eat polenta. Do you know what that is? We like it now, but it took us thirty years before we'd start eating it. [laughs]. [151]
>
> (Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 14-15).

Some families had barely enough land to provide for the number of people in a multi-generational household because the property was continually carved up by successive generations who lived there together.[152] The inadequate means of living, poverty and lack of resources were for many families, factors in the decision of individual members to emigrate and hope for a better life.

Figure 17: Rossetto family - siblings before three brothers migrated, Bigolino, 1927.One brother had already migrated to Australia in 1926 – and other siblings followed.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

[151] Polenta was made from corn which was grown in the Veneto region. Poor families ate it as a staple because it was available when little else could be made into a meal.

[152] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 27-28, for discussion of the subdivision and fragmentation of properties worked by *contadino* families. See also Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 35, for reference to the difficulties of providing for all members of families living on small properties in the Veneto region.

The need to seek extra-local opportunities to contribute to the family economy was not unfamiliar since the custom in the Veneto region was to send male family members away for seasonal employment in neighbouring countries such as France, Switzerland and Germany.[153] Italians also emigrated to the Americas, Africa and Australia before the First World War.[154] In the Veneto region successive generations had sought work in other countries to supplement the household income and viewed migration as "an inherited and accepted way of life."[155] Several narrators in this study refer to male relatives who had migrated to other countries to find work between the wars.[156] For example, in Dino Piovesan's family, apart from his father and uncle who migrated to Australia, other uncles went to Belgium and Venezuela: "the trend was for the young ones to go overseas" (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 2).[157] Pioneer, Giovanni Santin, spent nine years in Canada as a miner prior to emigrating permanently to Australia in 1927 – see Figure 18.[158]

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[153] See two studies that address the tradition of seasonal migration from the Veneto region: Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 20-25, argue that the *veneti* were used to migration including seasonal periods in European countries. Emigration also to the Americas and Oceania supplemented the family household economy. Davine in *Vegnimo da Conco*, 31-33, asserts that emigration of *veneti* occurred long before emigration in late 19th century. Other Australian studies that address the history of seasonal migration for Italians include: Price: *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 102-103, who argues that the experience of seasonal migration to European countries for the summer enabled them to consider migration to Australia as temporary; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 12-13 suggests that northern Italians obtained seasonal work in countries over the mountains and proposes that migration was "circular"; J.S. McDonald, "Migration from Italy to Australia," 27-33, discusses temporary and seasonal migration particularly in the interwar years. Micaela di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class and Gender among California Italian-Americans* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 49-50, refers to the "internal" seasonal migration and migration to countries in Western Europe before the mid-nineteenth century, a phenomenon evident before large-scale emigration to the Americas.

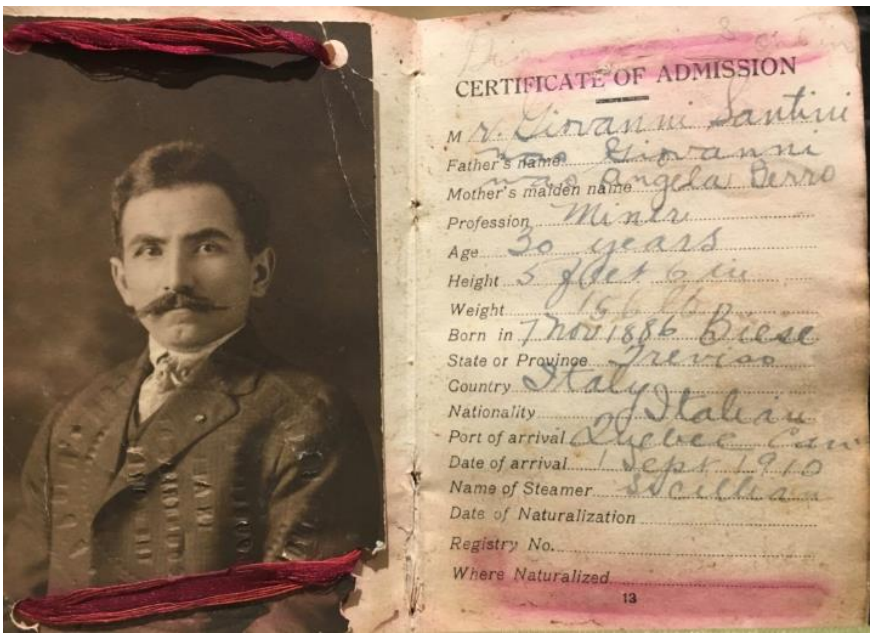
[154] See Gabaccia, "Italian Diaspora," 143-152, who estimates that before the First World War, approximately nine million people who had been born in Italy were living in other countries including in Europe.

[155] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 23.

[156] See interviews with Vittorio Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 4-5; Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 2, Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 30.

[157] Lino Tonellato in his interview uses almost the same words: "a lot of them, most of the young people left, them days" OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 17. One of his father's sisters had migrated to Australia and another sister and two brothers had migrated to Canada.

[158] Giovanni Santin had been married, had a daughter and was widowed before he went to Canada. His granddaughter discovered Giovanni's Canadian passport and other historic documents for the first time the day before she was interviewed in 2013 in Adelaide.



Supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

Generally, young single men who were fit and able to negotiate uncertain prospects for employment comprised the majority of the first migrants in families. [159] However, among the pioneers were three men who were married and had left their wives and children in Italy. When Secondo Tonellato migrated in 1927, his wife was pregnant with their fifth child. In other families, children were so young at the time their fathers emigrated that they had no memories of them.

A gendered form of 'out' employment involved daughters who were sent away to become domestic servants in wealthy households to augment the family income.[160] Sometimes girls as young as ten years old left the family household and were sent away to work in unfamiliar domestic circumstances. [161] Daughters were less independent in the patriarchal family than their brothers

[159] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 104, estimates that until 1939, more than 50 per cent of the Southern European migrants were men and less than ten per cent were accompanied by wives and children. The exception in the Veneto pioneer cohort in this study were the married couple, Francesco and Margherita Marchioro, who arrived in 1926 with their infant, Mary.

[160] See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 23-24, for details about family roles and the impact of poverty on the working lives of children in the large households.

[161] Two pioneer women from poor families who had worked as live-in domestic servants from a young age offer insight into their experience in an oral history interview and memoir respectively: See interview with

who had some autonomy about undertaking seasonal work. Veneto families were accustomed to family separation because of out-work and the household was compensated by receiving supplementary income from absent members and not having to provide food for them.

Migration, sponsorship and legislation

The migration and settlement narratives of the Veneto pioneers from the 1920s exist in the context of migration policies in both Italy and Australia.[162] The experiences of the pioneers reflect the argument advocated by Italian Australian migration history scholar Davine that Italian migrants negotiated the government-administered programs as individuals who exercised agency, and at times they migrated when the respective countries amended regulations.[163] Italian migration to Australia increased during the 1920s because of the quota system in the United States of America, as stated in the Introduction. [164] Meanwhile, in Italy in the late 1920s the Fascist Government had restricted emigration as part of its nationalist campaign.[165]

Angelina Marchioro OH 12, 13 March 1984, 5-6 who confirms that she worked in a wealthy household, working very long hours for two years at about fourteen years of age and several of her friends were also in domestic service. See also Lina Rossetto's account of her experience of being in domestic service from the age of ten years in Venice in Marietta S. Rossetto, *La Pioggia nelle Scarpe.*

[162] Arrangements in the 1883 Treaty of Commerce between Italy and Great Britain enabled their respective citizens, including British subjects in colonies like Australia, to live and purchase property and undertake business initiatives.
See Michele Langfield, "'White Aliens': The Control of European Immigration to Australia 1920-1930," *Journal of Intercultural Studies 12, no. 2 (1991):* 1-14. Langfield argues that the Treaty facilitated the growth of Italian immigration to Australia. However, Graeme Hugo, "Patterns and Processes of Italian Settlement in South Australia," in *Proceedings: The First Conference on the Impact of Italians in South Australia, 16-17 July 1993*, ed. Desmond O'Connor and Antonio Comin (Adelaide: Italian Discipline, The Flinders University of South Australia, 1993), 36, notes that South Australia was the only colony not to ratify the treaty and suggests this accounts for reduced numbers of Italian migrants in the late nineteenth century. Other measures, such as sponsorship requirements and landing fees were introduced by the Australian Government as strategies to reduce the numbers.

[163] See Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 18-19, who discusses the migration of *veneti* to Gippsland, Victoria who migrated usually because they had kin or *paesani* who had migrated before them. Davine argues that individual migrants made decisions to migrate and were not motivated by government policy.

[164] See O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 93-96, for discussion of immigration of Italians and government policy in South Australia in the 1920s.

[165] See Cannistraro and Rosoli, "Fascist Emigration Policy," 673-692.

When the Veneto market gardeners emigrated, several requirements were imposed on Italian migrants to Australia: intending migrants had to be nominated by Australian residents; the issuing of Italian passports was restricted to dependent relatives; and in 1928, by which time the nineteen pioneers had arrived, an annual national quota was introduced to limit the number of emigrants to three thousand.[166] Maintenance of the desired British character of the nation established through the White Australia Policy in 1901 was a factor that determined the acceptance – and reception – of Italians in the 1920s.[167] Cecilia argues that rather than policy limiting the numbers of Italian migrants, economic circumstances in the Depression moderated their arrival.[168]

Although narrators were unable to provide details about the costs of migration, it seems that it was common for Italian men to borrow money for the voyage or whole families contributed to the expenses.[169] In 1924 the cost of a passage from Italy to Australia was £37.[170] To give the context of the relative value of money, the average annual wage of males in Australia in 1924 was £94/3.[171] The Veneto group migrated with the assistance of sponsors who were required to provide the new arrivals with accommodation and employment as part of the landing requirements.[172] The

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[166] See McDonald, "Migration from Italy to Australia", 133-143, who examines the political context of Italian migration to Australia during the interwar years. See also Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 7-9, 148-149, for Australian Government restrictions. Those not nominated by a sponsor were required to pay a landing of fee which was £10 in 1924 and by 1925, it had increased to £40 See O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 3.

[167] See James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 6-10; Caroline Alcorso, "Early Italian Migration," 6-7.

[168] Tito Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday: Outline of the Italian migration into Australia from Discovery to the Second World War*, trans. and ed. Moira Furey, (Redcliffs, Victoria: The Sunnyland Press, 1987), 89-90.

[169] See oral history interview with Giuseppe Zammarchi in Wendy Lowenstein, *Weevils in the Flour: An Oral Record of the 1930s Depression in Australia* rev. ed. (Newham Victoria: Scribe, 1989), 158-161. The narrator who arrived in Australia in 1928, refers to receiving money from an uncle in America and contributions from his brothers.

[170] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 3.

[171] See also the *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* No. 18. 1925, 570.

[172] See See Iacovino, *Legislative and Administrative Requirements*, 12-13; Gentilli, *Australian Roots*, 79, for details about the nomination process and formal relationship between sponsor and migrant. In another oral history account, an Italian man explains that his father borrowed £37 for the ticket as well as the £40 landing fee because he had not been sponsored.

financial investment of migration was considerable for a family and therefore migrants who were *contadini* relied on the nomination of a sponsor.

Most Veneto pioneers arrived with £10 although the exception was Giovanni Santin, eldest of the cohort at forty-one years, who had worked in Canada for nine years, and who arrived with £20, a level of finances not generally available to individual *contadini*.[173] The pioneers' meagre financial resources did not bridge the difficult economic conditions in South Australia in the late 1920s.
In Figure 19 below, Angelo Piovesan states in his landing permit that he brought £10 with him. He also indicates a change of mind about his migration. In question 14, he had stated that he would stay for six years and this was crossed out in favour of a new response, permanent settlement.

[173] Details about the amounts of money the Veneto pioneer cohort carried on arrival were obtained from the "Personal Statement by Alien Passenger" (A42) forms in the National Archives of Australia series NAA: D4880, for fourteen of the Veneto pioneers who arrived between 1926 and 1928. It is not clear how they were able to raise the money they brought with them.

S.A. 4680 A.C. 185

PERSONAL STATEMENT AND DECLARATION.

Name of Ship.	Class Travelled.	Date of Arrival.	Port of Landing.
CITTA DI GENOVA	III	27-8-27	ADELAIDE

1. Surname PIVESAN (In BLOCK letters.) 2. Christian name ANGELO
3. Place of birth—Town PINZANO Country ITALY 4. Date of birth 4/12/1905
5. Nationality ITALIAN 6. Race ITALIAN
7. Particulars of passport or permit held—
(a) Number 197 (d) Where issued TREVISO
(b) Date of issue 11/7/927 (e) If visaed by a British Consul, state place and date of visa—
(c) By whom issued POLICE
8. Married or single single
9. If accompanied by wife and/or children under the age of 16 years, give particulars of each—

	Name.	Sex.	Age.	Birthplace.
Wife				
Children—(1)				
(2)		NO		
(3)				

10. Last permanent address abroad
11. Occupation or profession DAIRY FARMER 12. Intended occupation in Australia DAIRY FARMER
13. Personal description—Height 5.8 Hair BROWN Eyes BROWN Marks
(Extract from Passport.)
14. (a) Do you intend to settle in Australia? yes
(b) If temporary business visit, state intended duration six years
(c) If tourist visit, state intended duration
15. If you have {(a) relatives (b) friends} in Australia, give names and addresses of two—

	Name.	Address.
(a) Relatives—(1)		
(2)		
(b) If no relative, but friend (1)	Mr. F Ballestrin	918 Currie St.
(2)		

16. Proposed permanent address in Australia as above
(If not known, state temporary address) Adel.
17. What amount of money your own bona fide property can you produce? (If more than £100, state £100.) £ 10
If less than £40, state whether maintenance or employment has been guaranteed by any resident of Australia; and, if so, give name and address of such person Bond
18. Are you, and any dependants accompanying you, in sound mental and physical health? yes
If not, state disability —
19. Have you had any training?—(a) Navy —— (b) Army yes (c) Air Force ——
In what country Italy
20. Are you a Reservist? yes If so, state in what unit artillery
21. Have you previously resided in Australia? — If so, state period of residence —
date of leaving Australia port of departure

I hereby declare that I understand the above questions, and that the answers given by me to the questions are true and correct. I undertake that while in Australia I will faithfully observe and obey the laws of Australia.

Correctness of signature and particulars herein acknowledged by the declarant Angelo Piovesan
before me at FREMANTLE
this 27 AUG 1927 19
S. Cox
Officer of Customs.

Signature Piovesan Angelo
Date 26 AGO. 1927 19

(SEE OTHER SIDE.)

4,700/11.26.—G.17810.—858.

National Archives of Australia NAA: D4880, ITALIAN/PIOVESAN A

Figure 19: Landing permit for Angelo Piovesan, arrival in Australia, 27 August 1927.

NAA: D4880, Italian/Piovesan A.

All but one of the nineteen pioneers disembarked in Adelaide in the late 1920s as lone males, conforming to the usual pattern of Italian migration where a man arrived without a spouse.[174] Men alone were more likely to take any opportunities for work which meant that wives emigrated later or the men formed a family once they had a financial base. The sole married couple in the pioneer cohort, and their infant daughter, who arrived in 1926 were advantaged because Margherita's brother sponsored them and provided employment and assistance with accommodation. Arrival documents for fourteen of the pioneers were accessible in the National Archives of Australia and ten of them stated that they wanted to settle permanently in Australia.[175]

Leaving security

When members of Veneto families travelled for seasonal work in neighbouring European countries, they returned to the intergenerational family and remained members of an ordered household and labour arrangements. Although there was security in the structures and roles of everyday *contadino* life, scarcity and "the search for bread" motivated large numbers of Italians to emigrate either temporarily or permanently.[176] The long sea journey from Italy and arrival in Australia was the antithesis of *contadino* order for the Veneto group who had been raised in extended families in a rural locality. The voyage, physical and emotional separation from family

[174] For discussion of the arrival of single men from Italy and other southern European countries in Australia in the interwar years, see Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 52-56; Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 104-113. Baldassar, "Italian Diaspora," 852, states that of the 23,200 Italians who arrived in Australia between 1922 and 1930, eighty-four per cent were men. The percentage of women who arrived between 1931 and 1940 grew to forty-three per cent of the total Italian migrants because wives joined husbands or other relatives. In 1938 Santa Ballestrin and her daughter, Luigia, were sponsored as dependents by one of the Ballestrin sons.

[175] See NAA: Australian Customs Service, State Administration South Australia; D4880, *Statements by alien passengers on entry to Australia, arranged by nationality then alphabetically*, circa 01 Jan 1923-circa 31 Dec 1948; for the following individuals: Ballestrin, A.; Ballestrin, I.; Berno G.; Berno VP.; Marchioro, V.; Piovesan, A.; Rebuli, B.; Rossetto A.; Rossetto G.; Santin, G.; Tonellato, S.; Zalunardo, E.; Zampin, S.

[176] Gabaccia discusses the extent of Italian emigration which was so common that she argues there was an "Italian culture of migration" and cites Rosoli in a statement about Italy holding a record among other European countries for the volume of emigration or return. See Gabaccia, "International Approaches to Italian Labour Migration," 22.

and arrival in a foreign country without English language were unfamiliar challenges. An author whose grandfather, together with his two brothers, migrated from Italy to Melbourne in 1927 recorded oral history interviews with some of his family's fellow passengers.[177] One man recalled the privations of the forty-six-day journey:

> As everything was rationed for the long and arduous journey we were fed a lot of soup but hardly any pasta, which was awful, and as the ship was loaded with heavy cargo there were almost no individual cabins and my sleeping quarters comprised a very large room of thirty people or more.[178]

Describing the voyage, the narrator from the province of Vicenza in the Veneto region, recalls his sense of desolation when he arrived in Melbourne. The friend who had sponsored him had found work in New South Wales in the period after nominating Ampelio and it was fourteen years before they met each other. The challenge for some was to navigate the new country alone without support from a sponsor, government or trade unions.[179] Most of the Veneto pioneers who arrived in the late 1920s were left to fend for themselves because of the dire circumstances of the Depression years. It seems that some Veneto groups who settled in other parts of Australia had the support of *paesani* through chain migration in the late 1920s and early 1930s and the

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[177] Tony De Bolfo *In Search of Kings: What Became of the Passengers of the 'Re d'Italia'* (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 2004). De Bolfo researched the one hundred and ten passengers, including his great-uncle, who travelled from Italy on the "Re d'Italia" and disembarked at Melbourne on 24 November 1927. He recorded several interviews where narrators provided memories about the voyage by steamship, costs, conditions and arrival at the Port of Melbourne for the mostly third-class passengers, details rarely documented in migration history.

[178] Ampelio Acquasaliente (Salent) in De Bolfo, *In Search of Kings*, 33-36.

[179] The Australian Labor Party did not support the level of alien migration in 1927 and was concerned about the increasing numbers of migrants from Italian, Greeks and Slavs whose sponsors were unable to offer wages to newly arrived but paid in food who worked to receive food rather than wages. The argument was that the migrants would lower industrial conditions that unions had fought to establish. *Historical Hansard sub-debate 50-5, Migrant Commission*, 15 November 1927.

possibility of some work in rural areas. [180] However, the Veneto market gardeners did not have the security of the chain process.

Negotiating the first years after arrival

In their first peripatetic years of following opportunities for labouring jobs, the pioneer men experienced a level of insecurity unknown in their previous lives as *contadini* whose basic social and economic safety net was the family household. A proxy safeguard in the system of sponsorship may have provided new arrivals with more security had the economic conditions not been so difficult in Australia in the late 1920s. However, the fact of having a sponsor did not guarantee a simple pass into life in Adelaide for the Veneto migrants. While the *veneti* named a mix of 'friends' and relatives as sponsors in Adelaide, it is difficult to understand how the sponsorship arrangements advantaged the newcomers beyond immediate accommodation in boarding houses many of which were owned by *veneti*.[181] It is not possible to see evidence of the support of the sponsors for the new arrivals in their early years of settlement.[182] For example, the sponsor of the three Ballestrin relatives was residing in a boarding house in the city of Adelaide in 1927 but within the next five years also lived in New South Wales and North Queensland.[183] Given that their places of residence are listed as boarding houses in the city of Adelaide, it appears that

[180] Annamaria Davine, "Pioneer Veneti in Gippsland and their Role in the Development of an Italian Farming Community," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 10, no. 2 (2002); Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 46, 52-54; Grollo, *Coopers Creek Gippsland, 48;* Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 47; Baldassar and Pesman*, From Paesani to Global Italians,* 33-35.

[181] Desmond O'Connor, "Club e Associazioni dei Veneti," 179, reports from the 1930s to 1960s the majority of the Italian boarding houses in the city of Adelaide were run by Veneto proprietors and became the base for building networks for migrants from the Veneto region. O'Connor also states that one third of the Italian community in South Australia in the 1930s were from the Veneto region and such a density of *paesani* increased the potential for developing a strong Veneto identity.

[182] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 94-95. Price asserts that sponsors themselves may not have had the financial resources to support their nominees.

[183] NAA: Department of the Interior [1] Central Administration; A1, *Correspondence files, annual single number series*, 01 Jan 1890 – 31 Dec 1969, O Bonin – Naturalization certificate, 1932 – 1932.

none of the sponsors were market gardeners at the time of arrival of the pioneers, and did not therefore offer them work in that sphere. [184]

Rather than providing a guarantee of work, the name and address of sponsors may have indicated little more than their residence in the boarding houses specified in the official arrival documentation. From their arrival in Adelaide, the Veneto pioneers developed a network through sharing accommodation in boarding houses, several of which were owned by *veneti.* Instead of the friend or relative providing material care, the pioneers detached from their sponsors and the physical and social anchor of the boarding houses and dispersed to find work anywhere they could in order to survive the first years in Australia. Even kin were unable to protect against the dire economic conditions as demonstrated by the experience of Vittorio Marchioro who was sponsored by his older brother Francesco in 1927.

Vittorio's experience of survival was tenuous, as he explains in his reflections on the first years after he arrived in 1927 when he was forced to move interstate by himself to find work:

> OH: But for three years you had no steady work?
> VM: No money at all, nothing, nothing.
> OH: What did you write back home?
> VM: Oh, crying here ... Because you know, left, no friend, girlfriend, came here, no work, no nothing.
> OH: Did you meet, were there other Italian people here?
> VM: Plenty Italians, nobody work.
>
> (Vittorio Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 8).

[184] Eight of the fourteen men whose "Personal Statement by Alien Passenger" (A42) forms I have examined in the National Archives of Australia nominated relatives; the others nominated friends. All the resident guarantors provided details of their residence as boarding houses in the western precinct of the city of Adelaide.

The repetition of “nothing” and the acknowledgement of his desperation through his tears communicates the deprivation and hardship that Vittorio endured as a twenty-one-year old newly arrived migrant. Vittorio initially worked in the terrazzo and concrete business with his brother’s brother-in-law but employment opportunities in Adelaide were unstable and he moved to north-east Victoria where he felled timber in difficult conditions that he recalled vividly in his interview.[185] The work was physically demanding; he endured isolation, privations of restricted access to food and poor accommodation, and later in the interview, recalls that he worked for a fellow Italian.

Vittorio must have recognised his boss in the role of *padrone* in the feudal system of rural Italy who demanded rights to the production of crops in a system that maintained inequality. During the six months he worked for the Italian he earned £5 and at the time in 1930, the average Australian weekly wage was £5/1/5 for adult males.[186] Vittorio returned to Adelaide in the early 1930s and gradually made an income from labouring work before the opportunity to lease land for a market garden at Lockleys with his brother and sister-in-law offered a more secure future.

Enduring the Depression years

Vittorio’s experience was consistent with the thousands of men who were without regular work during the Depression although without English and knowledge of the culture, migrants were even more disadvantaged. Employment opportunities for migrants who arrived in the late 1920s were compromised by the difficult economic conditions of the Depression. Half of all workers in Adelaide were unemployed at one time or another from the late 1920s into the 1930s and large numbers of unemployed men were living in quasi-permanent tents on the banks of the river Torrens near the city and other locations.[187]

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[185] See Interview with Vittorio Marchioro recorded by Michael Tsounis, OH 12/1, 13 March 1984 9-10.

[186] *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 26 January 1932, 7.

[187] See Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1978), 149-165, for analysis of the impact of the Depression on single men who were most at risk of being homeless. A report in the *Advertiser*, Saturday 2 September 1933, 5, described the semi-permanent shacks that the unemployed men built on the banks of the River Torrens close to the city of Adelaide. See also Paul Sendzuik and Robert Foster, *A History of South*

A glimpse of the scale of unemployment among newly arrived Italians is given in a memoir by Giovanni Amadio. After arriving in Adelaide in 1927, he stayed in a boarding house with forty-seven other Italians: "all of whom, to my great disappointment were out of work."[188] In South Australia nearly a third of the workforce was unemployed by 1930, and the situation did not improve until 1935, a longer period than in other states and territories.[189] Cecilia notes that some unions and employment organisations at the time advocated "mass deportation" of Italians to reduce competition for work and to maintain the labour conditions they had achieved.[190] Attempts by Italians to seek work in rural areas were noted in South Australian newspapers with headlines such as "Country invaded: Italians seek Work."[191] The *veneti* and other southern European migrants were unprotected against the forces that marginalised them after arrival.

In a snapshot of the first ten years of life in Australia Eugenio Zalunardo provides evidence of his mobility as a result of following opportunities for work, anywhere. Arriving at twenty-two years of age in 1927, Eugenio spent more than seven years in rural South Australia: four years on Kangaroo Island, two years on the West Coast and fourteen months at Halidon, one hundred and forty kilometres east of Adelaide, working for a fellow Veneto who had a contract for building roads. When he applied for naturalisation in 1933, Eugenio was unemployed and living in a boarding house in the city of Adelaide. By 1937 he had leased land on Grange Road, St James Park for his market garden at Lockleys.[192]

Australia, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 117-123, for an outline of the Depression including living standards, availability of jobs and access to the dole in South Australia.

[188] See Joe Amadio, *An Immigrant's Story* (Adelaide: self-published, 1997), 5.

[189] See Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers,* 11-29, for discussion of unemployment in South Australia from the late 1920s to 1937.

[190] Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 89.

[191] *News* (Adelaide), 2 January 1928, 1. O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 93-108, outlines the discrimination Italians faced and competition for work in South Australia. The Australian Workers' Union (*Australian Worker*, Wednesday 4 April 1928, 11) attributed increased emigration from Italy to poor standards of living in Italy and criticised the Italian Consul-General who recommended fairer treatment of Italian workers.

[192] NAA: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A446*, Correspondence files, annual single number series with block allocations [Main correspondence files series of the agency]*, 01 Jan 1926 - 1955/50846, Application for Naturalisation - Zalunardo Eugenio born 18 February 1905, 1933 – 1955.

Southern European migrants were unlikely to find an alternative to mobility when they arrived in Australia during the Depression.[193] Although work was available in country regions, the problems of how to acquire employment and sustain daily life were magnified for migrants without English skills or support of extended family.[194] Only one sponsor of the Veneto group lived in a rural area and provided employment for his three brothers and a brother-in-law who arrived in July 1927. At the time, the sponsor, Domenico Rossetto, worked for a plaster company in a remote location on Yorke Peninsula about 300 kilometres, or a shorter steamer voyage, from Adelaide.

Figure 20: Domenico Rossetto, Adelaide, early 1940s.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

[193] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 169-179, for a more detailed account of what Price terms the second stage in chain settlement. Although the Veneto pioneers were part of a chain settlement, their first years were characterised by mobility because they sought work wherever they could locate it in the context of the Depression.

[194] Unlike many Anglo Australians who were able to turn to relatives during the Depression, the *veneti* were forced to fend for themselves even if family members were living in Adelaide or the country. Frank Bongiorno, "Search for a Solution, 1923-39," in The Cambridge History of Australia, volume 2, 'The Commonwealth of Australia, ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press), 77. Bongiorno referring to Potts, identifies the role of the extended family in supporting relatives during the Depression years.

However, the work in the plaster company did not last and one brother ventured as far as Northern Queensland to cut cane while the brother-in-law, Brunone Rebuli, worked on a tobacco farm on Kangaroo Island, an address to which his wife sent a photo of their three children in the years while she waited to be called.[195] See Figures 21 and 22.

Figure 21: Postcard addressed to Bruno Rebuli, Kangaroo Island - late 1920s.

Photo supplied by Elena Rebuli.

Figure 22: Front side of postcard, Elvio, Dorina, Vito Rebuli, Bigolino late 1920s.

Photo supplied by Elena Rebuli.

[195] The farm failed because the climate and environment on Kangaroo Island were not suitable for growing tobacco. (Personal communication with Milva Rebuli, wife of one of Brunone's sons, 17 December 2019).

Whereas the pioneer men had been defined by attachment to place and family in the Veneto region, they endured the uncertainties of mobility, isolation and a lack of social ties during their early years in Australia. Nevertheless, they survived and found work even in remote areas. Most Veneto pioneers became wage labourers, a different model of work from the custom in the Veneto region where they had been primarily embedded in a family household and economy. The pioneers took various types of short-term employment building rural roads, labouring on farms or working for market gardeners in a relationship familiar to the *veneti* who had worked for *padroni* or bosses in the Veneto region. Just three remained residing in the city of Adelaide for the first five to eight years: Francesco and Margherita Marchioro, the married couple, raised their family, and Adeodato Rossetto began his long-term occupation as a wharf labourer in the early 1930s. The pioneers applied their skills as hard working, frugal and resourceful *contadini* and survived with a vision of a future in which they could settle and achieve *sistemazione*.[196]

Learning about the experience of the pioneers

In the collection of oral histories, as noted in the Introduction chapter, just two representatives of the pioneer generation recorded oral history interviews about their experience of the early years in Australia. Only some 1.5 generation members recall memories of their first period after arrival. While most sons and daughters of the pioneers born in Australia have clear recollections of their everyday lives on the market gardens and in the Veneto community, they have limited knowledge of the early experience of their pioneer parents in Australia. This loss of knowledge demonstrates the limitations of accessing intergenerational memories in a family, and particularly in a migrant family in which the first generation has died. Narrator Frankie Ballestrin expresses this challenge in a story about his father's early labouring work in Australia: "I didn't witness it, but that's what I was told by my parents, anyway, by my Dad," (Frankie Ballestrin OH 872/7, 5 January 2009, 46). He demonstrates that extraordinary and unusual events make the largest imprint on memory and

[196] For more detail about the characteristics of the Italian *contadino*, see Robert Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 132-133. For a description of Veneto *contadino* family work practices, see Baldassar and Pesman*, From Paesani to Global Italians, 65-67.*

emotions. [197] The experience of Frankie's father, Isidoro Ballestrin, who had arrived with his older brother and a cousin in 1927, provides a vignette or "micro-case" of the impact of the Depression from the perspective of a young Italian migrant.[198]

Isidoro, a twenty-three-year old *contadino* whose life until he migrated was limited to a small village in the Veneto region, undertook work near Finke, in remote desert country 1,450 kilometres north west of Adelaide. His job with another Italian man was to sink bores on a pastoral lease. Isidoro's son, Frankie, describes the extreme situation for a young Italian man in his early twenties who spoke little English:

> In the beginning there wasn't any work at all … My father, Isidoro, went up north, up at Finke, up that area, sinking wells and building fences for the farmers, and actually the chappie that he went with – I don't know who he was – but he hung himself. And Dad panicked and he got lost, no water, and the blackfellas found him, the Aboriginals, what you want to call them – at that time they used to call them 'blackfellas' – and they gradually got him back to life again because he was almost gone. And then he come down here and I don't know what he did after that, I don't know what he picked up after that. But I know he kept saying about that, it was really horrendous.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 8727, 12 December 2008, 1-2).

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[197] Thomson, "Memory and Remembering", 85, argues that in order to remember an event it is necessary to have "personal involvement" because both physical and emotional impact plays a role in remembering. Frankie remembers the tragic and exceptional circumstances and identifies with the fear in his father's experience of work as a young migrant in a remote area of Australia during the Depression.

[198] Matti Peltonen, "Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research," *History and Theory* 40, (October 2001), argues that the process of linking an extreme example or micro case to the macro level illuminates new historical knowledge. Isidoro's experience of marginal work and isolation provides a link from the micro to the macro level of understanding the impact of the Depression in Australia from the perspective of a young Italian migrant.

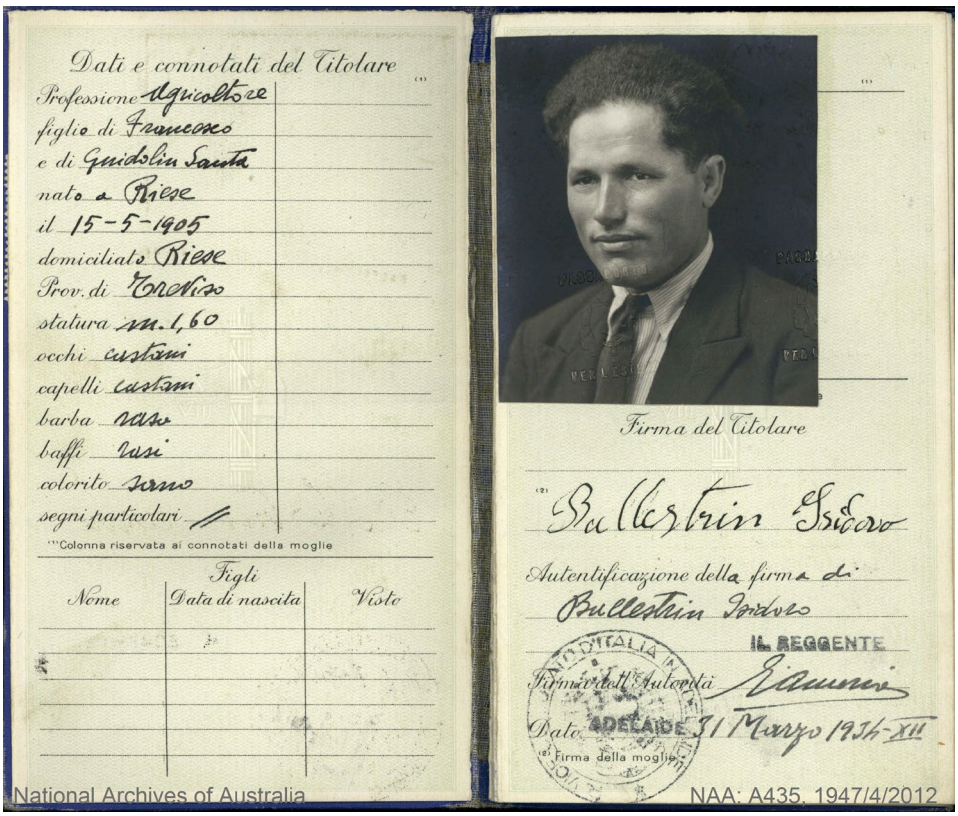


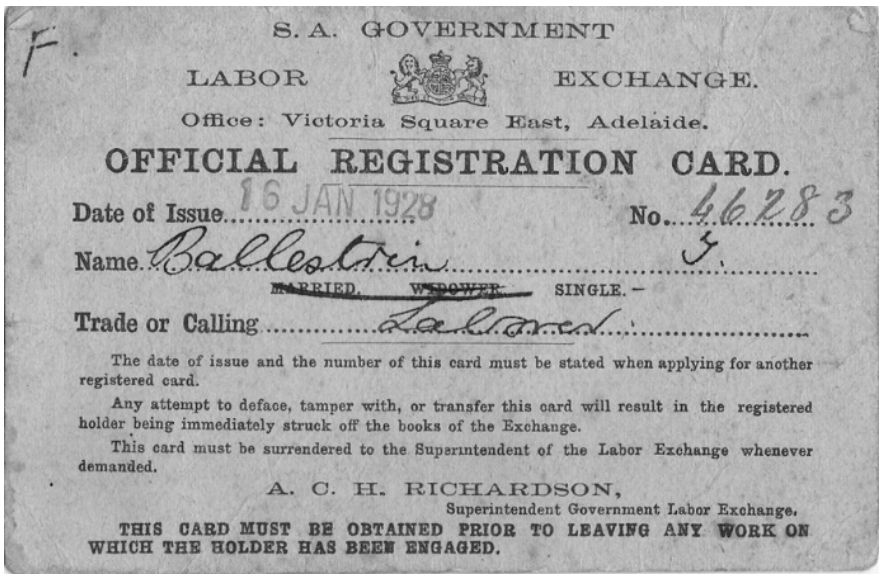
Figure 23: Isidoro Ballestrin – Italian passport 1927.

Note the 1934 date which corresponds to the time that Isidoro returned to Italy for six months to marry.

National Archives of Australia: A435 1947/2/2012. Ballestrin Isidoro – born 15 May 1905 – Italian.

Including the role of Aboriginal people as saviours in his father's story offers a view that is unusual in the collection of oral histories as Frankie is the only narrator who refers to an encounter with a group. The scene provides a counterpoint to the image of urban Aboriginal people especially in the Depression years when they were among the most vulnerable groups in Australia together with itinerant labourers and newly arrived migrants who were cast onto the margins of society.[199]

[199] See Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers,* 19-29 for discussion of the cohort of unemployed in Adelaide during the Depression.



F.

S. A. GOVERNMENT

LABOR EXCHANGE.

Office: Victoria Square East, Adelaide.

OFFICIAL REGISTRATION CARD.

Date of Issue 16 JAN 1928 No. 46283

Name Ballestrin J.

~~MARRIED. WIDOWER.~~ SINGLE. –

Trade or Calling Labourer

The date of issue and the number of this card must be stated when applying for another registered card.

Any attempt to deface, tamper with, or transfer this card will result in the registered holder being immediately struck off the books of the Exchange.

This card must be surrendered to the Superintendent of the Labor Exchange whenever demanded.

A. C. H. RICHARDSON,
Superintendent Government Labor Exchange.

THIS CARD MUST BE OBTAINED PRIOR TO LEAVING ANY WORK ON WHICH THE HOLDER HAS BEEN ENGAGED.

Figure 24: Isidoro Ballestrin's work registration card issued four months after his arrival in Adelaide.

Card supplied by Frankie Ballestrin.

Frankie, at seventy-one years, remembers what he was told and in reconstructing this episode, he "memorialises" his father's near-death experience as a young migrant.[200] It is possible to see that Isidoro's experience as a lone migrant seeking survival during the Depression could be generalised for other southern European migrants in Australia at the time.[201] Many of the *veneti*, like Isidoro Ballestrin, survived during the late 1920s and early 1930s without the close support of peers or community.

Electing to stay in Australia

Large numbers of Italians left Australia in the late 1920s and early 1930s and returned to live in Italy. In July 1930, a newspaper reported that there were one hundred and ten more departures

[200] Oral historian Alistair Thomson emphasises that a significant memory can be shaped into "a memorializing form" or story in an oral history interview. Frankie's account of his father's predicament reflects the extremities of life and death and is a dramatic chapter of his family's migration history. See Thomson, "Memory and Remembering," 84.

[201] Benmayor and Skotnes, *Migration and Identity*, 14-15, discuss the purpose of focusing on an individual migrant which can reflect the situation of a broader group but the example of an individual is "always richer, more contradictory, more paradoxical than that which we represent as the experience of a group."

than arrivals of Italians in South Australia. [202] Remigration of *veneti* is also high confirmed by the statistic that over one third of twelve thousand who had migrated in the interwar years had returned to Italy by 1940.[203] However, Italians who remained persisted with their ambitions to settle in Australia and prevailed against public commentary about the negative impact of Italian migrants in an Anglo Australian society.[204] Despite the challenges of the times, the Veneto pioneer market gardeners who arrived in the late 1920s endured the years of Depression and remained in Australia.[205] In contrast to the "sojourner" who was not tempted to settle and would therefore not lease land, the Veneto pioneers were attracted to the land at Lockleys and the opportunity to cultivate it for a livelihood.[206]

Some Italian men went back to Italy temporarily to choose wives, reunite with families or sell land but returned to Australia with the intention to remain permanently.[207] Four pioneers revisited Italy for brief periods within seven years of arrival and returned to Australia, a demonstration of their commitment to achieve the goal of *sistemazione* in Australia. Adeodato Rossetto returned to Italy for a period of six months in 1931 and came back to Australia. He had arrived in South Australia in 1927 with two brothers and a brother-in-law, and the official reason for returning to Italy cited in his application for naturalisation in December 1933, was his ill health.

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[202] A report in "The Chronicle," Thursday 18 September 1930, 45. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 93-94, notes the high incidence of departure with the following evidence about Italian men who migrated to Australia in 1929-1930; two thousand eight hundred and four Italians arrived and three thousand eight hundred and fifty-six departed in this period.

[203] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians,* 26.

[204] For an examination of the impact of the Depression on Italian migrants in Australia see: Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 89-91; and for analysis of circumstances in South Australia, see O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid,* 93-108.

[205] Different family circumstances including the death of a wife and illness led to the re-migration to Italy of four pioneers and families from the 1950s.

[206] Templeton, "Italian Sojourners," 79, makes the point that sojourners rarely leased or bought land because that decision would have meant an intention to settle permanently.

[207] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 84.

The decision to remain permanently in Australia is illustrated by another example of men who returned briefly to their home village of Riese Pio X to find marriage partners. In 1934, seven years after arrival, the two Ballestrin brothers and their cousin, Giuseppe, followed the path of many single Italian men who returned to Italy for a brief period to find a wife in the *paese*, a practice that reinforced the continuity of connection to families and the network in the village or *comune*.[208] The three men were absent from Australia for less than six months and returned, accompanied by their spouses, and resumed work, as three married couples, with an Italian market gardener on a property forty kilometres north of Adelaide until they joined the other Veneto market gardeners in 1939 in the Lockleys area.

By that time, Antonio and Isidoro had successfully applied for entry into Australia for two more brothers, a sister and unusually, their widowed mother. The aggregation of the family in Adelaide indicates the level of poverty in the Veneto region that motivated the migration of extended families and the significance of re-forming the intergenerational unit in Australia. Within the Lockleys market gardener community, the extended Ballestrin family reunification story is the closest example to the family model of chain migration followed by most other Italian settlers in Australia.[209]

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[208] The practice of single Italian migrants returning to Italy to marry a woman from the village has been documented in histories of Italian migrants in Australia, America and Canada. See Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 100, for reference to Veneto men; Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 172-177, for details of Italian men and marriage after arrival in San Francisco between 1911 and 1920.

[209] Michael Peter Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie,* 26, argues that the rationale for chain migration in the Molfettese fisher community was to attract more family members who could provide extra free labour. Although the poverty of the Ballestrin family increased the motivation for emigration, additional family members who arrived after 1927 contributed to the workforce on the market gardens while they worked for an Italian grower north of the city of Adelaide before members gradually undertook their own leases or formed partnerships within the family at Lockleys.

Finding stability in the *paese* at Lockleys

While it is not possible to know exactly why the Veneto pioneers established their market gardens co-located in the same area, a likely explanation relates to the first days after their arrival. Although the pioneers dispersed when they were unable to find work in the early period, they returned to Adelaide and accommodation in the boarding houses. During the 1930s it seems that through word of mouth eleven of them were drawn to Lockleys where they leased land, settled and achieved a degree of security in the occupation as market gardeners between the wars. The settlement of regional groups was a form of gravitation settlement referred to in the Introduction chapter. [210] In the case of the pioneers they shared a heritage strengthened by dialect, customs and regional identity.[211] However, I argue that the pioneers consciously embarked on the process of developing a *paese* simultaneously setting up nuclear family households and creating new bonds within the emerging community at Lockleys.

Although not a correct geographic designation, the Veneto market gardeners (and narrators in this project) attribute the name, 'Lockleys' to the area. The reason for this attribution may have been because the nearest post office was in the suburb of Lockleys. Surprisingly some official documents identified the area where market gardens hugged both sides of the River Torrens as Lockleys.[212] The locality where the Veneto market gardener families resided had been two suburbs, Flinders Park and St James Park, and it was sometimes identified as Findon. Acknowledgement of the non-geographic designation of Lockleys is emphasised by Oscar Mattiazzo, a 1.5 generation relative, who clarifies the context:

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[210] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 233.

[211] This identity with the region can also be considered in the context of the unification of Italy in 1861 when it became a modern state. The first allegiance was to the community in the region before the state. See Robert H. Evans, *Life and Politics in a Venetian Community* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 134.

[212] For example, in descriptions of the locality in security reports during the war, the area was named as Lockleys. In NAA files related to applications for purchase of property both Lockleys and Findon were used to identify the area of the market gardens where the Veneto community lived. It seems quite a fluid naming.

> We called it Lockleys because that's the area we refer to, although it's Flinders Park and Findon and all that type of thing, there wasn't so many houses there, a lot of gardens, and a lot of empty spaces, many empty spaces, and it wasn't until, let me see, until 1960 that things started really to develop in Lockleys, and market gardens were being cut up for blocks of land and all that type of thing, until today. Now there's hardly any market gardens around there.
>
> (Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 6 June, 2012, 169).

Pascoe notes the tendency for migrants to assign particular names as a means to identify the meaning of a place where there is a large population of Italians or other cultural groups. In this way, a migrant community can create a sense of belonging to a locality and an identity within an area that is different from the rest of the population. [213] The pioneers had other geographical markers in Lockleys and they identified names of roads where clusters of market gardens were located. For example, the locations of Frogmore Road, Valetta Road and River Road (or Findon Road as it is known today) are referred to throughout interviews. The labels communicate a sense of local knowledge, familiarity and proprietorship associated with the market garden area where the *veneti* were long-time residents. Some narrators refer to the River Torrens as a significant feature of the area – both as a source of water for those who lived beside it and a more general sense of the boundary and landscape of the locality of the market gardens.

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[213] See Pascoe, "Place and Community," 93-96. He refers to the processes of placemaking used by Italians in Australia to fabricate names to identify particular localities and refers to Sack (1986) who argues that newly arrived migrants exert linguistic control over a territory by assigning their own designation. See also Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39, no. 1 (1995): 182-192, who demonstrates the significance of inventing a new name to evoke an identity which assists people to create their own history of a place. Although the actual suburb of Lockleys was on the southern side of the river which was also the location of the nearest post office, the narrators used the name Lockleys for the settlement of the Veneto market gardeners that was on the northern side of the River Torrens. Pioneers who applied to buy land during the war called the area 'Lockleys' as per the records in the National Archives of Australia. Some narrators continue to cite 'Lockleys' today as the settlement of the market gardens and attribute the sense of place with nostalgia.

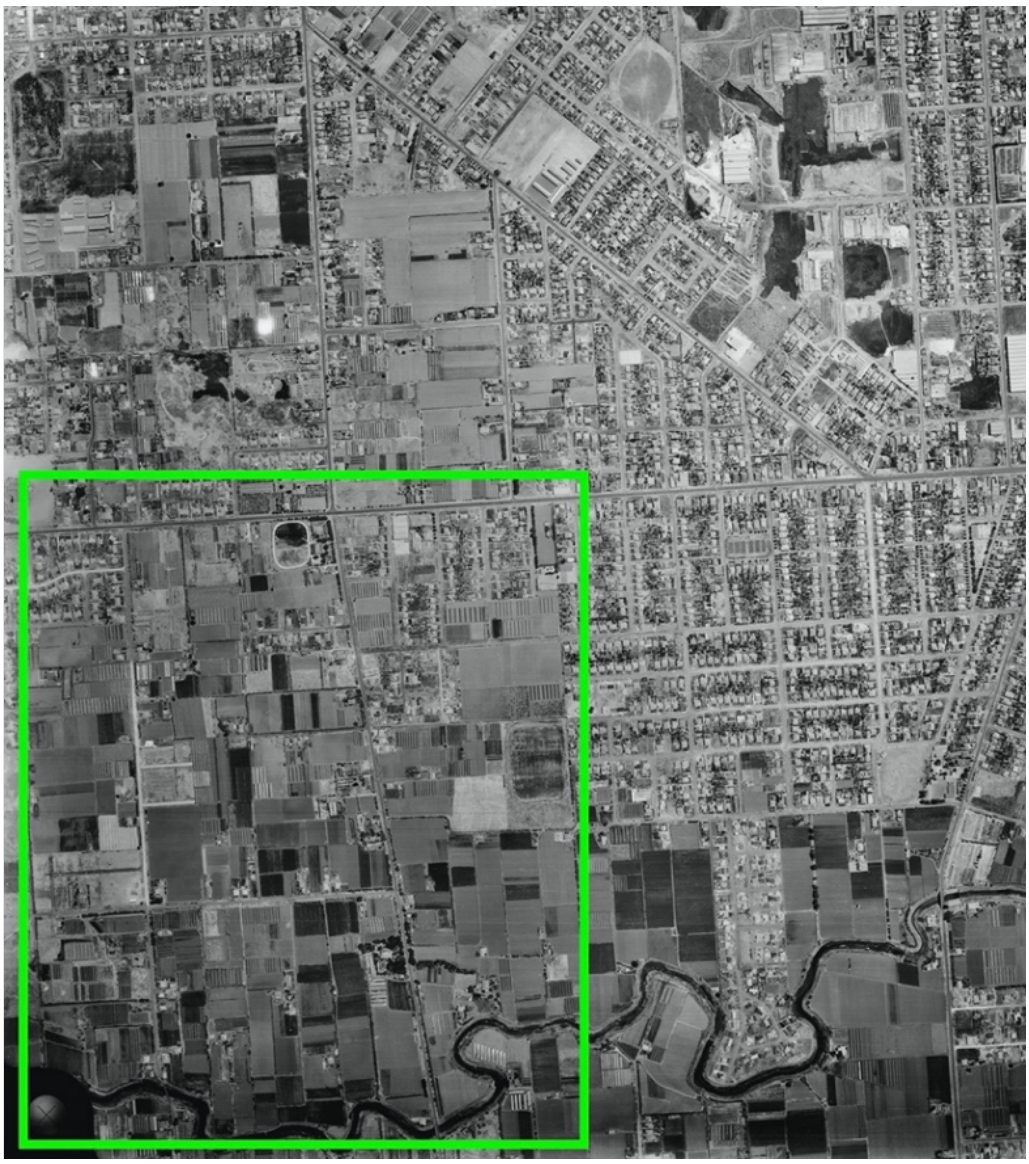

Figure 25: Aerial photo - market gardens area, Lockleys, early 1950s.

The locality where the Veneto market gardeners lived and worked is highlighted.

The River Torrens shown at the bottom of the photo was a strong feature of the area.

Photo, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

During the 1930s, fifteen of the nineteen pioneers, including the married woman, became market gardeners within an area of about three-square kilometres in the Lockleys area. The Veneto pioneers' conception of stability in Australia was linked to the idealisation of land ownership through their heritage and identity as *contadini*.[214] Although narrators do not know the reason for

[214] For more information about the importance of land for *contadini* who migrated to a new country, see Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 131-133; Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise,* 33-35.

their parents' convergence on land at Lockleys, it is likely that the two Berno brothers provide a clue. They had worked as labourers for a long-time land owner who had a market garden on land near the River Torrens and as plots became available for lease, the network in the city boarding houses could have disseminated the news. The chance to lease and work land enabled the Veneto market gardeners to reclaim a sense of order and control over their everyday lives and reflected continuity of their *contadino* identity.

At first, the Veneto men lived alone in temporary isolated shacks on the leased properties, and in some cases, they re-purposed dairy sheds. Living alone and setting up a nuclear family home was another unfamiliar aspect of life for people who had lived and worked in large intergenerational households, sometimes with more than twenty family members.[215] The sense of isolation, separation from family and ordered domestic life, mixed with uncertainty about the future, provided impetus for attaining the goal of *sistemazione.* Putting down roots in Adelaide included working the land, earning a livelihood and establishing a new kind of family unit and network.

Stability through marriage and family

Migrants who undertook the challenges of migration and desired permanent settlement generally sought stability through structures of marriage and family.[216] As sociologist Shanin notes, marriage was the foundation of the peasant culture based on the family farm household. Marriage created structures for domestic life, roles for labour and interactions between men and women, and generations.[217] However, the old rituals of courtship and marriage of young women and men in the

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[215] Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 5, recalls that his mother lived in a large extended family household with several families who were too numerous to eat together in one sitting at a table. He refers to a memory that his mother conveyed to him: "She used to have lunch on a staircase because there were too many kids. They couldn't fit around the table." Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 31, refers to a man from the north west of Italy who had lived in a household of twenty family members of three generations.

[216] See Diane Vecchio, "Ties of Affection: Family Narratives in the History of Italian Migration," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25, no. 2-3 (2006): 122-123. Vecchio argues that it was only after the arrival of women that Italian migrant communities gained stability, and a community was able to develop.

[217] See Teodor Shanin, "Peasantry as a Political Factor," in *Peasants and Peasant Society*, ed. Teodor Shanin (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Education, 1973), 240-244.

Veneto region were not easily transposed in the *paese* at Lockleys. For example, a young woman in the Veneto region would usually have married a young man from the local area and her father would have asked the priest to vouch for the reputation of the prospective groom.[218]

In contrast to the many southern Europeans who migrated in the 1920s and 1930s and maintained their peripatetic life or nominated their male relative, or friends before they brought out their wives or fiancées, the *veneti* reunited with wives and children or married as soon as it became financially possible.[219] Among the Veneto pioneers were married men with wives and children in Italy, and single men, some of whom had fiancées in Italy. Within eight years, four men were reunited with wives and children, six had married, some by proxy, while others like the Ballestrin men, had returned to Italy briefly to marry.[220] At Lockleys, some Veneto men took much longer to attain the status as husbands and fathers respected within the *contadino* culture. One possible explanation for the delay in some marriages was the small number of women in the Italian community.[221]

Arrival as a family unit - Francesco and Margherita Marchioro

The exception in the marital arrangements of the Veneto group in the first years, as stated previously, was the married couple, Margherita and Francesco Marchioro who landed in Adelaide with their infant daughter in February 1926. Margherita's brother, who had arrived in 1922 and developed a terrazzo business in Adelaide, sponsored them and guaranteed work for Francesco. Living as a family unit with an assured income enabled the couple to put down roots although they moved to four different boarding houses owned by Italians in the city of Adelaide in the early years

[218] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova,* 22.

[219] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 137, states that the usual pattern of chain migration of southern Europeans, including Italians in the interwar years, was for men to "call" kin and friends before they arranged for their wives and children, if any, and other family members, to join them.

[220] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 137-138, reports that in the decade 1920 – 1930, the average time between arrival of southern European men and their marriage either by proxy or because of a brief visit to Italy was eight years and two months.

[221] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 108, cites the 1933 census records and states that only one in five Italian-born people in South Australia was a woman.

in search of cheaper rent.[222] Within eighteen months, a second child, Lina, was born and increased the family's potential for *sistemazione* and permanency.

Figure 26: Margherita and Francesco Marchioro, Malo, c 1925.

Photo supplied by Connie Legovich nee Marchioro.

In the excerpt below, Lina's conclusion about her parents' intention to stay temporarily in Australia reflects the difficulties of the early years for the young family even though they were the beneficiaries of steady income, unlike others in the group of *veneti*. Lina recalls an incident which, in her mind, relates to the option for her parents to remigrate:

> While they were living in the city in Waymouth Street, my mother told me that she was putting up some curtains and she was having difficulty and then she said; "Why bother? We're going back in a couple of years." So, she [laughs] puts the curtains aside [laughs] … God, she died when she was 97. She was 21 when she came to Australia.
>
> (Lina Rismondo, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010: 16).

[222] See State Library of South Australia: OH 872/9, Interview with Lina Rismondo by Madeleine Regan, 9 June 2010, 1-2.

Lina's assumption that her parents had not planned to stay in Australia contrasts with the lived experience of her mother who never returned, even for a visit, to Italy. Her father died at the age of forty-five in 1945. In addition, her parents were naturalised in 1931 after completing the mandatory five years of residency, and this, along with finding land at Lockleys, clearly demonstrates their intention to settle permanently.[223] Indeed, Francesco and Margherita Marchioro were the first pioneers to become naturalised in 1931 at a time when Fascist policy restricted emigration and was averse to Italian people becoming citizens of another country.[224]

At this point I interrupt my overarching argument about the migration and settlement of the Veneto market gardener community to reflect on memory and stories communicated within the oral history accounts of the second generation. A second-generation daughter like Lina makes an assumption about her parents' decision and whether they would settle permanently in Australia. Her hypothesis may be coloured by her own feelings about her heritage and attachment to relatives in Italy whom she had visited five times, a nostalgic transnational connection reflecting ambiguity about her own belonging and identity in telling her parents' story.[225]

Reuniting and creating families in Adelaide

The priority to reunite and create families required finance and certainty of accommodation. The reunion or establishment of new families was a major step in the processes of *sistemazione*. Four Veneto pioneers, Brunone Rebuli, Domenico Rossetto, Giovanni Santin and Secondo Tonellato, were married when they emigrated in 1926 and 1927 and by 1935 theirfamilies were reunited in Adelaide. See the following image, the embarkation document for Costantina Santin nee Visentin

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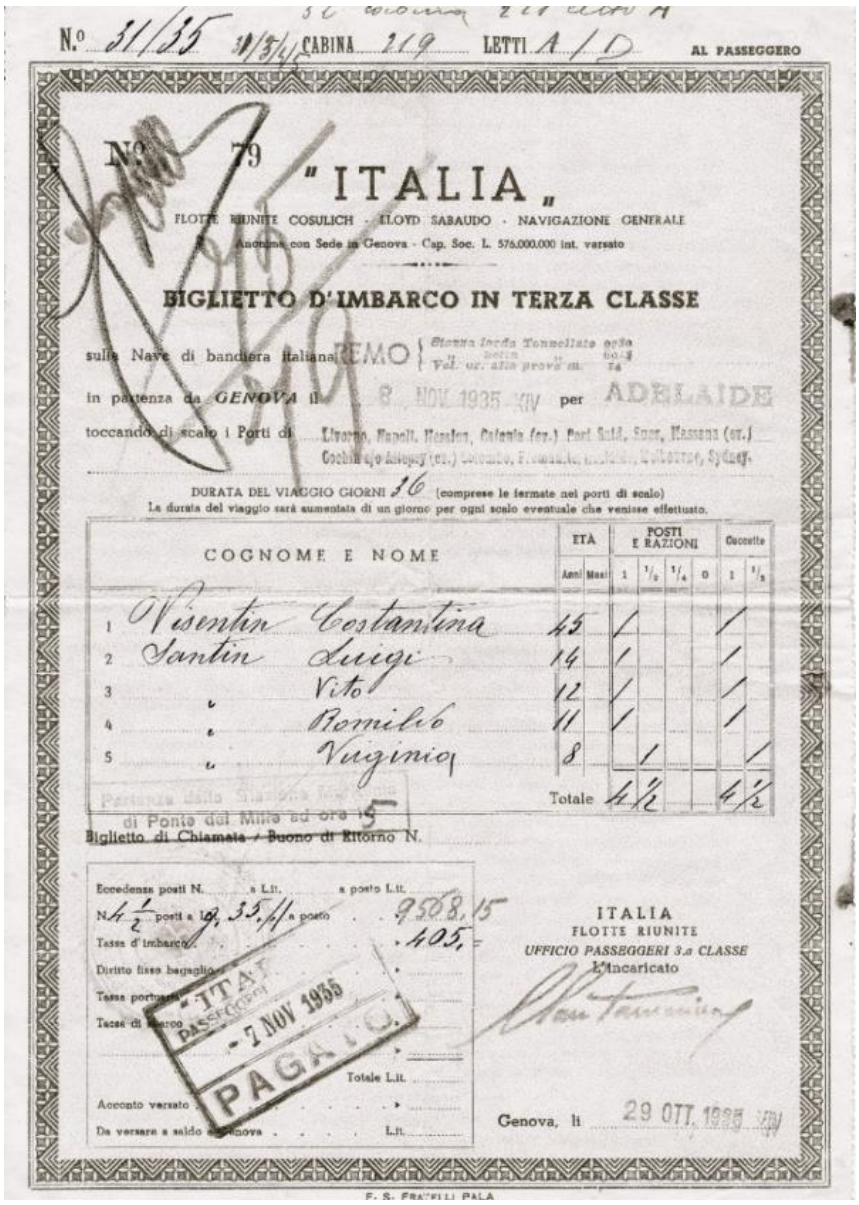
[223] See NAA: Investigation Branch, South Australia; D1915*, Investigation case files, single number series with 'SA' (South Australia) prefix*, 01 Jan 1910 – 31 Dec 1987; SA2892, Marchioro Francesco - application for naturalization, 1931 – 1949.

[224] See Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia,* 23-51 for a detailed examination of the Fascist Government influence in Australia on Italians who were dissuaded against naturalisation.

[225] The story told about an earlier generation can operate as "a counterpoint" to the narrator's life and the way she sees herself at the time of telling. See for example. Sara S. Goek, "'Most Good Stories are True, You Know': History, Tradition and Identity in a Family Story," *The Irish Review (Cork),* 53, (2016): 101.

and her four children, Figure 27. Giovanni Santin who had been working for a Bulgarian farmer in Jervois a hundred kilometres south-east of Adelaide took his wife and four children there after their arrival in 1935. The family stayed there until the late 1930s when the eldest son was able to lease land with his father for a market garden at Lockleys near the other *veneti*.



N.º 51/35 CABINA 219 LETTI A / D AL PASSEGGERO

N.º 79

"ITALIA"

FLOTTE RIUNITE COSULICH - LLOYD SABAUDO - NAVIGAZIONE GENERALE

Anonima con Sede in Genova - Cap. Soc. L. 576.000.000 int. versato

BIGLIETTO D'IMBARCO IN TERZA CLASSE

sulla Nave di bandiera italiana REMO { Stazza lorda Tonnellate netta / Pot. or. alla prova m. 16

in partenza da GENOVA il 8 NOV 1935 XIV per ADELAIDE

toccando di scalo i Porti di Livorno, Napoli, Messina, Catania (ex.) Port Said, Suez, Massaua (ex.) Cochin c/o Aden (ex.) Colombo, Fremantle, Melbourne, Sydney.

DURATA DEL VIAGGIO GIORNI 36 (comprese le fermate nei porti di scalo)

La durata del viaggio sarà aumentata di un giorno per ogni scalo eventuale che venisse effettuato.

	COGNOME E NOME		ETÀ Anni	ETÀ Mesi	POSTI E RAZIONI 1	1/2	1/4	0	Cuccette 1	1/2
1	Visentin	Costantina	45		/				/	
2	Santin	Luigi	14		/				/	
3	"	Vito	12		/				/	
4	"	Romilio	11		/				/	
5	"	Virginia	8			/				/
			Totale		4	1/2			4	1/2

Partenza dalla Stazione Marittima di Ponte dei Mille ad ore 15

Biglietto di Chiamata / Buono di Ritorno N.

Eccedenza posti N. a L.it. a posto L.it.

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Tasse d'imbarco . . . . 405,=

Diritto fisso bagaglio . . . . .

Tasse portuali . . . . .

Tasse di sbarco . . . . .

Totale L.it.

Acconto versato . . . . .

Da versare a saldo a Genova . . . . L.it.

ITAL PASSEGGERI 7 NOV 1935 PAGATO

ITALIA FLOTTE RIUNITE UFFICIO PASSEGGERI 3.a CLASSE L'Incaricato

Genova, li 29 OTT. 1935 XIV

F. S. FRATELLI PALA

Figure 27: Ticket for voyage from Genova to Adelaide, on the 'Remo', 8 November 1935. Costantina Visentin travelled to join her husband, Giovanni Santin, with their four children. Ticket supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, photo by Madeleine Regan.

Figure 28: Santin, Tonellato and Panazzolo children, Valetta Road, 1935.

Giovanni Santin pouring water for the children. His family had arrived in Adelaide the previous day.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

Single men employed four different strategies to marry and achieve their *sistemazione* in Australia after their arrival: a return trip to Italy to find a wife; marriage by proxy; marriage within the community of families; and exogenous marriage.

Returning to Italy to marry

As discussed previously, three men returned to Italy to find wives within seven years. By 1934 the two Ballestrin brothers and their cousin had made enough money to return to their village and find wives. The three marriages were conducted within ten days of each other and shortly after, the newly married couples left Italy to start their married and working lives work together. The following example focuses on a daughter in one Ballestrin family, the legacy of her parents' proxy marriage and generational changes in women's roles in families.

Giuseppe and Cesira Ballestrin

Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin was interviewed when she was seventy-five years old. She was the daughter of Giuseppe Ballestrin, and Cesira Tieppo who was also from a *contadino* family. Norma describes the rationale of her father's brief trip to Italy in 1934 as "hunting for a wife;" a

reflection of the generational differences in understanding the roles of women and men in the choice of a marriage partner. [226] She reflects on her mother's risk at 20 years of age: marrying an unknown man, migrating a great distance and relinquishing her physical ties to family in Italy. Norma's reflections illustrate the complexity and richness of the oral history narrative when she also compares the experience of her own daughter, Joanne, who moved to Canberra for employment as a young woman in the 1980s.

Norma records the family history as daughter and mother; a second-generation daughter who married a post-war Veneto migrant at the age of twenty-five years and became a parent with different ideas from her own mother. Norma is also narrator, with an "inner need to make sense of experience."[227] Norma provides a gendered account of the experience of telling her mother's story and the meaning for a daughter to separate physically from family in the initiative for independence as a young adult.[228] In her interview, Norma traces a pattern of daughters moving away from family, evident in the experience of both her mother and her own daughter, Joanne:

> I said to her when Joanne left home, my daughter left home, she went for a job, she went to Canberra. And my mother turned around to me, she said: 'How could you possibly let your daughter move away home to go to Canberra?'
> And I said to her: 'But Mum,' I said: 'You came over to Australia, you left your parents, your family. You came over to Australia with a strange man,' because basically she'd only met him and married him. And she said:
> 'He wasn't a strange man,' she said: 'He was your father.' Okay. [laughter].
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 5).

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[226] State Library of South Australia: OH 872/37 Interview with Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, by Madeleine Regan, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 4.

[227] Portelli, "Living Voices," 5.

[228] For more discussion of gendered accounts in oral history and the practice of feminist oral history see Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 119-121; Barber, "Hearing Women's Voices," 68-76; Mary Chamberlain, "Gender and the Narratives of Migration," *History Workshop Journal* 43, no. 1 (1997): 87-108; Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, eds. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 11-26; Thompson and Bornat, *The Voice of the Past*,180, 210, 324-327.

When Norma says: “Joanne left home”, and amplifies the reality, “my daughter left home,” she recalls the consequences of the separation in contrast to the conventional expectation of family, especially daughters, staying close by their parents. Norma’s elderly mother points out that the man she met and married after a short time wasn’t just any man, ‘he was your father,’ and illustrates respect for the roles of parents – especially fathers - within the *contadino* family. Her laughter communicates the incongruity of the situation for her mother who did not know the man who became her husband.[229]

Figure 29: Ballestrin family. L-R: Norma, Cesira, Giuseppe, Lino, Adelaide, c 1943.

Another son, Louis, was born later.

Photo supplied by Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin.

[229] Norrick, “Humour in Oral History Interviews,” 88, suggests that laughter in an oral history interview can throw the subject matter off course. Norma moves the conversation in a new direction when she introduces the circumstances of her parents’ marriage which Norma is re-evaluating as an unusual way to start married life from her position as an older woman.

Norma demonstrates her views about nurturing mother-daughter connections and compares the experience of her mother as a migrant with her own situation and the ease of travelling interstate:

> Yes, at least I can go and see Joanne in Canberra more than you could go.
> She only went back [to Italy] once, twice in all those years they were here."
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 5).

Cesira Ballestrin had arrived in Australia as a twenty-year old and lived in Adelaide for seventy-one years. In his interview, Norma's brother, Lino, also reflected on their parents' marriage although with less explicit emotion: "I often was a bit surprised that she did come to Australia on such short notice, if that's the right word for it." (Lino Ballestrin, interview OH 872/ 40, 22 November 2016, 4).

Veneto *contadino* customs deemed that unmarried men were not full members of the community.[230] However, Alberto and Pietro Berno remained single men in the *paese* at Lockleys for more than twenty years. In that time, they were not just accepted; they acquired the status of leaders, similar to the role of the priest or *sindaco* in the Veneto village because of their prosperity and experience with finances, a subject explored further in Chapter 4. The brothers had a substantial land holding and the largest number of glasshouses of all the market gardeners which ensured steady, substantial income before their respective marriages.

After the interruption to travel during the war years, the brothers visited Italy separately and found women known to the Berno family in Riese Pio X. Remo, son of Pietro, provides the perspective:

> Dad was looking for a young woman that was able to have a family
> and who would accept migrating to Australia.
>
> (Remo Berno OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 5).

[230] Robert H. Evans, *Life and Politics in a Venetian Community*, 118.

The brothers returned to Italy to marry women in 1948 and 1951, and the two couples lived together and raised their families in one large colonial house in Lockleys in circumstances that resembled *contadino* households in their village of origin, Riese Pio X. The arrangement reflected the closeness of the two brothers, their joint ownership and work on the farm which continued with their respective wives who rotated weekly domestic work and care of the two families with labour on the market gardens.

Marriage by proxy

For single men, proxy marriage resolved the problem of the presence of the few available Italian women in the community in the 1930s. Of the three Veneto men who married by proxy, two had known their wives before they emigrated in 1927.[231] Proxy marriages were usually initiated by the man, an indication of his intention to establish himself in a marriage and settle permanently in Australia.[232] If the couple did not know each other, arrangements were made by relatives in the home village who recommended a suitable woman.[233]

Unlike those who returned to Italy to find a suitable partner, a man who married by proxy also reduced the costs by paying only a single fare for his wife, an option for a poorer man. A study of Italian proxy marriages explains the process in terms of morality – it was more appropriate for a

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[231] See interviews in which narrators speak about their parents marrying by proxy: Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 3; Romano Marchioro, OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 3. Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto, OH 872/32 28 August 2014, Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5 4 October 2008, 3; Dino Piovesan OH 872/17, 2; Aldo Rossetto, OH 872/16, 4 July 2011, 35.

[232] See Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 45-46 for an overview of the marriages of the thirty-nine Veneto pioneers who settled in Gippsland, Victoria, between the wars. The range of marriages was similar to the experience of pioneers at Lockleys; a combination of proxy marriages, renewed contact with fiancées, returning to Italy to find a bride and a small percentage marrying Anglo Australian women.

[233] Susanna Iuliano, "*Donne e Buoi dia Paesi Tuoi* = Choose Women and Oxen from Your Home Village: Italian Proxy Marriages in Post-War Australia," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 4 (1999): 324, argues that the advantage of the family being involved with the selection of the proxy bride from the *paese* was the close knowledge of her reputation. For discussion of proxy marriages in interwar years in the Italian community in Port Pirie, South Australia, see Corrieri*, Italians of Port Pirie,* 67-70.

married woman rather than a single betrothed woman to travel alone from Italy to Australia.[234] Patriarchal control and focus on sacramentality of marriage were features of proxy weddings.[235]

In the formality of proxy marriage, the bride was partnered in the Church ceremony by a male relative who stood in for her husband in another country. In the case of Gelindo Rossetto and Adele Bordin, the first of the three couples married by proxy in the pioneer community, Gelindo's father represented the groom for the wedding ceremony – see Figure 29. In 1930 they were also the first couple to be united on Australian soil and the primitive conditions of living in a tent were a challenge for Adele who, although from a poor family, had lived in much better circumstances in Italy.[236] Angelo Piovesan and Rosalia Zanatta who also had known each other in Italy, married by proxy in 1934 before she arrived in Australia.

Figure 30: Proxy wedding photo of Lina Bordin who married Gelindo Rossetto, Bigolino, 1930.
Lina sits in the front row fourth from left, between her father-in-law (pointing to his new daughter-in-law), and mother-in-law, and with members of the Rossetto and Bordin families.
Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

[234] See Susi Bella Wardrop, *By Proxy: A Study of Italian Proxy Brides in Australia* (Carlton, Victoria: Italian Historical Society, 1996), 1, 5.
[235] Iuliano, "*Donne e Buoi dia Paesi Tuoi*, 325.
[236] See Rossetto, *La Pioggia nelle Scarpe,* 65-66, for an account of her proxy marriage as recalled by Adele Rossetto nee Bordin.

Vittorio Marchioro and Angelina Marchioro

The case of the third pioneer couple who married by proxy warrants examination as a family origin story because unusually there are four different oral history accounts of the marriage of Angelina Marchioro and Vittorio Marchioro.[237] In 1984, the couple reflected on their circumstances in the late 1930s in their interviews while decades later, their two sons reflected on proxy marriage as an unconventional practice in a contemporary context. Vittorio had arrived in Adelaide eleven years before his proxy marriage to Angelina. He had not found a suitable young woman because there were small numbers of eligible Veneto women in Adelaide.[238] He wrote to his sister in Malo in the province of Vicenza, asking her to find a suitable spouse. Through a series of letters, the couple communicated their respective interest in the arrangement.[239] Angelina had been working since she completed four years of schooling when she agreed to marry Vittorio by proxy at age twenty-three years. As a seventy-year old, Angelina recalls two contrasting emotions about her decision:

> I worked with the sister, and talking, talking and getting sick of working in the factory and asked if you like to go to Australia. I said just for fun, I said: 'Going to Australia.'
>
> (Angelina Marchioro nee Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 8).

The buoyancy that Margherita expresses about leaving her life in Malo conflicts with her realisation of the permanency of leaving Italy when she set out by ship: "This made me a little bit afraid … a long way to go. Can't come back" (Angelina Marchioro nee Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 10). Later in the interview, Angelina recalls the shock of arrival: the welcome of forty Italians at the port,

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[237] Marchioro is the family name of Angelina, and also of Vittorio. The surname was common in neighbouring villages from where they originated in the province of Vicenza. State Library of South Australia: OH 12/1 Interviews with Angelina Marchioro and Vittorio Marchioro by Michael Tsounis, 13 March 1984; State Library of South Australia OH 872/1 Interview with Johnny Marchioro by Madeleine Regan, 21 July 2008; State Library of South Australia OH 872/20 Interview with Romano Marchioro by Madeleine Regan, 11 June 2012.

[238] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 109, 110, outlines the context of proxy marriages among Italians in South Australia in the 1930s.

[239] See Iuliano, "Donne e Buoi dia Paesi Tuoi," 328-329.

the processes of settling into life on the market gardens and developing attachment to the community. When Vittorio is asked about marrying Angelina, he starts by saying, “This is a story,” an acknowledgement of proxy marriage as drama and chance. Both Angelina and Vittorio laugh as they recount the story; memories of their younger selves pledging to a future together, as husband and wife and their long partnership in the market gardens at Lockleys.

Figure 31: Wedding photo of Angelina Marchioro and Vittorio Marchioro, Adelaide 1938.

Photo taken after Angelina’s arrival in Adelaide.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

Romano, the second son, gives an account of his mother’s decision and says:

> She got married in Italy and my father got married here … it was like thousands of miles apart when they got married separately, virtually.
>
> (Romano Marchioro, OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 3).

From his perspective proxy marriage is puzzling especially because Romano is thinking about his parents’ history, the gamble of starting a marriage in this separated manner, and his own heritage.

The couple's older son also reflects on the family story and incorporates other emotions. In the following excerpt Johnny recounts the context:

> So, until 1937, Dad wanted to get married and probably letters were only written once a year, [laughs] and he wrote to Italy, to his sister in Italy and said that he wanted to get married … Then my mother – or to be my mother – came to Australia and they got married by proxy … She got married before, by proxy, but without seeing my father, and they lived together [laughs] for the next sixty years.
>
> (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 3).

Johnny is joined by his wife, Eleonora, in the interview and both express admiration of Angelina and Vittorio although they imply the risk was greater for Angelina who left her family to marry an unknown man. Johnny implies a question about the efficacy of commitment when he refers to "my mother – or to be my mother", and also emphasises his pride in his parents' long, happy marriage. Johnny's laughter combines curiosity, self-consciousness, incredulity even though he has told the story of his parents' proxy marriage for many years. It is also an acknowledgement of the difference in marriage customs between his parents' time and the 1960s when he and Eleonora married. It also contrasts with his views in 2008 at sixty-eight years old when he recorded the interview. The story of his parents' marriage contrasts with the way that Johnny and Eleonora met; independently of family, they fell in love and married. However, like Johnny's parents, they raised a family and worked together on a market garden for more than forty years.

Comparing the different accounts there are overlaps that show this is a shared and treasured family story. [240] The emphasis on emotions and details in Angelina's story illustrates that the story really belongs to her, whereas Vittorio's decision to choose the path of proxy marriage seems more peripheral to the narrative. Angelina and Vittorio's proxy marriage has been woven into the

[240] See Goek, "'Most Good Stories are True," 89-104 for discussion of family origins, identity and narrative that are realised in different generations through the transmission of Irish culture.

Marchioro family story reflecting themes of origin, migration, transnational links, culture, gender, marriage, work as market gardeners and the formation of identity for first and second generations of market gardener families at Lockleys.

Exogenous marriages

Marrying by proxy and choosing wives outside the Veneto community were new structures at Lockleys.[241] In the early 1930s, two exogenous marriages took place in the community at the time when several Veneto men were waiting for reunion with families, and others were considering marriage. Two young Veneto men took the radical step to marry outside the Italian community to Australian women.[242] The paths to *sistemazione* at Lockleys did not always conform to the customs observed in the *paesi* in the *comuni* in the provinces in the Veneto region.[243]

Silvano Zampin and Amelia Shaw

In 1931, less than three years after arriving in Adelaide, twenty-one-year old Silvano Zampin married twenty-year-old Amelia Shaw, daughter of Irish Australian parents. The marriage took place the year after the accidental death of Silvano's older brother, who had arrived in 1924. Silvano's need to put down roots in Australia was realised, perhaps in grief, in a marriage that set the couple apart within the group of other *veneti* in Adelaide, and within Amelia's family circle. Amelia did not speak Italian or Veneto dialect and would have been at a disadvantage in her husband's network. In their first years of marriage, Silvano and Amelia lived in boarding houses in the city of Adelaide; children were born and Silvano worked for several gardeners, including a Chinese man, before they moved to Lockleys and leased land for a market garden.

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[241] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 258-259.

[242] The small number of Veneta women in Adelaide was a factor in the two men choosing an Anglo and Irish Australian wife. Lack of finances to travel to Italy may also have influenced the decision to marry in Adelaide sooner rather than later.

[243] No first or 1.5 generation women married outside the Veneto community at Lockleys.

Six daughters of Silvano and Amelia spoke about the marriage of their parents in their interviews and reflected on what they understood of the challenges of marriage between an Anglo Australian to an Italian in the 1930s and 1940s. At that time Italians were regarded with disdain, a subject discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 5. In their interviews, the daughters speak about the discrimination and one recalled the racism her mother faced:

> Well, she married an Italian. And, need I say it? She was called a 'dagoe's tart' … Yes, it was pretty tough on her.
>
> (Roma Bordignon nee Zampin, OH 872/41, 3 February 2017, 10).

On the other hand, without exception, the daughters refer to the high regard in which their mother was held by the Veneto community and recall friendships and their parents attending informal events and formal functions. This contrasted with Amelia's own family's behaviour who ostracised her for several years. The example of Amelia's marriage to Silvano indicates that the *paesani* were able to accommodate an outsider and include her and her children in the community.

Gino Berno and Jean Dyson

A second Veneto man, Gino Berno, married outside the Veneto community in 1933. His wife, Jean Dyson, a daughter in an Anglo Australian market gardener family in the Lockleys area, was nineteen years old and Gino was twenty-four years. The couple and their two children shared a large house with another of the Veneto families, a short distance from Jean's family. A photo, (Figure 32) taken in the late 1940s, captures a group of Veneto men with Gino and Jean and their sons, suggesting that there was an acceptance of the marriage and inclusion of the family within the Veneto market gardener community. The perspective added by the photo allows a glimpse of a group within the *paese*, the married couple and sons with brothers-in-law. It is a visual resource in the absence of interviews with descendants of the subjects.

Figure 32: Jean and Gino Berno and sons, Valetta Road, mid to late 1940s.

In the back row are three Berno brothers and a friend.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

The early marriages of both Silvano Zampin and Gino Berno are consistent with findings about Italian men in San Francisco who married outside the Italian community between 1911 and 1920. Exogenous marriage was age-related; men who had arrived before turning twenty years were more likely to marry American-born women.[244] When they arrived in Adelaide, Silvano was a month off turning eighteen and Gino was eighteen years old and both were married within six years to their Australian-born wives. The marriages at a young age outside the community suggest an openness to making a future with Australian women rather than turning to tradition and marrying a Veneta woman. Perhaps it also suggests youthful energy for risk in creating a new kind of family or the need for security through finding companionship and establishing a family and

[244] See Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 177-180. Cinel reports that ten per cent of northern Italian married American women, a figure that is similar to the experience of the Veneto community.

home without making a return visit to Italy or marrying by proxy. The exogenous marriages also raise questions about the women and their trust in the future with a husband from a different culture that was not respected in Anglo Australia. The inclination to achieve *sistemazione* and establish a family and home were imperatives the two young men took from the Veneto tradition in their decision to marry outside the community.

Marrying a relative of a pioneer

There was significance in the migrant's choice of a marriage partner, and value in marrying a woman who was 'known' in the community. Even better, was a wife whose family was from the same locality, a reflection of the Veneto tradition. Sixteen years after he arrived, Eugenio Zalunardo married Luigia Ballestrin, sister to the two Ballestrin brothers who had arrived in 1927.[245] Luigia had emigrated with her mother in 1938, and the marriage in 1943 was looked upon favourably by the other *veneti* because the union between a pioneer and a sister of other pioneers represented a significant step towards *sistemazione* of the community in Lockleys. In this way, the community of Veneto market gardeners repeated village practices where children from families in the *paese* married each other and reinforced the concept of *campanilismo*, the shared familiarity associated with the place of origin. In Figure 33, the bride and groom, attendants and family members are dressed formally and convey dignity and a sense of the occasion although it was 1943, a time of uncertainty and hostility for Italians in Australia.

[245] Eugenio was thirty-eight years old and Luigia, twenty-seven years at the time of their marriage.

Figure 33: Marriage of Luigia Ballestrin and Eugenio Zalunardo, Adelaide 1943.

Photo supplied by Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin.

Adjustments to life at Lockleys

The Veneto group who arrived between 1926 and 1928 negotiated several major transitions after their emigration in the late 1920s. First, they made the shift from *contadini* with all the cultural and social context of their life in the Veneto region to an existence as migrants in Australia. Second, they managed the uncertainties of beginning life in Australia at a time when the economic conditions were pressing down on the population in every part of the nation. It was also a period when discrimination against Italians was widespread. In the third adjustment, the men were compelled to become itinerant labourers seeking any available work in a system that was unfamiliar even for people accustomed to seasonal employment. Fourth, the *veneti* made the transition from immersion in family in their childhood household to being alone and learning to survive in the intolerant society of Australia. The next most significant transformation was seizing the opportunity to lease land at Lockleys and establish market gardens. The reunification or formation of nuclear families marked an evolution to a new form of *paese.*

The pioneer market gardeners were conscious of their heritage and *contadino* culture and practices. Frankie Ballestrin explains his father's goal to find and cultivate land in Adelaide with his brothers, and after working for another Italian market gardener for several years:

> Because that's what they were all doing over there. They didn't have a trade, they didn't know anything. They went to school for two years only, over in Italy. So, they had a bit of land over there and that's what they were committed to doing over there and that's all they knew.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 12 December 2008, 11).

The proximity of the market gardens facilitated the sharing of knowledge and work practices and companionship with other Veneto men and women. The *veneti* adapted the needs of daily life, previously addressed by large extended families in the rural areas of the Veneto region, to the conditions of the market gardens at Lockleys. Within ten years of arrival in their individual different configurations of family, the Veneto pioneers were achieving *sistemazione* and creating a sense of order familiar to the Veneto *contadini* through everyday practices of work, attachment to land and the structure of family. They invested in community relationships in the processes of their *sistemazione*. In addition to setting up families and households and working towards acquiring market gardens, the scaffolding of the social network assisted the *veneti* to realise independence and permanency in Australia.[246] The Veneto families adapted to working the land in Adelaide, and slowly attained a level of economic security not possible in the Veneto region.

When Bruna speaks of her father in her statement at the beginning of this chapter, hoping for the best leaving the poverty of his family in the village of Riese Pio X in the province of Treviso in the Veneto region, she incorporates the meta-narrative of migration. Like all migrants, Silvano Zampin carried hope for the future and the belief that there would be more opportunities than were

[246] See Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 22-42, examine the interplay between microstructures of networks and macrostructures of institutions and government and emphasise the small steps migrants take within their network to assist them to permanently settle in their new country.

available in their home villages. Silvano and the other pioneer market gardeners also brought with them the knowledge of small-scale farming and their skills as *contadini*. They brought continuity with their customs and working lives and images of family households in their home villages which they reinvented in the familiarity of life in a small community.

The pioneers adjusted core elements of Veneto life and *contadino* structures, creatively adapting Veneto culture in their new *paese* even when Anglo hostility towards Italians challenged their belief in a safe settlement.[247] Attachment to, and identification with, land as the foundation of family *contadino* life is a theme examined in the next chapter. The opportunity to recast their affinity with land at Lockleys and build a cohesive social network as a *paese* are fixed threads in the history of the Veneto market gardener community in the interwar years.

[247] See Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*,11, 84-91, refers to the prejudice and enmity that Italians faced in the interwar years and especially during the Depression.

Chapter two: Attachment to land

The whole area was all market garden, you know. Well, I suppose they had to get a living somewhere ... When they come here they couldn't understand much, speak much English, didn't know what to do, so they had to start off something because over there, they only had little gardens too, and where we come from [in the Veneto region] they used to plant once a year because you'd get the snow that high, every year, I still remember the snow there … he heard from other people, see he knew some other people that came here. He knew how warm, that you never get snow here unless you go to the mountain.

(Lino Tonellato interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 16 July 2010, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/10, 14).

Click here to listen

Figure 34: Lino Tonellato, Adelaide, 2014.

Photo by Michael Campbell.

Lino Tonellato reflects on his father's early days as a market gardener at Lockleys and refers to the context of the Veneto region which he recalled from childhood and where his father and other pioneers had worked as *contadini*. Lino, who was eighty-four years when interviewed for this study, remembers the land in the province of Treviso in the Veneto region and his focus on climate reflects his cultivator's knowledge of seasons. He connects ideas about land use and agricultural practices in the Veneto with the experience of the Veneto pioneers and their efforts to gain a livelihood in family market gardens at Lockleys. Lino captures the narrative of the Veneto market gardeners; the initiative to preserve the *contadino* heritage of working the land and the adaptations and changes required to establish commercial market gardens in Australia. He provides a gendered view of work focusing on the male pioneers and referring to the transnational Veneto community. Through his perspective as a 1.5-generation son, Lino communicates a feeling of nostalgia for the Veneto region.

In this chapter I address the themes of adaptation of *contadino* values and practices and the ways that the Veneto pioneers achieved *sistemazione* through their attachment to land in Australia. I argue that the experience of individual families in the Veneto market gardener community to find, occupy, cultivate and make a livelihood from working the land in outer Adelaide between the wars was based on their heritage. The path to ownership was not simple or quick but the group of *veneti* negotiated the South Australian land tenure system, and with the assistance of the family labour unit achieved the goal of becoming self-employed Veneto market gardeners in the 1930s, and land owners by the mid-1950s.

The convergence of the *veneti* on fertile land that they developed as market gardens at Lockleys is explained by four factors. Their origins as *contadini* provided the foundation for their urge to live and work on their own land and they used their expertise as small-scale farmers to establish commercial market gardens. Second, the *veneti* recognised that it was possible to occupy and secure land through the South Australian land tenure system. The third factor is the presence of

the family and its role as a combined labour unit.[248] Fourth, the *contadino* experience of living in a close community explains the formation of an enduring close settlement of families who shared the same occupation in *a paese*, within three kilometres of each other. While the closeness of the community supported the adjustment of the pioneers, the density of the Veneto market gardener settlement engendered a negative perception of the separateness of the Veneto group within the Anglo Australian community and provoked prejudice because of the "ethnic concentration."[249] The cohesion of the market gardener community and its separateness from the broader Anglo Australian community is addressed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4. The wartime xenophobia and negative attitudes towards Italians is also discussed in Chapter 5.

A number of scholars have written about the significance of land for Italian migrants who settled and farmed in rural and semi-rural areas in Australia before the Second World War.[250] I draw especially on the work of Australian migration scholars Baldassar and Pesman, Davine, Huber,

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[248] See Pascoe, "Place and Community," 92-93, who argues that the tradition of the *contadino* was based on the joint work of family members; Jenkins, *Power of the Land;* 21-23, refers to the settlement in Lismore of Veneto and Friuli migrants and the ways that they extended the traditional family labour group to include the contribution of women and children on their farms.

[249] See Frank Lancaster Jones, "Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation," 421-423. Jones contends that residential concentration is one of four indicators of the extent of ethnic group assimilation in Australia. The other factors: occupational composition, intermarriage and naturalisation, are discussed throughout this study. Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 38-39, addresses the issue of post-World War II *paesani* who chose to live in close proximity in the first years of settlement in Australia and later moved away "from community-oriented to status-oriented emplacement." In contrast, the Veneto pioneers stayed together in the Lockleys area even after the market gardens were sold.

[250] See, for example, Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*; Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*; Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 65-75. For a study of a small group of Sicilian market gardeners in rural Victoria between the wars, see Maria Mantello, "Their Words … My Words … Our Words: A reflection on Oral History with Reference to Italian Immigrant Identity in the Werribee Community during World War 2." B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1981; and Maria Mantello, *Now and Then*. Veneto settlers in rural areas in Australia are examined in the following texts: Annamaria Davine, "Pioneer Veneti in Gippsland," 19-25; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 131-137; Jenkins, *Power of the Land*. The scholars analyse various Veneto group agricultural settlements in rural areas in Australia from the interwar years. See also Rino A. Baggio, *The Shoe in My Cheese: An Immigrant Family Experience*, (Victoria: Self-published, 1989), 39-49, for an account of the domestic life of a Veneto family on a farm near Geelong during the Second World War.

Mantello, and Price who have examined patterns of settlement of Italians, including through chain migration. This study, building on the theme of land in histories of migration and settlement of Italian communities, employs a smaller scale of analysis to build a microhistory of a group from different villages in the Veneto region. Unlike post-war Italians whose *sistemazione* was characterised by earning a wage and purchasing a house, the pioneers saw working their own land as the route to establishing themselves in Australia.[251] I argue that the community evolved from *contadino* origins, to permanent settlement on market gardens and formation of a *paese* between the wars on the land in the peri-urban area of Lockleys.

The destiny of the *contadino*

In Italy, the relationship to land defined everyday life, the past and the future, for the *contadino*. Families had held land for generations and inheritance was a problem because it was impossible to expand landholdings to accommodate increasing numbers of the extended family. Continuous "fragmentation" of land occurred with successive generations.[252] Egidio Ballestrin explains that his father was called to Adelaide by his two siblings who had emigrated in 1927 because of inadequate provision of food, work and space in the intergenerational family household:

> They were a very large family, and also a very large extended family living with them, and they had some land but couldn't make ends meet because of the fact that there were just too many. There was all his brothers and sisters, … nine of them in all, and also the older children started reproducing, and having the children, or the grandchildren, if you like, live there with them, and there just wasn't enough to go around … two of his older brothers, which was Antonio and Isidoro, came to Australia in 1927, and in doing so, then also asked one of … his other brothers, to come out, and he came out in the early '30s.
>
> (Egidio Ballestrin, OH 872/15, 6 June 2011, 1-2).

[251] Mariastella Pulvirenti, "The Morality of Immigrant Home Ownership," 237-249, argues that home ownership was the primary goal of *sistemazione* for post war Italian Australian migrants who were predominantly wage earners.

[252] For more detail about the agricultural context of the Veneto *contadini* and the use of land, see Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 19-21.

Figure 35: Members of four Ballestrin families, Adelaide, January 2019.
Looking with Madeleine Regan at archival documents from the parish archives
of Vallà in the Veneto region during fieldwork in 2018.
Photo by Alex Bennett.

I argue that the *veneti* realised the value of occupying land for small-scale farming based on their experience in *contadino* families. Many had also observed the use of land in rural Australia as vast landholdings for crops and livestock in their first years of mobility after arrival which contrasted to their own experience of the limited family plots in the Veneto region. During the 1920s the Commonwealth Government regarded migration as a means to expand land settlement and primary production in rural areas and established initiatives to attract British migrants.[253] However, Italian migrants were not the cohort that the Government expected to take up land, a view reinforced by public opinion. Opposition to Italian occupation of land was particularly loud in areas such as Griffith in New South Wales and Werribee South in Victoria because Italian migrants had

[253] Michele Langfield, *More People Imperative: Immigration to Australia, 1901-39* (National Archives of Australia, 1999), 12 https://www.naa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-06/research-guide-more-people-imperative_0.pdf

bought rural land relinquished by returned First World War soldiers.[254] Although motivated to occupy land and earn a livelihood, Italians had to overcome hurdles to achieve their vision in Australia in the interwar years.

Some narrators propose that the *contadino* origins of their parents were the basis for their decision to find land for cultivation.[255] For example, Aldo Rossetto confirms the common occupation of the passengers on the ship on which his father and uncles arrived in 1927:

> I noticed on the *Carignano* list of passengers, it had all 'gardeners', 'gardeners', 'gardeners'; along every name, they were all market gardeners. They cultivated land as peasants in Italy, lived off the land, and obviously that was the way to go.
>
> (Aldo Rossetto, OH 872/16, 4 July 2011, 9).

See Figure 36 for an extract of the manifest for the *Carignano* that arrived in Port Adelaide on 31 July 1927.

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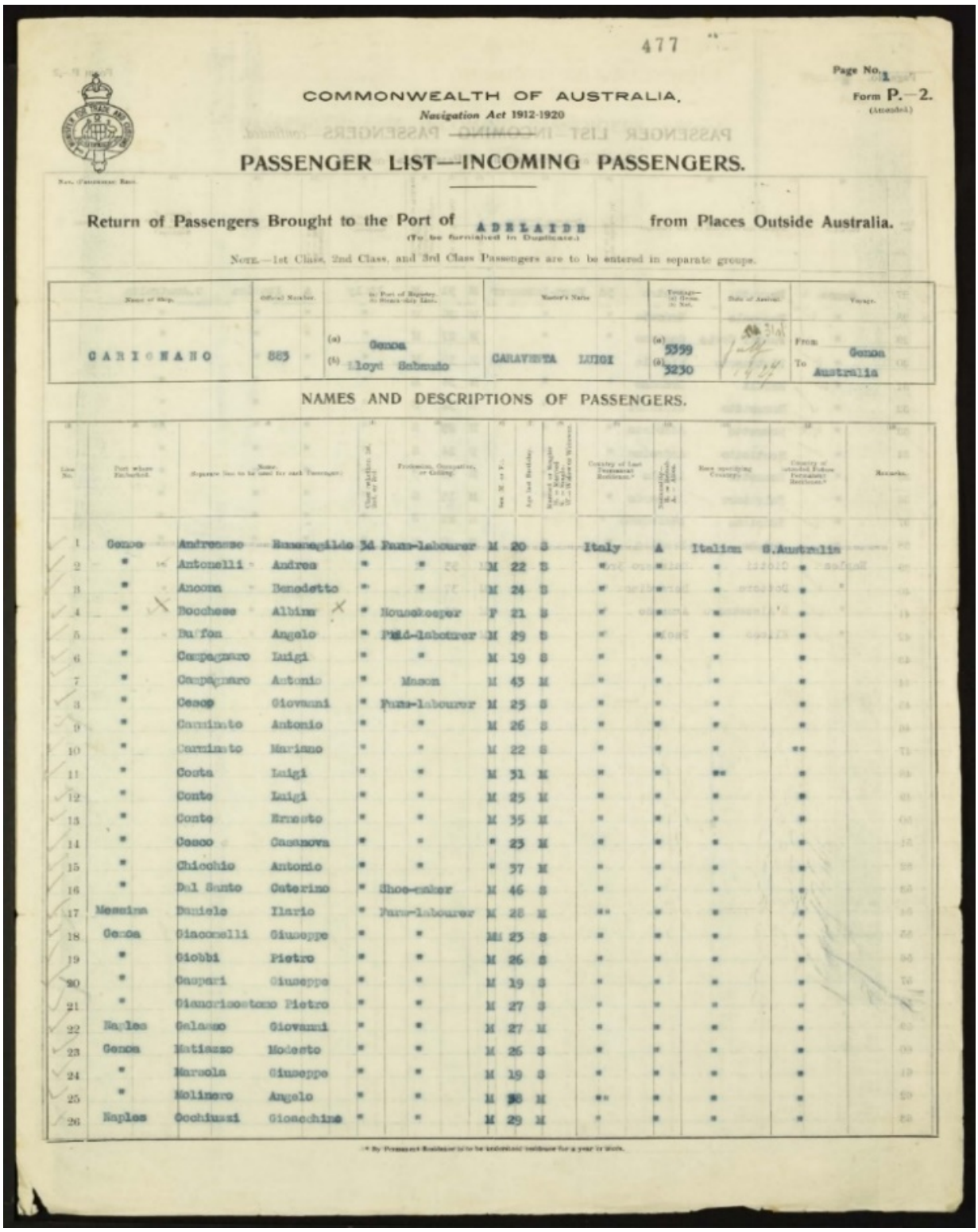
[254] See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 58; David R. G. Packer, "Italian Immigration into Australia." (M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, School of History, 1947), 90, refers to land which had been previously held by "Britishers" and was purchased by Italians who became successful primary producers from the 1930s in the Murrumbidgee area, the Group Settlement district of Western Australia and the Gippsland area in Victoria. See also Mantello, *Now and Then*, 19-21 for an overview of the soldier settlement scheme as a form of rural myth and the goals of working land that were not attainable for Anglo Australians who left the land. The Italians at Werribee South who worked the same land were targeted by returned First World War veterans particularly during the Second World War.

[255] See interviews with Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, January 2009, 5, 11, 17; Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 19 November 2015, 5, 7.



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Form P.—2.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Navigation Act 1912-1920

PASSENGER LIST—INCOMING PASSENGERS.

Return of Passengers Brought to the Port of ADELAIDE from Places Outside Australia.

(To be furnished in Duplicate.)

NOTE.—1st Class, 2nd Class, and 3rd Class Passengers are to be entered in separate groups.

Name of Ship.	Official Number.	Port of Registry. Steamship Line.	Master's Name.	Tonnage.	Date of Arrival.	Voyage.
CARIGNANO	885	(a) Genoa (b) Lloyd Sabaudo	CARAVENTA LUIGI	(a) 5399 (b) 3230		From Genoa To Australia

NAMES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF PASSENGERS.

Line No.	Port where Embarked.	Name. (Surnames first to be given for each Passenger.)		Civil condition (M. or S.)	Profession, Occupation, or Calling.	Sex (M. or F.)	Age last Birthday.	Nationality of Subject (B. = British, A. = Alien, N. = Naturalised, W. = Alien Women)	Country of Last Permanent Residence.*	Nationality (British or Alien)	Race specifying Country.	Country of intended Future Permanent Residence.*	Remarks.
1	Genoa	Andreasso	Ruggegildo	Sd	Farm-labourer	M	20	S	Italy	A	Italian	S.Australia	
2	"	Antonelli	Andrea	"	"	M	22	S	"	"	"	"	
3	"	Ancona	Benedetto	"	"	M	24	S	"	"	"	"	
4	"	Bocchese	Albina	"	Housekeeper	F	21	S	"	"	"	"	
5	"	Burfon	Angelo	"	Field-labourer	M	29	S	"	"	"	"	
6	"	Campagnaro	Luigi	"	"	M	19	S	"	"	"	"	
7	"	Campagnaro	Antonio	"	Mason	M	43	M	"	"	"	"	
8	"	Cesop	Giovanni	"	Farm-labourer	M	25	S	"	"	"	"	
9	"	Carminato	Antonio	"	"	M	26	S	"	"	"	"	
10	"	Carminato	Mariano	"	"	M	22	S	"	"	"	"	
11	"	Costa	Luigi	"	"	M	31	M	"	"	"	"	
12	"	Conte	Luigi	"	"	M	25	M	"	"	"	"	
13	"	Conte	Ernesto	"	"	M	35	M	"	"	"	"	
14	"	Cosco	Casanova	"	"	"	25	M	"	"	"	"	
15	"	Chicchio	Antonio	"	"	"	37	M	"	"	"	"	
16	"	Del Santo	Caterino	"	Shoe-maker	M	46	S	"	"	"	"	
17	Messina	Daniele	Ilario	"	Farm-labourer	M	28	M	"	"	"	"	
18	Genoa	Giacomelli	Giuseppe	"	"	M	23	S	"	"	"	"	
19	"	Giobbi	Pietro	"	"	M	26	S	"	"	"	"	
20	"	Gaspari	Giuseppe	"	"	M	19	S	"	"	"	"	
21	"	Giancriscotano	Pietro	"	"	M	27	S	"	"	"	"	
22	Naples	Galasso	Giovanni	"	"	M	27	M	"	"	"	"	
23	Genoa	Matiazzo	Modesto	"	"	M	26	S	"	"	"	"	
24	"	Marsola	Giuseppe	"	"	M	19	S	"	"	"	"	
25	"	Molinero	Angelo	"	"	M	38	M	"	"	"	"	
26	Naples	Occhiuzzi	Gioacchino	"	"	M	29	M	"	"	"	"	

* By Permanent Residence is to be understood residence for a year or more.

Figure 36: Section of ship's manifest for 'Carignano', 31 July 1927.

The column describing occupation highlights the high incidence of "farm labourer" among the passengers.

Government of South Australia, State Records, Passenger Lists 1845-1940.

Like Lino Tonellato, Aldo indicates the inevitability of the Veneto cohort applying their knowledge and skills as cultivators on the land in Australia because of their experience as *contadini*. As a

small, discrete group they took first steps to achieve *sistemazione* by finding and occupying land at Lockleys and their intentional settlement contrasts with other studies of Italian migrants who arrived in the late 1920s.[256] As discussed in Chapter 1, the formation of the *Veneto* cluster at Lockleys does not conform to the processes of chain migration advocated by Price where pioneers establish settlement with kin or *paesani* from their own villages.[257] The settlement of the Veneto pioneers represents the minority of southern Europeans who settled in Australia between the wars and who set themselves up at Lockleys outside the migration chain.[258] I argued in the previous chapter that the onset of the great Depression delayed the process of the pioneers putting down permanent roots but they were able to lease land in the same location which resulted in the cluster settlement at Lockleys.

In the 1930s when the pioneers leased land holdings of between three and twenty acres, circumstances contrasted with their experience in the Veneto region in many aspects. Before they

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[256]See for example, De Bolfo, *In Search of Kings*, who examines a cohort of one hundred and ten Italians who disembarked from the *Re d'Italia* at Melbourne in November 1927, and experienced life in Australia in different ways. Their narratives demonstrate the degree to which some migrants were able to sustain the challenges of migration and settlement. Some returned to Italy; others lived in abject poverty while several suicided. Davine's study of a Veneto community who dispersed to dairy farms and into wage labour in a rural area of Victoria between the wars illustrates the cohesion and intentionality of the chain migration and development of a community of *veneti* who originated from three *comuni* in the Veneto region: see Davine, "Pioneer Veneti in Gippsland," Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 36-46. Davine argues that the two main consequences of chain migration were the continuity of a flow of family members and *paesani* who settled in the Gippsland area from 1925 and the high incidence of *veneti* working in the same limited number of occupations in the area.

[257] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 107-139, provides an extensive analysis of the forms of chain migration undertaken by southern Europeans and identifies the size of settlements from small or less than five to large which was more than twenty. Price also qualifies his opinion about chain migration by stating that the incidence of small "district chain" (134) may have been the case in terms of the influence of a pioneer in migration. See also Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Territorial Composition of Italian Emigration," 247 – 265, who argues that the "emigration chain migration" is responsible for the concentration of Italians in particular areas of Australian capital cities.

[258] As noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 112, acknowledges that around seven per cent of southern European migration and settlement in Australia fell outside the structures of chain migration.

were joined by wives and children, the men lived alone in makeshift accommodation on their market gardens; a new living arrangement when their previous experience of 'home' had been in an intergenerational household that was a substantial structure. Living in a nuclear family was another example of independence that contrasted with life in the village households. The opportunity to earn a livelihood on commercial market gardens on larger holdings of land than they had been used to, underlined their independence in the processes of *sistemazione*. The adaptation to new forms of cultivation and working for a livelihood are addressed in Chapter 3.

Remo Berno stresses the urgency for his father and uncle to start working the land for themselves as soon as possible after the first years: "Dad and Uncle always, they went straight off, as soon as they could, they started working in market gardens." (Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 11). The brothers first worked for a landowner on Valetta Road whose family had lived in the area since colonial days. The companionship of neighbouring *paesani* provided a social network and made it possible to establish the market garden community, a theme developed in Chapter 4.

The entry of the pioneers into the business of commercial market gardens indicates their capacity for independence and resourcefulness. Although Baldassar and Pesman state that self-employment was a fourth stage in the working lives of *veneti* from 1920s, I argue that the pioneers created the second and ultimate stage of their working lives in the 1930s as market gardeners on land at Lockleys, an occupation which most maintained into the 1970s.[259]

Land at Lockleys

The *veneti* settled on properties on the northern side of the River Torrens between the city of Adelaide and the ocean. The flood plain and alluvial soil had provided rich abundance of food for

[259] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 62, argue that working life for many *veneti* moved through four stages in their settlement in Australia between the 1920s and the 1970s. The stages included work in mines, then agriculture, movement from rural to urban life and employment and finally, from employee to self-employment. The Veneto market gardeners did not conform to this model.

the Aboriginal population of the area.[260] Following colonial settlement in the second half of the 1830s, English settlers developed broad acre farms near the River Torrens in the Lockleys area and records of land titles indicate that subdivision of large farms began by at least the 1890s.[261] Land close to the river was valuable for growing vegetables and Chinese men had leased small properties for market gardens from the mid-1890s.[262] By the 1930s when the Veneto market gardeners started to lease land, the area was a mix of large land holdings of crops such as lucerne, dairy farms, small intensive vegetable farms and orchards. At that time, apart from old colonial families, smaller owners included returned soldiers who had been allocated land after the First World War and played a role in preventing Veneto pioneers buying land during the Second World War.[263]

The *veneti* secured leaseholds of varying size close to the water source of the River Torrens about eight kilometres from the wholesale vegetable market, optimum conditions for the *contadini* to establish market gardens and work land for themselves.[264] While the river provided easy access to water, the earliest years for the pioneers were marked by extensive flooding which ruined crops

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[260] Susan Marsden, *A History of Woodville*, 4 – 6, 8, for information about the Kaurna people who had inhabited the area along the banks of the River Torrens in the vicinity of where the market gardens were located. See also Sharyn Beth Clarke. "The Creation of the Torrens: A History of Adelaide's River to 1881" (M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 2005), refers to the different values and meanings for the use of the River Torrens by Kaurna people and the English colonial settlers. See, in particular, Chapter 1, "Conceiving the Torrens," for the significance of the river as source of water, food and cultural practices such as making burial sites for the Kaurna people.

[261] Certificate of Title, Vol. 585, Folio 2, dated 1894. This lands title for Keele demonstrates that in 1894 a large land holding of one hundred-and-fifty-eight acres including access to the River Torrens was in the process of being divided into smaller portions. For information about agricultural land from the 1890s, changes in crops and increasing prevalence of dairies and market gardens, see Marsden, *A History of Woodville*, 106-108.

[262] See lands title leasehold in Certificate of Title, Volume 636, Folio 110 dated 4 September 1895 which confirms that Chinese market gardeners were leasing land in the area, close to the River Torrens.

[263] See Chapter 5 for discussion of attempts made by *veneti* to purchase land during the Second World War.

[264] The variation in size seems to have been related to the availability of land holdings at the time that individuals began leasing land from the early 1930s. Most stayed on their original leasehold and eventually bought it after the war. This process is discussed late in this chapter.

until the course of the river was modified in the late 1930s.[265] See Figure 37 for an interwar map that features the area of the Lockleys market gardens and the location near the River Torrens.

Figure 37: Map of western and south-western suburbs of Adelaide, early-mid 1930s.

The approximate locality of the Veneto market gardens, then known as St James Park, is highlighted.

Map, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

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[265] Marsden, *A History of Woodville,* 100, 123, 194-195. See also Derek L. Smith, and C.R. Twidale, and South Australia Engineering Water Supply Department. *An Historical Account of Flooding and Related Events in the Torrens River System from First Settlement to 1986*. Report 87/29. (Adelaide: Engineering and Water Supply Department, 1987). *(No author)* C'era una Volta una Famiglia che Viveva in unVagone," 17 = "Once Upon a Time, there was a Family who lived in a Train Carriage." in *Il Messaggero,* giugno 1986. This article in a Catholic magazine for Italians in Australia refers to the early days of Secondo Tonellato's market garden on Frogmore Road. See also, interview with Rae Ballantyne OH 872/21, 25 August 2012, 26-27, for details about his father's experience of flooding in his market gardens at Lockleys in the 1920s.

The families' relationship to land has been gathered through oral history interviews with 1.5 and second-generation members who grew up on the market gardens at Lockleys, land titles and other archival records. In addition to the *veneti*, the 1.5 and second-generation narrators, members of two Anglo Australian families on soldier settler blocks also provided information about size of land holdings, variety of crops and the experience of growing up on a market garden where family members provided labour, experiences similar to those of the Veneto market gardener families.[266] Additionally, Italians from other regions including Campania and Calabria also worked market gardens in the same area.[267] Chinese market gardeners who leased small plots of land grew a different range of crops, mainly green leafed vegetables for market.[268]

The *veneti*, land and market gardens

The concentration of the *veneti* living in the market garden area within about a three-kilometre radius enabled the formation of a community with double significance. The *veneti* shared their occupation as market gardeners which allowed them to apply their knowledge of working the land and share resources within the group. The Veneto group brought their desire for autonomy and the habit of living in community to Australia in order to achieve *sistemazione* with *paesani* nearby, building on Veneto "cultural and economic traditions of independence and self-employment."[269]

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[266] Oral history interviews recorded in 2012 with Rae Ballantyne, OH 872/21, 25 August 2012, 1 September 2012; Barbara Haynes nee Ballantyne, OH 872/23, 1, September 2012, 15 September 2012; and Barrie West, OH 872/22, 25 August 2012, 15 September 2012.

[267] Two narrators, Melbourne Recchi, and Aida Valentini nee Recchi, were from a family whose parents came from the regions of Abruzzo and Campania. See the following regional histories that refer to the presence of other Italians in the Lockleys area: Mercurio and Scarino, *E Partimmo*, 26, confirm the presence of market gardeners from the region of Campania in the Lockleys area in the late 1920s. Cosmini-Rose and O'Connor, *Caulonia in the Heart*, 45-47 refer to thirty-six Italians in the Lockleys area in the 1930s and large numbers from Caulonia, a small village in Calabria in the Lockleys-Woodville area. For an autobiographical account of a Calabrese market gardener family in the Lockleys area, see Paul Depasquale, *My Path to the Brownlow* (Oaklands Park, South Australia: Pioneer Books, 2009).

[268] See oral history interviews for memories of neighbouring Chinese market gardeners in the Lockleys area recorded with Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin, OH 872/28, 13 March 2014, 6; Melbourne Recchi, OH 872/31, 31 July 2014, 17-18; Irene Zampin, OH 872/45, 23 June 2017, 11.

[269] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 62.

The Veneto pioneers established market gardens on land randomly subdivided into holdings of between three and twenty acres; smaller blocks enabled the familiar Veneto intensive farming methods.[270] The work on the small landholdings was undertaken largely by manual labour with use of horses to pull ploughs.

The compact area in which Veneto market gardeners leased land provided physical and social security, and a sense of separation from the Anglo Australian world. Market gardens were divided by thick hedges, pine trees or bamboos on tracks which extended away from made roads. Accommodation on the land holdings varied from an early tent dwelling to a repurposed cow shed to iron and wooden shacks that could be dismantled and moved easily, to a large old colonial villa on land acquired by Gino Berno during the war, an issue discussed later in this chapter.[271]

Figure 38: Gelindo, holding Romeo, and Lina Rossetto nee Bordin, Lockleys, c 1932.

When Lena arrived in 1931, she discovered that she was to live in a tent in this location.

Photo supplied by the family.

[270] In a 1945 study of agricultural land holdings in rural-urban Sydney, the average size of land was six acres. The point was made that intensive farming allowed two to three crops a year. See N.R. Willis, "Some Agricultural Characteristics of the Rural-Urban Fringe," *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, *Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society* 13, no. 5 (1945): 110. The Veneto market gardeners increased production when they grew a combination of glasshouse and outside vegetables.

[271] Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 61, notes that women often arrived to find that their new 'home' was not of the same standard as the large household they had left. This was certainly the case for pioneer, Adele Rossetto nee Bordin who arrived in 1930 and writes in her memoir, about her shock after arrival to find herself living in primitive conditions, "a hovel – bare and empty – with no gas, no firewood, no electricity and no floor," Rossetto, *La Pioggia nelle Scarpe*, 68.

The phenomenon of close occupationally based communities that were separate from the Anglo Australian population is evident in other Italian migrant group settlements in Australia between the wars. For example, the Veneto model of agrarian settlement was similar to the concentration of a group of Sicilian farmers who leased land in a small area near Werribee South, Victoria between 1929 and 1949. [272] However, there were three main differences: at Werribee, there was a group of just six families, they had originated from a single village in Sicily and leased land from one landowner, the Catholic Church.

The close grouping of market gardeners at Lockleys was different from the more scattered groups of *veneti* who bought farms near Griffith in the Riverina area of New South Wales or who settled in the rural area of Gippsland on farms and in small towns.[273] The Molfettese fishers in the South Australian regional city of Port Pirie had developed a strong community and occupational identity from the late nineteenth century.[274] At Lockleys, the *veneti* lived in communal safety recreating and transforming social, physical and occupational arrangements of the *contadino* way of life. The network formed by the market gardeners was a more opportunistic endeavour than communities formed through chain migration because the *veneti* established themselves without relying on existing structures.

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[272] See Maria Mantello, *Now and Then*.

[273] See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 55 – 127, who provides evidence of the settlement of Veneto *contadini* on farms in rural Griffith in New South Wales from the 1920s; Davine, in *Vegnimo da Conco* examines the settlement of the small community of Trevisani in central and west Gippsland who were scattered on farms and employed in diverse occupations in the region.

[274] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 37-49, discusses the historical context of the people from Molfetta who migrated and settled as fishers, sharing the occupation and community life in Port Pirie. Michael Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie: A Social History* (Port Pirie: Our Lady of Martyrs, Port Pirie Italian Community, 1992), provides an analysis of the Molfettese community in Port Pirie, their occupation, customs and traditions. See also discussion of the trend for Italian migrant groups with a single occupation to live separately from mainstream society was also observed in the generations of families in fishing communities in California in the United States of America established in the early twentieth century in Carol Lynn McKibben, “Between Public and Private: The Transnational Community of Sicilians in Monterey, California,” in *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World,* ed. Loretta Baldassar and Donna R. Gabaccia (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 143-155.

Figure 39: Aerial photograph – approximate area of the Veneto market gardens highlighted – 1935.

Note the expanse of open land for crops and growing vegetables.

Photo, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

In a neighbouring suburb to the Veneto *paese*, a group of market gardeners from north eastern Bulgaria who had arrived in Adelaide in 1928, leased and then bought land in a marshland area two kilometres west of Lockleys. Like the *veneti*, the men who had been agricultural workers in Bulgaria created a close community and worked hard to establish their market gardens before they either brought their families to join them or married in Adelaide. In 2000, the Vice-President of the

Bulgarian's Educational and Friendly Society reflected: "The early settlers in the area had to start with little more than their bare hands and the ground upon which to establish the most common activity of market gardening."[275] In contrast to the Veneto market gardeners who created their *paese* at Lockleys without a physical hub, the Bulgarian group at Fulham Gardens who were part of a wider Bulgarian community in South Australia worked towards establishing a community centre as a meeting place in the late 1940s.[276]

Although there were other market gardeners in the locality, the Veneto pioneers established their own physical and social *paese* at Lockleys. Anglo Australian market gardens were mostly on the periphery of the *veneti* settlement and one Anglo Australian narrator recalls that his family had no significant interactions with Italians. He describes the area: "there was isolated houses here and there …so there was no social life," (Rae Ballantyne, OH 872/21, 25 August 2012). In contrast, the sons and daughters of the Veneto pioneers remember the composition of the area differently because they identify families in their own community. For example, a son in a Veneto pioneer family identifies some Veneto families, adding the detail about kinship and his godfather, and summarises by emphasising lower numbers of Australian market gardeners:

> Well, there was the Tonellato's, there was the Piovesan's and the Ballestrin's and Zalunardo; he was my godfather. They were all in that area … all Italians. There weren't too many Australians around there.
>
> (Romano Marchioro, OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 4).

[275] Bulgarian's Educational and Friendly Society. Speech by Vice President, John Bennett in *Jubilee edition to commemorate fifty years since the establishment of the Bulgarians' Educational and Friendly Society Incorporated at 443 Tapleys Hill Road, Fulham Gardens, Adelaide, South Australia, 1949-1999*. (Adelaide, 2000), 36-37.

[276] Bulgarian's Educational and Friendly Society, *Jubilee edition*, 37.

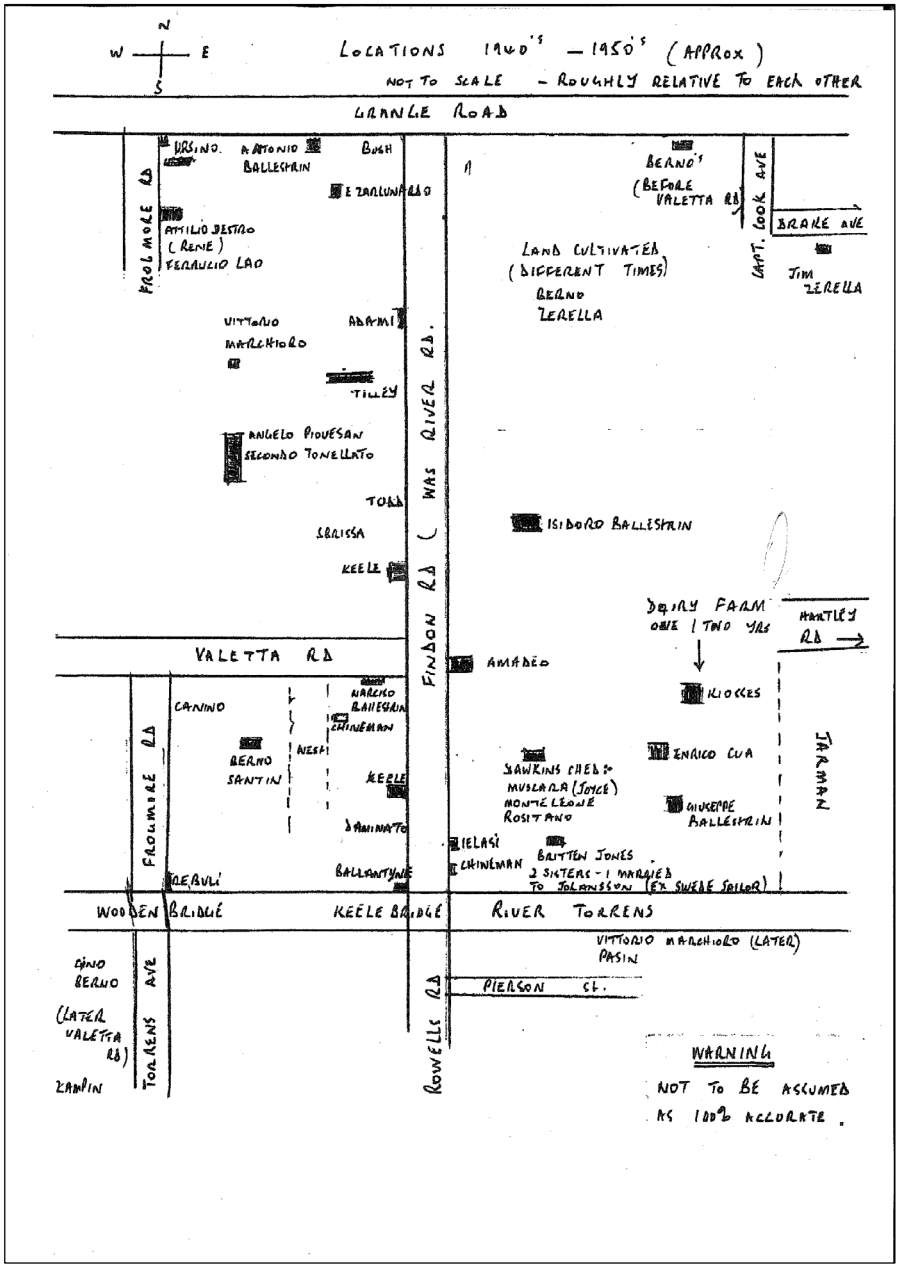

Figure 40: Map by Lino Ballestrin - Veneto and other market gardeners in the Lockleys area, 1940/50s.

(Some families are not identified west of Frogmore Road between Grange and Valetta Roads.)

Map supplied by Lino Ballestrin.

In Figure 40, the locations of pioneer families are identified in the map and the proximity of the market garden properties is apparent. As a child, Romano experienced the connections and the exclusive interactions between his parents' *paesani* who lived only a stroll or short bike ride apart. The close settlement enabled pioneers to maintain the continuity of the bonds, including godparent relationships, in the everyday community life of the *paese* in the Veneto region. However, the Lockleys community was comprised of a network of nuclear families who formed proxy family

relationships with their *paesani* and created an extended family which was partly for the benefit of children born in Adelaide whose grandparents and other relatives were in Italy.

The 1.5 and the second-generation Veneto narrators speak about the significance of land for their parents. From a distance of seventy years, they provide precise information about family market gardens, recalling locations, referring to physical features such as the river, positions of main roads and tracks, ownership of land, boundaries of bamboo and boxthorn hedges, varieties of crops, numbers of glasshouses owned by families and the few houses in comparison to open and farmed land.

In an aerial photo of the late 1950s, (Figure 41) narrators identified at least forty individual family farms, including those owned by Anglo Australian, Chinese, Veneto and other Italians in the intensely farmed and sparsely populated area where the pioneer market gardeners were settled. The population in the area was comprised mainly of market gardens operated by families with a defined nucleus of Veneto families which continued until the early 1960s when the first housing developments commenced, an issue examined in Chapter 6.

Figure 41: Aerial photo - Veneto market gardens area highlighted - late 1950s.

Note the encroaching suburban development and small clusters of houses including public housing in the top left and right of the photo and areas of open land and glasshouses especially in the vicinity of the river.

Photo, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

Occupying land as market gardeners

Most of the Veneto market gardeners engaged with the land tenure system in Australia as lessees in the decade before the Second World War. The case of the first Veneto man to own land for a market garden illustrates the challenge of achieving ownership during the 1940s for a person born in Italy. It also demonstrates the advantage of being naturalised which facilitated access to

Australian laws and the ability to act on behalf of kin to purchase land during the war years. From the 1850s, an old colonial family, the Butterfields, had owned large landholdings in what was known as the Lockleys and Fulham locality along the River Torrens.[277] In 1942, a Butterfield son sold sixteen acres at Saint James Park (also known as Lockleys) to Gino Berno who had been naturalised in 1938.[278] Gino's cousins, Alberto and Pietro Berno, had worked as farm labourers on the Butterfield property in the 1930s; however, they were prevented from buying it because they were not naturalised.

Gino Berno's purchase of land was an extraordinary step for a *contadino* whose experience of land ownership in Italy had been constrained by inheritance rules. It was also extraordinary because the sale involved negotiations with his cousins that were unlawful at the time, an example of the business acumen of the Berno brothers, Alberto and Pietro. The sale became the subject of an extensive investigation by the Attorney-General's Department because of a possible breach of the *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations* which stipulated conditions for land transactions undertaken by Italians and other enemy aliens during the war. While the initial contract of purchase had been signed in April 1942, the investigation continued until October 1943, even as crops were planted and harvested on the land during that period.

Two main factors complicated the land transaction. While Alberto and Pietro Berno had the capital, they were excluded from ownership of sixteen acres because of their status as unnaturalised

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[277] *Advertiser*, Saturday 20 March 1926, 17, Obituary: Mrs James Butterfield. The obituary provides an overview of the Butterfield family who had owned farming and market garden land along the River Torrens for many years.

[278] Two aspects in this situation are difficult to understand without knowing motivations of the actors. For example, it is not possible to understand why Alberto and Pietro had not become naturalised in the 1930s. Why was the property sold to Gino Berno? It is likely that there had been a satisfactory relationship between the elderly vendor and the Berno brothers (the alleged *de facto* owners) because they had been labourers on that land. (See interview with Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 11). For extensive documentation of the processes involved in Gino Berno's purchase of the land, see NAA: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra; A12217, *Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix*, 01 Jan 1940 – 31 Dec 1946; L5555, Gino Felice Berno – purchase of property in Lockleys SA, 1942-1943.

‘enemy aliens’.[279] Gino Berno applied to purchase the land in April 1942, four years after being naturalised. His cousins were understood to have provided the finance. Gino’s status as ‘a naturalised person of enemy origin’ continued to be a liability.

The Commonwealth Investigation Branch questioned the exchange of the large sum of £2,100, the price of the land finalised in May 1942. The Government official was especially concerned about the ‘mortgage’ of £1,600 which was handed over in bank notes in a lawyer’s office. In Anglo Australia, large amounts of cash would generally have been banked whereas the *veneti* were not used to owning money or handing over management of finances to an institution.[280] The inquiry officers examined Gino Berno’s financial history to establish the improbability of his possessing such a sum of money. The conclusion was that the Berno brothers were suspected of providing the funds and Gino was accused of ‘dummying’ for his cousins.[281]

Antipathy towards Italians in the wider community was brought into the investigation. The negativity was particularly evident in an area like Lockleys where the concentration of Italian market gardeners, including the *veneti*, had increased in the 1930s.[282] Price argues that the

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[279] Both brothers had first applied to be naturalised in September 1939 and were notified in October 1940 that they had been unsuccessful. They reapplied in 1944 but their applications were refused on the grounds that the situation of the war prohibited naturalisation of enemy aliens. See naturalisation files for the Berno brothers: NAA: Department of Immigration Central Office; A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944 – 31 Dec 1950; 1946/4/510, Berno Vittorio Pietro born 18 July 1909 – Italian, 1939-1946; NAA: Department of Immigration Central Office; A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944 – 31 Dec 1950; 1946/4/527, Berno Alberto – born 16 February 1905 – Italian 1939-1946.

[280] Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 41, states that in Lismore in the 1920s, Italian men from the Veneto and Friuli regions did not have knowledge of borrowing money from a bank so if they could not borrow from family members, they would not take on a venture that required finances beyond their cash savings. In personal communication with Maria Rosa Tormena (11 February 2021), I learned that even in the 1940s, some of the *veneti* in Adelaide negotiated loans within families or within the Veneto community because they trusted *paesani* more than the banks to negotiate loans.

[281] ‘Dummying’ was an offence under the *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations 1940* enacted during the war to prevent enemy aliens from completing land transactions.

[282] See NAA: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra; A12217, *Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L[Land] prefix*,01 Jan 1940 – 31 Dec 1946, L6037, Gelindo Rossetto – purchase of

presence of small-scale migrant farmers living close to the suburbs made them conspicuous because of the concentration of their settlements.[283] By July 1942 public opinion had been inflamed and the Commonwealth Attorney General invited citizens to report unlawful transfer of land by enemy aliens or naturalised persons of enemy origin.[284] The public invitation prompted a local Anglo Australian resident to write a detailed letter outlining a case against Italians taking over the Lockleys area. The resident had previously worked the land that Gino Berno purchased, and was required to relinquish the dwelling in which he was living because of the impending sale.

The complainant accused the "unnaturalised enemy aliens", the Berno brothers, of having illegally bought the land and large house on the property and described what he saw as "this Italian menace, they are allowed to build wood & iron shacks and live in filthy conditions." The letter called for action on behalf of "our Australian boys away fighting for their country" who should have had preference in land purchases.[285] The lengthy investigation stretched to other members of the Veneto community and practices such as informal personal loans which did not incur interest. The disinclination of the *veneti* to use banks was viewed with suspicion by the investigation officers.

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property – Findon SA, 1942-1942, 10. In a letter from the Investigation Branch 20 October 1942, an Inspector reports that the number of Italians who had settled in the Findon - Lockleys – Fulham area had been increasing and by 1938 a considerable number of Italians had owned or leased land. See also O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 110-115, for details of Italians residing in South Australia at the time of the 1933 census.

[283] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 157-158. Price identifies two areas in Adelaide in the late 1940s; Lockleys and Fulham. These were the suburbs where the market gardens of the respective Veneto and Bulgarian communities were located.

[284] National Archives of Australia documentation – NAA: A12217, L5555, *Advertiser*, 1 August 1942.

[285] NAA: A12217, L5555, 33-34. In August 1942, an Anglo Australian man, James Hockley who had been leasing the Butterfield property and residence wrote a letter in response to Doctor Evatt's invitation to report illegal land sales to enemy aliens. He sets out complaints against the Berno brothers and their cash purchase of the property. He also protests against the increasing numbers of enemy aliens leasing and buying land; their inferior mode of living and avoidance of paying tax. The living conditions of Italians had been reported in the Queensland Royal Commission Ferry Report in 1925 which had been established because of the large increase in Italian migrants in north Queensland. The living standards, particularly of southern Italians, were considered lower than Anglo Australian standards: See Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia,* 112, 147; Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 204-206, 272.

The reports provided adverse descriptions of the Berno relatives, and testimony of three witnesses in the Veneto market gardener community was dismissed as worthless.[286] Ultimately the Attorney-General's office found that it could not prove that regulations were breached and the case against Gino Berno and his cousins was not upheld.[287]

Issues about ownership of property also impacted another family in the Veneto group who applied to lease part of the same property. Giovanni Santin, a pioneer, had moved to Adelaide in 1941 after labouring for a Bulgarian farmer in a rural area for several years. After his wife and four adolescent children arrived in 1935 the family lived with him there until they moved to the western suburbs where he leased land for two years.[288] He was naturalised in December 1939 and his four children were considered British subjects also. In May 1943 Giovanni applied to lease a section of land from owner, Gino Berno. However, the application was the subject of an investigation into a possible breach of the *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations* because Gino Berno did not have authority to allow Giovanni Santin to lease land without permission from the Attorney General. Giovanni's ambition to lease land close to other *veneti* demonstrated a belief that he might later buy a property large enough for a market garden for him to work with his three sons. Santin was following the path of other pioneers who were members of the Veneto market gardens *paese* and leaseholders in Lockleys.

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[286] David Brown, "Citizenship and Naturalisation in a Historical Context: The Story of Carmelo Belfiore," in *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War*, ed. Joan Beaumont, Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien and Mathew Trinca (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008), 49. Brown argues that restrictions placed on unnaturalised enemy aliens to purchase property during the war resulted in alienation and further exclusion in Anglo Australian society.

[287] NAA: A12217, L5555, 13-14, Letter from the Assistant Crown Solicitor 12 November 1942.

[288] See Santin family biography: https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/1927-pioneer-families/santin-giovanni-luigi/

Figure 42: A view of the Berno and Santin market gardens, cauliflower block, Valetta Road, 1940s.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

The extensive investigation included interrogation of Giovanni Santin and his three sons who had been observed working the three and a half acres that they had applied to lease. One of the challenges represented in the investigation was the absence of a formal contract between Gino Berno and Giovanni Santin. The Anglo Australian land tenure system did not accept the verbal conditions by which the land negotiations had been agreed by the *paesani*.[289] In the Veneto region, arrangements regarding land ownership were regulated by inheritance customs within families outside formal legal contracts and any verbal agreements within families or in the community were considered binding and sound.

The Santin men, father and three sons, were investigated and one son claimed his right to lease and work the land as a "British subject" because he had been called up and released by the Army

[289] NAA: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra, A12217, *Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix*, 01 Jan 1940 – 31 Dec 1946; L7183, Giovanni Santin – purchase of property Lockleys, SA, 1943-1944. The Torrens Title system in South Australia was set up to avoid disputes over ownership and to ensure equitable taxation and therefore the authorities would not have been satisfied with verbal agreements about leases and land ownership.

to grow vegetables during the war.[290] Investigation officers refused the application and reported the "duplicity" and "unreliability" of the Veneto market gardeners involved in the case. However, the lease was finally approved and the Santin family and Gino Berno and his wife and sons jointly occupied the house. In 1950 the Santin family bought a large property within two kilometres of the Berno land.[291] Negotiations about land made between the three families, Gino and Jean Berno, the two Berno brothers and later, the Santin family, drew on the trust and understanding in *paesano* relationships in the Veneto region although they had to conform to legislative requirements in Australia that became more stringent during the war.

Denial of application to own land

In a different situation during the war years, the Attorney-General refused an application to purchase a property made by a Veneto pioneer market gardener who had been naturalised in 1939. After leasing four and a half acres for several years on a short-term basis at Lockleys, Gelindo Rossetto and his wife, Lina, aspired to own land for their market garden and in 1942 applied to purchase nine acres on Frogmore Road, close to other Veneto market gardeners. Gelindo could cover the purchase sum of £2,600 with a deposit and five-year mortgage because he had access to finance through having owned a one eighth share in a mica mine in the Northern Territory for several years.[292]

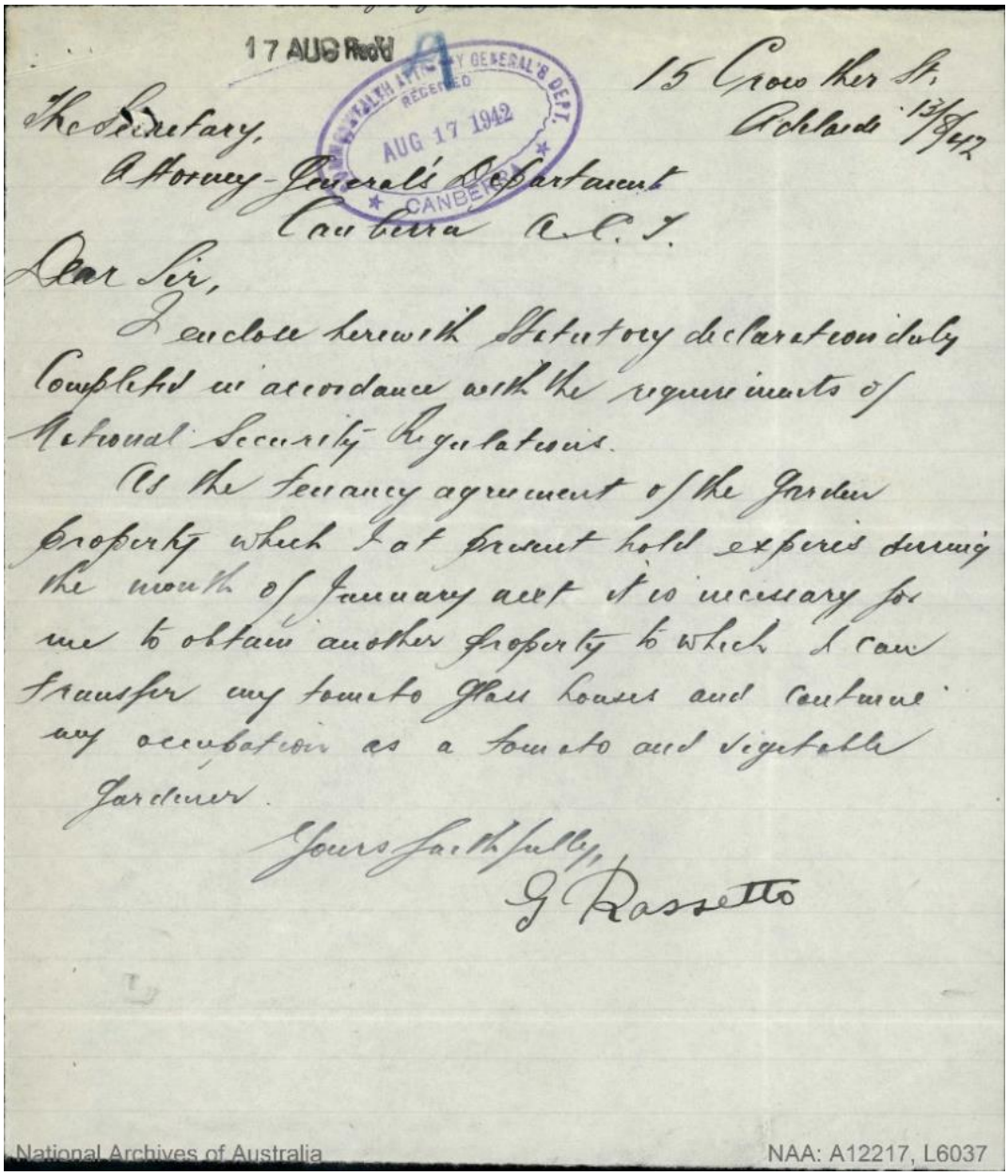
It was clear that Gelindo's experience as part-owner of the mica mine provided confidence in his right to follow up the delay in the administration of his application. His confidence is evident in two letters that he wrote directly to the Commonwealth Attorney-General. Gelindo appeals for the sale to be processed quickly because of practical considerations to re-establish his market garden in

[290] NAA: A12217, L7183.

[291] See interview with Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 3 April 2013, 12.

[292] Details of the shares in the Northern Territory mica mine are discussed later in this chapter.

time for the tomato growing season.[293] In Figure 43 Gelindo explains the need to move his glasshouses in a letter dated the same day as his application.



17 AUG Rec'd

COMMONWEALTH ATTORNEY GENERAL'S DEPT. RECEIVED AUG 17 1942 CANBERRA

15 Grosvenor St.
Adelaide 13/8/42

The Secretary,
Attorney-General's Department
Canberra A.C.T.

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith statutory declaration duly completed in accordance with the requirements of National Security Regulations.

As the tenancy agreement of the Garden property which I at present hold expires during the month of January next it is necessary for me to obtain another property to which I can transfer my tomato glass houses and continue my occupation as a tomato and vegetable gardener.

Yours faithfully,
G Rossetto

National Archives of Australia NAA: A12217, L6037

Figure 43: Letter written by Gelindo Rossetto, 13 August 1942 to the Attorney General's Department.NAA: A12217, L6037, Gelindo Rossetto - purchase of property Findon South Australia.

[293] NAA: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra Alien Land *Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix*; A12217, 01 Jan 1940 – 31 Dec 1946, L6307, Gelindo Rossetto – purchase of property Findon, SA, 1942 – 1942, 24-25.

Gelindo's plan to set up the new market garden included employing one of his brothers and another man to work the land, a model that echoed structures of co-working land that were customary in the Veneto. His absence from the market gardens suggests a parallel to the *padrone* role while he worked the mica mine in the Northern Territory. [294]Although he received a considerable income from the mine, Gelindo's desire to maintain his attachment to land as a market gardener informed his ambition to purchase and cultivate land when he returned to Adelaide for seasonal tasks like planting and harvesting. In addition to imitating a *padrone* role, Gelindo was also reshaping the seasonal employment model experienced in the Veneto region.[295]

On 21 November 1942, following an inquiry by the Investigation Branch in Adelaide, the Attorney-General's Department notified Gelindo Rossetto that the contract of sale was refused under the *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations*.[296] While the Investigation Branch conceded that there was nothing in the report to suggest that Gelindo was disloyal or of poor character, the decision rested on three judgements that adversely affected him. First, the context of the war in 1942 was a determining factor because the Australian Army was in combat with the Japanese in New Guinea and fear had increased since Darwin had been bombed earlier that year. Second, the land that Gelindo aspired to purchase on Frogmore Road was identified as being located in a potential front-line military area should invasion have occurred and there was a risk with enemy alien ownership. Finally, four Anglo Australian market gardeners in the area who belonged to the local Lockleys Sub-Branch of the Returned Soldiers League campaigned against the right of Italians to own land. Two statements also referred to Bulgarian market gardeners in the area.[297]

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[294] In the Veneto region, the *padrone* who owned the land contracted *contadini* to work for him and received half the produce of the land through the *mezzadria* system, as noted in the previous chapter. It is not clear what was involved in the financial arrangements between the Rossetto brothers.

[295] Gelindo Rossetto's wealth reflected the income he gained from mica mining which was in high demand during the Second World War.

[296] See *Regulations under the National Security Act 1939-1940, 23 July 1940*.

[297] NAA: A12217, L6037, 10-15 for the determination about the application to purchase land and the four statements written by returned servicemen who were market gardeners in the Lockleys area on soldier settler blocks.

The campaign mirrored the hostile views of other First World War veterans in other parts of Australia where Italians and other southern European communities had established market gardens close to soldier settlers and/or had bought the land that soldier settlers had abandoned because they had not found it viable.[298] The four local market gardeners who were soldier settlers, having served in the First World War, condemned the large numbers of Italians whose "behaviour at all times was most offensive" and who could undertake possible sabotage of local bridges and munitions works in the event of an invasion.[299] The returned First World War soldiers described the area as an "Italian colony" where previously there had been only "British residents."[300]

The statements illustrate contemporary public opinion based on racism, fear of potential war-time threats and nostalgia for an Anglo Australia already changed by the arrival of large numbers of southern European migrants. The inspector from the Adelaide Office of the Attorney-General pointed out errors in the former servicemen's statements such as the gross over-estimation of the numbers of Italians in the area and confirmed that there were many locations across the State where Italians had applied for land transfer. Yet, the report also contained opinions that mirrored negative public sentiment in other areas of Australia. It included details about the low living standards of Italians and attributed their success as market gardeners to working long hours, a reference to the work practices which were seen as a threat to Anglo Australia employees.[301] The fears of the petitioners proved sufficient to deny Gelindo Rossetto's application and he and his wife continued to lease the smaller land holding for tomatoes and other vegetables. Gelindo also maintained his interest in the mica mine in the Northern Territory in another version of asset ownership in Australia.

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[298] See for example, Mantello, "Their Words … My Words … Our Words," 34-36. Price, in *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 214-215, notes that the "ultra-patriotic activities" after the First World War of some British Australian members of the Returned Solders and Sailors' League prefigured the hostility against enemy aliens who worked land near soldier settlers that intensified during the Second World War.

[299] NAA: A12217, L6037, 12-15.

[300] NAA: A12217, L6037, 12.

[301] NAA: A12217, L6037, 10-11.

Land and minerals in the Northern Territory

The Veneto tradition of seasonal and 'out' work provided the model for two Veneto pioneers to leave the market gardens regularly in the care of their wives, other kin and neighbours while they worked their mica mine in the Northern Territory. The desire for land, security of employment and income motivated many Veneto men to work in mica mines in the Northern Territory.[302] Although the two pioneers were from different villages in the province of Treviso in the Veneto region, Gelindo Rossetto and Angelo Piovesan had become close friends through the pioneer market gardener group and their bonds were strengthened when Angelo became godparent to one of Gelindo's sons.

In the mid to late 1930s, after leasing land for market gardens and settling their wives and small children on the properties in Lockleys, the two men saw a financial opportunity to own shares in the mica mine one thousand, seven hundred kilometres north of Adelaide. Dino Piovesan explains his father's reason for working in the mica mine at that time:

> Dad went up into the mica mines for a short time, to get some money, to earn a little bit better living, because the market garden was only just set up and wasn't producing much income.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 7).

The financial return from mica mining was particularly lucrative during the war because it was used in electronic equipment, thermal insulation and airplane instruments. It was mined in the Northern Territory in sheets which were carried by camel to Alice Springs and transported by train to

[302] For more detail about the *veneti* and mica mines in the Northern Territory see Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 64-65; and O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 108, 125-127. Three pioneers worked on the mica mines in the Northern Territory and other relatives and friends were employed including several married couples who lived there after the war. For examination of the role of Italians on the mica mines from the 1920s to 1960s, see David Frederick Hugo, "Mica Mining at Harts Range Central Australia, 1880-1960: A Study of Ethnicity and the Impact of Isolation" (Ph.D., Northern Territory University, 1995), 156-229.

Adelaide where it was processed in a factory owned by a Veneto man. The extended Veneto market gardener community was involved in the chain of selling mica for commercial use from point of extraction to the factory where many Veneto girls and women worked into the 1950s.

Figure 44: Employees - Brazzale mica processing factory, Adelaide c 1939.

Photo supplied by Bruna Rossetto nee Battaglia.

The prospects for attaining *sistemazione* were more likely for market gardeners than for miners because growing vegetables was a predictable occupation with ready demand and supply whereas the demand for mica was dependent on the specialised need. The emotional cost of separation was also a factor for families whose husbands and fathers were miners and located so far away. The men accepted the isolation and demanding work in the mine and managed cycles of planting and harvesting in their market gardens through regular visits and assistance of wives, kin and friends. The imperative to maintain the market gardens was driven by the needs of family for stability, significance of occupying and cultivating land, sense of home, education of children and the presence of the *paese* at Lockleys.

However, the impact of distance and separation was a challenge for miners when families were tested by difficult circumstances, as reported by Gelindo's daughter, Lena, who recalls a family crisis:

Then my Dad went up to the Harts Ranges, he was away for a, a few years, but he used to come home now and then, but the aeroplane used to take about 12 hours, from Alice Springs to Adelaide, used to take a long time. As a matter of fact, when my eldest brother died on the 1st November [1938], my Dad was still in Harts Ranges, and it was hard to get messages to him. Somehow or other, somebody from Alice Springs had to go to the mine and tell Dad that my brother was dying. He tried to get back to Adelaide before he died, and the doctors in Children's Hospital kept him on oxygen to keep him alive until my Dad arrived back.

(Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto, OH 872/32, 28 August 2014, 18).

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

Gelindo Rossetto and Angelo Piovesan had become naturalised in the late 1930s which allowed them to apply for part-shares in a mineral lease for the 'Spotted Tiger' mica mine in the Harts

Range, one hundred and fifty kilometres north east of Alice Springs.[303] After three years, in 1941, they reapplied for a mining approval with two other men from different villages in the Veneto region and surprisingly, an Anglo Australian man.[304] In 1941, the application made by the five men to lease the Spotted Tiger mine was approved by the Investigation Branch, Canberra under the *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations*. Gelindo Rossetto had used the same administrative processes when he applied to own land for market gardens in 1943 but was refused. The difference in the two approvals related to the use of land: the mine was not a threat to neighbouring land holders and mica was an essential product required for the war effort. Unlike the situation in the market garden area of Lockleys during the war, there were no challenges to ownership or the work of the enemy aliens at Harts Range mica fields.

From leaseholds to ownership

From the 1930s, the *veneti* leased their plots of land mostly on yearly agreements. Some narrators recalled a regular childhood task of taking the rent money to landowners at Lockleys on behalf of their parents. The image of the child delivering the rent to landowners echoes the relationship within the *mezzadria* system in the Veneto region where the *contadini* were tenants of the *padrone* or proprietor in the Veneto region.[305] In the *mezzadria* system, the families were unable to make an income or expand their economic opportunities in terms of land or crops since they had to halve all production with the owner. However, in Adelaide, while the *veneti* were tenants, they could earn an income from the land they leased, increase production if the land holding allowed, and accumulate funds to purchase the same properties.

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[303] It appears that another Veneto man, Domenico Strappazzon, had accrued considerable wealth from his part ownership of the mine. The mine was approximately 1,700 kilometres from Adelaide.

[304] NAA: Investigation Branch, Central Office, Melbourne and Canberra; A12217, *Alien Land Transfer files, single number with L [Land] prefix*, 26 Jun 1941 – 01 Dec 1941; L4580, *Domenico Strappazzon, Luigi Griguol, Celindo (sic) Rossetto and Angelo Piovesan – acquisition of gold mining lease (mica) 9H Harts Range – Alice Springs NT,* 1941-1941. Both Rossetto and Piovesan held twelve shares in the contract signed in 1941 for a lease of 21 years. From 1939 they had owned one eighth shares which they had purchased for £400. In 1941, the estimated worth of the mine was £6,000 when the South Australian basic weekly wage was £4/7/0 – (Australian Bureau of Statistics; 1301.0 - *Year Book Australia, 1941*: 728.)

[305] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 15-16.

Ownership of land was a definite step towards stability and permanency in Australia.[306] As discussed earlier in this chapter, the regulations introduced during the war that restricted enemy aliens from purchasing land were reversed in the 1950s and allowed the pioneers to become land owners. Acquiring a certificate of title demonstrated ownership of freehold land in perpetuity, a significant goal for the pioneer families and evidence of continuity of the *paese* at Lockleys. Bruno Piovesan uses the example of his family to interpret the process of formalising ownership of market garden properties. He traces transactions from the period of leaseholds in the 1930s to the early 1950s when the pioneers – and some 1.5 generation families – bought their land and to the 1960s when landowners subdivided their properties:

> In those years the occupiers of the land had first option to purchase.
> Of course, we had five acres and that was it; other people had twelve acres.
> But when they come to survey it with proper means, with better means than they had in those years [when land was subdivided for leasing], people finished up with thirteen, fourteen acres for their ten acres. We finished up with about six acres for five acres … But didn't make any difference anyway, in those years, you occupied that area and that's what you kept.
>
> (Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5, 3 December 2008, 8).

After the experience of migration and years of mobility, re-attachment to land in Adelaide was the obvious progression for a *contadino.* The pioneers entered the market to cultivate vegetables commercially which enabled them to earn income and independence; working conditions outside the experience of *contadini* in the Veneto region, as discussed in Chapter 1. By 1940 the Veneto families who were living and working in the Lockleys area were facing circumstances of the war years, a subject discussed in Chapter 5. By the time families leased land, some sons and

[306] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 65, cite the need to occupy and work land as a long-held aspiration for peasants in the Veneto. Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 49, identifies the Veneto need to own land in Gippsland as the desire for identity and permanent security.

daughters who had arrived in Australia as children, were old enough to contribute their labour. The combined family capacity for work expanded productivity on the market gardens.

By the mid-1950s, the pioneers had met the requirements of the land tenure system in South Australia. They had become landowners and commercial growers. They contributed to the South Australian economy by selling tomatoes and celery in the Melbourne market, as well as in Adelaide, and in rural areas such as Port Lincoln where vegetables were shipped weekly. [307] Ownership of land took on different configurations across the market gardener community. In one case, a widow purchased the house block after her husband died in 1947.[308] In 1948, the two Berno brothers, finally naturalised on their third application in nine years, bought the sixteen acres purchased by their cousin in 1943.[309] Rosalia Piovesan, widow of Angelo Piovesan, bought five acres in 1952 which she and her sons worked for several years before she began subdividing it into house blocks between 1959 and 1961, selling largely to other Italians including kin and *paesani* who had arrived after the war.[310]

Adapting *contadino* traditions of land ownership

In South Australia in the 1950s, the Veneto families bought land using contractual partnership arrangements that differed markedly from the patriarchal structures of the *contadino* working household. In the Veneto the male head was dominant in all aspects of the household, in the fields, in financial matters and in all decisions about labour and crops. Adult males were under the

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[307] Similarly, *veneti* in the Riverina area in New South Wales were *contadini* who had moved from a peasant economy to commercial farming and participation in the national economy. See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova,* 55. Mantello, "Their Words … My Words," 21-22 explains that the six Sicilian market gardener families at Werribee South had to learn about commercial sales and meeting supply and demand. See also interview with Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 7 - 8, 14 for details of selling at market.

[308] See Certificate of Title: Volume 1095, Folio 118, 28 February 1947 – transfer to Giovanna Rossetto Rebuli.

[309] See Certificate of Title: Volume 1753, Folio 182, 21 October 1948 – transfer from Gino Berno to Alberto Berno and Vittorio Pietro Berno.

[310] See Certificate of Title: Volume 2191, Folio 166, October 1952 and February 1959 – transfer to various purchasers.

authority of their father in roles of "superordination-subordination" and sons were unable to 'own' land until after the death of their father.[311] In the Tonellato family, the father and four sons had worked together on leased land for several years.[312] By the early 1950s the two youngest brothers joined their father on the land as 'tenants in common' because they were single while Albert and his older brother acquired land separately with their respective wives. Albert explains the circumstances that enabled him and his wife to purchase land:

> They started to work with Dad. Still, me and my older brother went out; not too far out … And then 1952 or '51 we bought the land on Findon Road. With no money, never had any money. Those years, friends were friends. You asked them can they lend you a bit of money, if they had them, they'll give it to you. And they did.
>
> (Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 6).

Albert illustrates the familial bonds and the trust shared in the market gardener community that made it possible to borrow money and become a landowner with his wife whose parents had also been market gardeners.[313] The negotiations about land between his father and two younger brothers illustrates the radical shift in the mode of ownership that was achievable at Lockleys. When Secondo and his youngest sons, Lino and Nano, bought land as 'tenants in common', they signed the South Australian legal documentation for land ownership as equal partners.[314] In a further extension of the benefits of land tenure in Australia the father and two sons purchased a larger holding after selling their first jointly owned property to another Italian market gardener. Not

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[311] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 20, 25, 209, outlines the strict inheritance customs involving sons in the *contadino* family in the Veneto region.

[312] For further biographical information about the Tonellato family, see, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/1927-pioneer-families/tonellato-family/

[313] In Australia, while it was possible to purchase land jointly or as tenants in common, examination of lands titles of the Veneto pioneers indicate that men were generally registered as sole owners. Albert states that he and his wife Mary bought the land; however, his is the sole name on the documentation for the purchase, Certificate of Title, Volume 2100, Folio 188, 8 September 1950.

[314] Certificate of Title, Volume 1991, Folio 123, 18 August 1948.

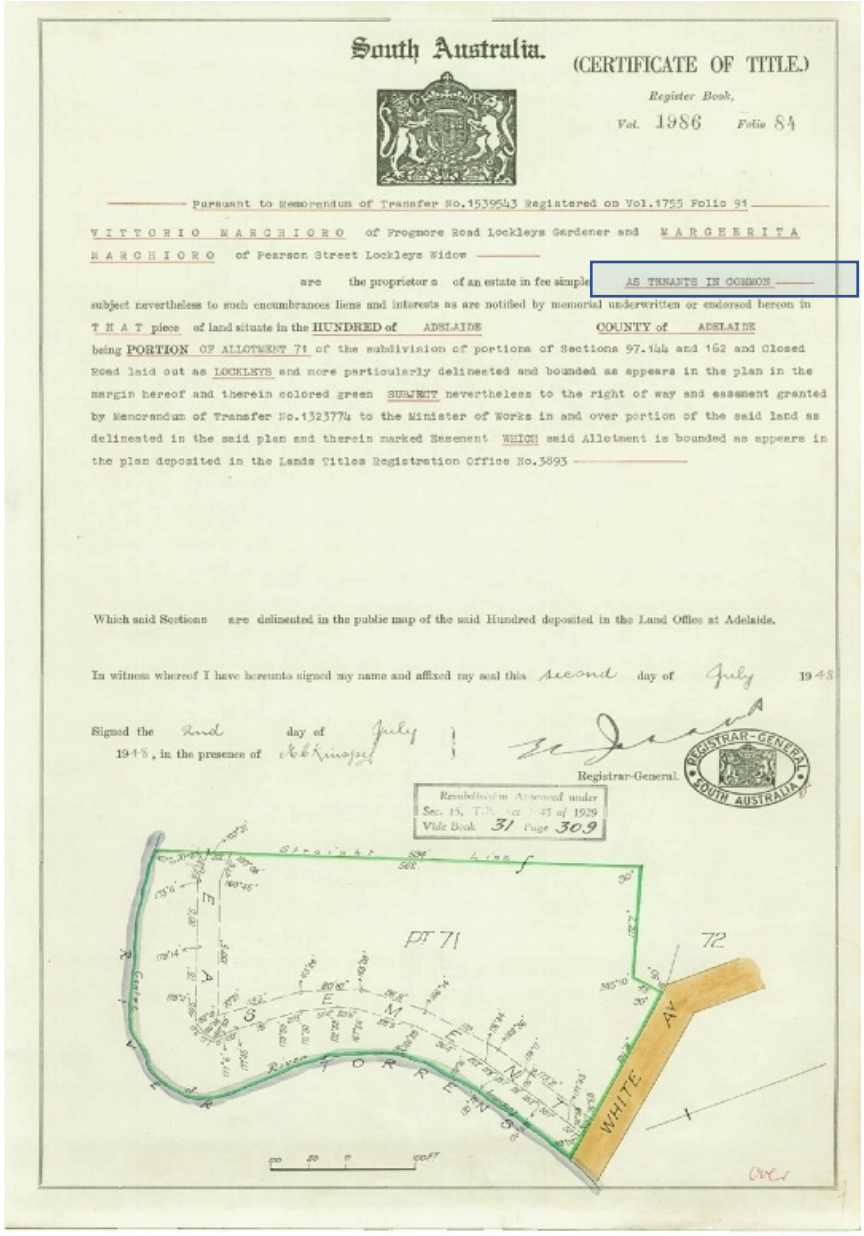
only were they landowners but they became vendors, creating a structure to develop a business partnership between generations in a family.

Unlike the patriarchal regulation and fragmentation of land in the *contadino* family in the Veneto region, the pioneers were able to engage with a system of land tenure in South Australia. Some landholdings at Lockleys were large enough for the pioneers to subdivide to meet the needs of their adult children. A son of a pioneer observes that some families later were able to assist their adult children by gifting sections of land at the time that the market gardens were sold and subdivided:

> They took pieces of the land that their fathers were working, they started working it for themselves, so that's how big it was.
>
> (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 28 July 2008, 25).

Exceptions in configurations of land ownership demonstrate the adaptations the pioneers made as they purchased land after the war. Pioneer, Isidoro Ballestrin, bought land in 1953 with a brother and a friend as 'tenants in common.' The case of Vittorio Marchioro and his sister-in-law, Margherita Marchioro defied the customs of Veneto family relationships and gender hierarchies. They had first formed a partnership to lease land and work together at Lockleys in the mid-1930s because the ill health of Margherita's husband prevented him from working in glasshouses. Fortunately, Francesco had gained permanent employment from his earliest days in Adelaide in his brother-in-law's terrazzo company. In 1937 when Vittorio married and brought his wife, Angelina, from Italy into the market garden, the arrangements about working the land with Margherita continued for some time. In 1948, after being widowed, she bought a property with her brother-in-law, Vittorio Marchioro as 'tenants in common,' as depicted in Figure 46.[315]

[315] Certificate of Title, Volume 1986, Folio 84, transfer to Vittorio Marchioro and Margherita Marchioro, 2 July 1948.



South Australia. (CERTIFICATE OF TITLE.)

Register Book, Vol. 1986 Folio 84

Pursuant to Memorandum of Transfer No.1539543 Registered on Vol.1755 Folio 91

VITTORIO MARCHIORO of Progmore Road Lockleys Gardener and MARGHERITA MARCHIORO of Pearson Street Lockleys Widow

are the proprietors of an estate in fee simple AS TENANTS IN COMMON subject nevertheless to such encumbrances liens and interests as are notified by memorial underwritten or endorsed hereon in THAT piece of land situate in the HUNDRED of ADELAIDE COUNTY of ADELAIDE being PORTION OF ALLOTMENT 71 of the subdivision of portions of Sections 97.144 and 162 and Closed Road laid out as LOCKLEYS and more particularly delineated and bounded as appears in the plan in the margin hereof and therein colored green SUBJECT nevertheless to the right of way and easement granted by Memorandum of Transfer No.1323774 to the Minister of Works in and over portion of the said land as delineated in the said plan and therein marked Easement WHICH said Allotment is bounded as appears in the plan deposited in the Lands Titles Registration Office No.3893

Which said Sections are delineated in the public map of the said Hundred deposited in the Land Office at Adelaide.

In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my seal this second day of July 1948

Signed the 2nd day of July 1948, in the presence of

Registrar-General.

REGISTRAR-GENERAL SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Resubdivision Approved under Sec. 15, T.D. Act 1943 of 1929 Vide Book 31 Page 309

Figure 46: Certificate of Title - tenants-in-common: Vittorio Marchioro and Margherita Marchioro.

Note: Vittorio is identified as a "gardener," and Margherita, "a "widow." (Brother-in-law and sister-in-law).Certificate of Title, Volume 1986, Folio 84 – first dated, 2 July 1948.

The possibility of a woman signing a contract on her own behalf with a brother-in-law, contradicted the strict gendered relationships within the *contadino* household and also challenged the patriarchal structures of land ownership or occupancy which prohibited women from being involved in any property or financial matters. Although similar conventions about male ownership of property applied to women in Anglo Australian culture, the incidence within the Veneto tradition of a sister-in-law and brother-in-law establishing a partnership would have been unimaginable. The

partnership of the Marchioro in-laws was yet another adaptation of the Veneto model of land ownership; two women and one man owned and worked together on the same market garden.

The partnership between Margherita and Vittorio allowed Margherita to achieve her ambition to work as a *contadina* in Adelaide which she had commenced with the leasehold from the 1930s. Her ability to earn an income and support three daughters after her husband died, placed her in a more comfortable economic position and allowed her to build what her daughter called "her dream home." (Connie Legovich nee Marchioro, OH 872/11, 10 January 2011, 4). The market gardens provided opportunities for modifying patterns in the traditional roles of both men and women. The *veneti* gained benefits from the migration experience which included freedom from some gendered and paternalistic constraints of family relationships and the ability to exploit possibilities of owning land in Australia through legal contracts.

A further example of transforming gender relations in land ownership within a family illustrates a radical turn from the patriarchal control in a Veneto *contadino* household to new arrangements in Australia. In 1953, cousins Giuseppe Ballestrin and Ermenegildo Ballestrin bought twenty acres which they had leased since the early 1940s. They owned the land as 'tenants in common.' In 1954, Ermenegildo, who was eleven years younger than his cousin, returned to Italy to marry, and brought his new wife, Norina, to Adelaide. At that time Giuseppe had been married for twenty years to Cesira and had three children. Both women worked with their husbands growing mostly large crops of celery and tomatoes. In an unprecedented situation, the two husbands applied to change the land title certificate and included the names of their respective wives on the documentation.[316]They were the only couples among the Veneto market gardeners who included names of wives as the legal joint owners of property. While the reason for adding the names of the two wives is not known, it is noteworthy and evidence of the Veneto market gardeners readjusting priorities of male inheritance and control of land in the Veneto region to their new circumstances.

[316] Certificate of Title, Volume 2269; Folio 54, portion transferred to Cesira Ballestrin and Leonora Ballestrin on 15 July 1955.

Figure 47: Ballestrin families, Hartley Road, late 1940s. Celery ready to pack for market.Photo supplied by Ric and Ang Ballestrin.

Children's contributions to purchasing land

The priority to buy land dominated the lives of Veneto families but was a particular challenge in some households because of the expectations that echoed aspects of the patriarchal structures in the Veneto region. Those pioneer families whose children had arrived in the 1930s were advantaged because they contributed to the single labour unit in the early years of establishing market gardens.[317] The pioneers and the 1.5 generation worked together closely, and their arrangements created a pathway for the children to work and own their market gardens. Pioneers who married after arrival in Australia had to wait until their children were old enough to incorporate them into the family labour force. Sons recalled that they were not paid for their labour and contrasted their experience with their peers in the broader Italian community who worked for wages and had more independence from family.[318] In some of the Veneto households at Lockleys,

[317] Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 87 – 88, discuss the contribution of children to the family work unit in the Veneto family and affirm the benefits of having several children who could contribute to the workload in family businesses.

[318] The Anglo Australians interviewed for the project also spoke of the culture of dependence on the work unit of family members and its impact on young people who were expected to contribute generously to labour on the market garden: See Rae Ballantyne, interview OH872/21, 25 August 2012 and Barrie West, OH872/22, 25 August 2012.

the imperative to own land required children to labour in the market gardens and earn wages to contribute to the family project.

The Zampin family

The last Veneto couple to purchase land in the 1950s was Silvano and Amelia Zampin who were parents to nine children.[319] Although they had leased land since the 1930s, they were unable to purchase that and in 1954, they bought two and a half acres near the Lockleys area. Silvano had become naturalised in 1937 and the imperative to support a large family, including the last child and only son, born in 1954, took precedence over the purchase of property. Although Silvano had married an Irish Australian woman, the Zampin family operated like a conventional Veneto *contadino* household. In a replication of the patriarch in the *contadino* household, Silvano regulated his children's years of schooling, labour in the market gardens, work outside the family home, use of time and wages earned by his daughters. He also controlled the language used in the house because he himself wanted proficiency in English, in contrast to his peers in the Veneto community who continued to speak in dialect in the home.[320]

In interviews, six daughters share their memories of their father's role in managing family life and culture which did not allow them to complete secondary education.[321] He required their wages for the family endeavour to buy land. Most second-generation men interviewed for the project did not refer to their education being limited; however, five Zampin sisters spoke about the lack of opportunity and the imposition of having to leave at minimum school age to contribute to the family income.[322] The eldest daughter did not complete primary school and her labour was divided

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[319] For more biographical information about the Zampin family see https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/1927-pioneer-families/zampin-family/

[320] In contrast to the Zampin family, several second-generation narrators recalled that they only spoke dialect at home and consequently did not speak English when they began school.

[321] The Zampin son, Peter, was killed in an accident when he was eighteen years old in 1971.

[322] Some sons in the pioneer Veneto families reported their dissatisfaction with the presumption that they would continue the parents' occupation in the market gardens. Two sons' dreams of becoming mechanics were subsumed by expectations of working the family land. The Veneto *contadino* continuity of patriarchal

between assisting her mother with the younger children and working with her father in the garden.[323] When old enough to legally enter the workforce in the Brazzale mica factory, Milva contributed her wages to the family fund for the purchase of land.[324] Other sisters left school at fourteen years, the legal age of compulsory education, and handed wages to their father. Individual desires in the Veneto family business were subsumed by the family goal of owning a house.[325]

Several Zampin sisters referred to a family culture which subverted their choices of education and occupation in the process of supporting their parents' dream of owning land. Milva recalls her parents' achievement of becoming landowners reporting: "they were in heaven." However, Milva's priorities were different and she looks back at the imperative of contributing to the family goal but by the time her parents bought the property she did not live in the new home because she was married with her own family's financial future to consider:

> We more-or-less put our money in the bank every week or Dad put
> our money in the bank to buy that land and I didn't reap the benefit of it.
>
> (Milva Rebuli nee Zampin, OH 872/36, 27 March 2016, 19).

Although she understood the significance of her parents' desire for land, particularly with so many children to support, Milva's contribution of wages to buying the property diminished economic

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attachment to land and work played out in the lives of second-generation sons, a theme addressed in Chapter 3.

[323] A reference to the role of the eldest daughter in the Veneto *contadino* family is made in Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 25-26. Huber remarks that the responsibilities of the eldest daughter could almost be as demanding as her mother's where there were many younger children.

[324] Milva and three other sisters, as well as women from other Veneto families, worked in the mica processing factory in the city of Adelaide. It was owned by a man from a village in the province of Treviso. See O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 126-127. See interview with Milva Rebuli OH 872/36, 27 March 2016, 16-17, for an account of her work at the Brazzale mica factory.

[325] See Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 159-160. The authors argue that goals of the family in post war Italian households in Australia took precedence over the ambitions of children particularly if the family owned a small business.

opportunities to prepare for her future. The values brought from the Veneto underlined Silvano's expectations for life in Australia: work; independence; family life; stability and a future for his children. Like his forbears and peers, he did not see a separation between home and work, and his daughters' wages became part of the family economy. While Silvano had married outside the Veneto community, his reliance on patriarchal structures and relationships in the *contadino* family reduced options for his daughters and enlisted them into his plan to become a landowner.[326]

Figure 48: Amelia and Silvano Zampin and family, Lockleys 1954.

Photo supplied by the family.

Expanding land acquisition

Changes to land use and ownership took place in the market garden area from the late 1950s when the first land began to be subdivided for urban development. The subdivision of the area impacted the pioneer families especially in the 1960s, a subject examined further in Chapter 6.[327]

[326] It is not clear from the oral history interviews if other second-generation daughters and sons contributed wages to the goal of buying a family property; however, it is a strong theme repeated in the interviews with the Zampin sisters.

[327] Lester, Firth & Murton Pty. Ltd. *Western Metropolitan Region Heritage Study*, 1980-1988. For information about the development of the local council area of Woodville in which the market gardens were located, see 154-166. The report outlines the history of primary production and acknowledges that market gardens and

Because of encroaching urbanisation in the Lockleys area, there were also problems with using land as market gardens. The incompatibility of horticultural activity such as glasshouse cultivation with urban living forced changes in land holding at Lockleys.[328] As Frankie Ballestrin points out:

> And then of course the homes started closing in – you know, they start selling from Grange Road; individual people there sold their little bit and they put homes in. And of course, here, with glasshouses, it got to the stage where they had to fumigate the soil because they had all nematodes and different things in the soil, and they couldn't grow tomatoes successfully, so they had to fumigate. But of course, they were using chloropicrin that they used during the trenches in the War, so people started complaining because of the smell and eventually they drove the glasshouses away from all this area … They had to get out of there because the gas smelt so much, and people were getting ill about it and they had to move.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 12 December 2008, 7).

However, changes to land use and sales created new opportunities for the pioneer families who sold to developers and reaped high prices. Others with adult sons who worked with their parents took advantage of cheaper land at Bolivar and transferred their market gardens twenty kilometres north of the city of Adelaide. Members of six pioneer families and four other relatives bought land at Bolivar from the late 1950s. [329] Diana Panazzolo nee Santin recalls that her parents and two sets of Santin uncles and aunts made a decision for the future expansion of the family market gardens based on the assumption that the next generation would continue with that occupation:

> In 1960, they purchased thirty-three acres at Bolivar. I remember talking to my Dad and he was saying things are getting a bit tougher with three

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dairies endured into the 1950s with most market gardens owned by Bulgarian, Greek and Italian families, (158).

[328] For a history of tomato growing in glasshouses on the Adelaide Plains including a section on the use of fumigants from the 1920s, see https://pir.sa.gov.au/aghistory/industries/horticulture/glasshouse_tomatoes2

[329] Email communication with Angelo Piovesan, 26 November 2020.

> families and everyone had children, so they bought other land. The twelve and a half acres wasn't sufficient enough to maintain the three families. And there were quite a few people from around Kidman Park that were buying land up there at Bolivar.
>
> (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 December 2013, 42).

Some pioneer families were able to expand their businesses because they had ample finance and the labour provided by the 1.5 and second generations enabled them to purchase and work additional land. This achievement contrasted to the situation in the *contadino* family household in the Veneto region in the period after the First World War where there was no economic or social mobility in an agricultural *paese*.[330]

Figure 49: Three generations of the Santin family, Bolivar, 1985.

L-R: Allan, Romildo, Aaron and Dean. Note: the stacks of cartons for packing vegetables.Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

Oscar Mattiazzo, a 1.5 generation Veneto man who married into a market gardener family, reflected on the life cycle of the community from their initial good fortune to find and lease land, to changes in use and value of land in urban Adelaide which created wealth for the Veneto pioneers:

[330] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 25.

> They started off in the market garden there and they worked hard. They bought the land, they leased it first and they bought the land while still working there, and when the land became available or became so expensive because of the house development, a lot of them bought these lands up in Bolivar and Virginia … and they got a double whammy, they got good money for their land which they bought in the first place, and then they got good money for the land that they sold up in Bolivar and other places … When they sold their land they kept some blocks for themselves to build their own homes, then build the homes for the children … they worked hard and they deserve every bit of it, but they were lucky to find not one, but two, ways of making money without, like not working for it because of this development.
>
> (Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 6 June 2012, 183).

Oscar's observations explain the economic and social foundation of the Veneto market gardener families who, in a generation, were the beneficiaries of urban expansion in Adelaide. The *contadino* experience of the contraction and fragmentation of family land in the Veneto region was transformed and in Australia, as landowners, the market gardeners could increase their landholdings and attain prosperity particularly because they sold the land in a period of demand for housing. The *veneti* recognised new meanings of land and land ownership within the nuclear family unit and the *paese* at Lockleys.

Through their focus on the use of land at Lockleys, the *veneti* created a network that supported the growth of a community. No longer bound by inheritance customs and subsistence family economy, the pioneers achieved *sistemazione* for their families through acquiring land, sharing the occupation as market gardeners, building a self-reliant community and creating new structures in their *paese*. Some families extended their vision to the next generation and invested in the purchase of cheaper land twenty kilometres north of their homes when urbanisation expanded, a time when they sold land and reduced their holdings at Lockleys. Building on the understanding of the significance of land for the *veneti*, the next chapter examines the contribution and roles of

pioneer men and women and their children in adapting *contadino* values and practices to the family enterprise of the market gardens and participation in the commercial market.

Chapter three: Family life and labour

Johnny Marchioro: I remember digging some whole glasshouse with a fork, me and Dad, by hand. Like the fork was the ordinary fork they use in the garden: yes, we had to dig ---
Madeleine Regan: How long would that take?
Johnny Marchioro: Oh, it'd take you three hours.
Madeleine Regan: Two men?
Johnny Marchioro: Yes. Yes, because it was a hundred and twelve-foot long and you had to dig all of it, it was fifteen-foot wide and a hundred and twelve foot long. So, you didn't have time to say, 'Oh, I'm tired'. [laughs].

(Johnny Marchioro interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 21 July 2008, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/1, 10-11).

Click here to listen

Figure 50: Johnny Marchioro and his father, Vittorio, Bolivar, 1976.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

Johnny's description of father and son together, digging the earth by hand in a glasshouse to prepare for planting the tomato crop provides the context for examining family life and labour in the Veneto market gardener community reflecting the *contadino* tradition of family members working the land.[331] However, this vignette contains within it continuity and adjustments. Here, two generations in a nuclear family worked the land whereas in the Veneto household an extended family group, possibly three or four generations provided labour. Even the glasshouse at Lockleys represents a method of farming different from the agrarian tradition in the Veneto region.

In this chapter I argue that family structures changed in the processes of migration and the Veneto market gardeners adapted and reshaped household roles that assisted their *sistemazione* at Lockleys.[332] Using the family labour unit as the focus, I investigate gendered roles including the authority of men as pioneers and the new position women in the household gained through their contribution to the market gardens.[333] I also examine generational issues through considering the

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[331] Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 132-138, discusses the Italian *contadino* tradition of working the land and their success in Australia because of the experience of small-scale cultivation and "capacity for sustained physical labour," (133).

[332] See Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 145-159, for discussion of family and household, and roles within the structures that assisted in the settlement processes of Italian migrants in Buenos Aires and New York in the 19 nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Baily argues that the family was a central resource and was effective because it adapted to new circumstances of migration. See also, Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 133, who suggests that the Italian peasant skills and resourcefulness enabled Italian migrants to adapt to new conditions.

[333] Scholars who study the role of women in the family economic unit in studies of the settlement of Italian migrants in Australia include: Huber*, From Pasta to Pavlova,* 77-82, refers to the women in the first generation of Veneto women at Griffith working on the farms with their husbands; Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 84-85, emphasises the experience of Veneto women working beside their husbands in rural Victoria between the wars and ague that it gave freedom from family expectations; Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Citizens,* 72-73, 88-91, emphasise the contribution of Veneto women and children to family economies; Maria Mantello, *Now and Then*, 24-25, clarifies that although women in the Sicilian community at Werribee South did not work in the market gardens because they took other roles, children were kept home from school to contribute to the work unit. See also Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," in Chapter 4 and 197-201; who acknowledges that the cooperation within Molfettese fisher families facilitated their goal to achieve prosperity; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 141, uses the image of the close interaction between family, land and work to characterise the *contadino* tradition of Italian families who cultivated land in Australia after settlement. Scholars who study Italian migrants in America and whose behaviour was based

status of children in the family workforce. The examination includes the extent to which the pioneers transplanted their Veneto *contadino* identity to the market gardens in Adelaide and the ways in which the market gardens defined the identity of the pioneer community. I draw on literature that examines the role of the Italian family in migration and settlement processes including in Australia and the United States.[334] I claim that this study presents new interpretations of gendered roles in Italian families in the interwar years through including women's voices and perspectives about mothers and daughters in the Veneto pioneer *paese* at Lockleys.

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on family solidarity in urban areas include: Virginia Yans-McLaughin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo 1880-1930* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 50-54, 164-178 who examines the role of southern Italian families in the city of Buffalo and the contribution of women and children to the family economy; di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 92-95, argues that the role of Italian women in families in America changed over time from before the war when women contributed their labour on farms or outside the family to post-war when more women stayed within the home.

[334] See for example, Australian studies that focus on the settlement of Italian families, Loretta Baldassar, *Visits Home.* Baldassar examines the transnational connections between Italian families from a small *comune* in the Veneto region and those who settled in Perth; Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco,* examines a community of *veneti* that developed from the group of men and included clusters of families in rural Gippsland from the mid-1920s; Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 74-93; explores the influence of family customs on the *veneti* who settled at Griffith, New South Wales between the wars; Jenkins, *Power of the Land,* provides a detailed study of the Italian community in Lismore and the northern area of New South Wales through the decades from the 1920s to the dispersal of the community in the 1970s; Mantello, *Now and Then*, illustrates the communal life of six Sicilian market gardener families in Werribee South, Victoria between the wars; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 132-143, analyses the role of family in the formation of rural communities of Italian families and *contadino* values in various locations in south eastern Australia. American studies of Italian families include Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 149-171, which looks at family as one of the informal structures that supports the reconstruction of the lives of Italian migrants in Buenos Aires and New York City in the late 19th early 20th centuries; Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 162-195, examines the settlement of Italian families in San Francisco in the 19th and early 20th centuries and considers continuities and changes; di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 96-128, considers the family in relation to economic influences; Virginia Yans-Mclaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 109-132, addresses the formation of the Italian community in Buffalo from 1880 to 1930 and concludes that their own social network enabled the families to manage the challenges of settlement in American suburban life. Like the *veneti,* they retained their close affiliations which were more beneficial than becoming involved in mainstream society institutions or conventions.

Returning to the land

As discussed in Chapter 2, the opportunity to lease land in the outer suburbs of Adelaide in the 1930s enabled the pioneers to realise the *contadino* dream of becoming landowners. Ownership of land and self-employment were the foundations of the pioneer ambition to attain *sistemazione*, develop independence, settle permanently in Australia and achieve "family self-sufficiency."[335] When the pioneers leased land at Lockleys in the 1930s, alternatives for employment were limited and their previous work experience in Italy motivated their interest in cultivation.[336] At a time when unemployment remained high, early initiatives of the *veneti* to occupy land and become independent were part of a strategy to settle permanently in Australia during difficult economic times. According to the 1933 Australian census when over ten per cent of Italians were unemployed, twenty per cent of Italians owned businesses including market gardens.[337] The pioneer group demonstrated three aspects of *contadino* life which they adapted to the circumstances at Lockleys: the need to work the land, the imperative for a stable household as the basis of the family economy and the physical and emotional closeness of *paesani* to meet social needs as proxy family members.

Adapting the *contadino* model

The *veneti,* like other Italian *contadini,* used familiar, intensive farming practices and adapted them to Australian conditions. The climate and geography in the outer western suburban district of Adelaide differed from their origins in various localities in the pre-Alps area of the Veneto region. Pressures of supply and demand in a commercial market were part of a new economic context which contrasted with their experience of *contadino* subsistence farming in the Veneto region. The

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[335] Prince, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 141-142.

[336] Over forty per cent of Italians who had arrived in South Australia between 1927 and 1940 had worked on the land as labourers or farmers in Italy, O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid,* 115.

[337] Packer, "Italian Immigration into Australia, 44, provides data about the grades of occupations of Italians based on the 1933 census when self -employed employers comprised 10 % and 18 % worked for themselves. More than a third were waged or salaried while less than one per cent worked voluntarily and a third could not be classified. Packer makes the point it is not possible to identify the proportions of Italians who worked in specific industries.

pioneers forged new practices working leased landholdings and planting crops according to availability of labour, location of their land and the demands of the market. Those whose land was near the river grew more celery and potatoes while others who relied on ground water concentrated on tomatoes in glasshouses. Most pioneers, realising their dependence on a regular and heathy water supply, helped each other to sink bores to ensure surface irrigation along the furrows of vegetables:

> They had put a bore in, they did it themselves, they dug out a hole and put a bore in and they found the water … it was only one hundred and eight feet deep, but it was beautiful water.
>
> (Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 5-6).

Initially the pioneers grew 'outside' vegetables such as onions, cabbages, cauliflowers, beetroot, tomatoes, trombone, celery and potatoes that did not need the micro-climate of glasshouses. Lino Tonellato recalls in his interview that there were no glasshouses on his father's land at Frogmore Road when he arrived with his mother and siblings in 1935. Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro also recalls the absence of glasshouses in the early years and provides a reason: "Nobody had glasshouses then, couldn't afford to build them," (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 6).

As the *veneti* gained more knowledge about the commercial market and increased their revenue, they diversified their practices and vegetable production. Although not used in the Veneto farming tradition, glasshouses had been important infrastructure for the cultivation of tomatoes in the western area of Adelaide since at least the first decade of the 20th Century.[338] With income from

[338] For a history of the development of glasshouse tomato growing in the western suburbs of Adelaide, see Government of South Australia, Primary Industries and Regions SA: "History of Agriculture in SA: Glasshouse Tomatoes"; https://www.pir.sa.gov.au/aghistory/industries/horticulture/glasshouse_tomatoes2 See also newspaper article, *Register* (Adelaide) 26 May 1923, 15: "Tomato growing at Lockleys".

selling vegetables, and in response to market demand and the suitability of the Lockleys area, the *veneti* purchased glasshouses from retiring growers to cultivate tomatoes. Lino Tonellato recalls:

> We bought them mostly second-hand, people had them, they sold out and, you know, the new ones were too dear, they couldn't afford to. Every time we shifted, we used to make an extra one, you know, one or two extra.
>
> (Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2020, 8).

The purchase of second-hand glasses suggests that pioneers were interacting with local Anglo Australian market gardens or at least there was contact made through the market environment. It also suggests that the *veneti* (and other Italians) were replacing Anglo Australian market gardeners who were leaving the occupation.

Figure 51: Romildo Santin, Valetta Road, early 1940s.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

After families arrived, the labour of wives and children kept costs lower than if labourers were employed to work on the market gardens.[339] However, over time, a number of the pioneers

[339] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 116, makes the point that Italian market gardeners in South Australia did not have to have a large capital investment to commence their operations because family members provided free labour.

employed casual labourers to assist with picking and this was particularly common after the war when many single young men who had been sponsored by pioneers, worked at busy times. Two narrators referred to semi-permanent employees who worked for their parents. For example, in an unusual arrangement that is evidence of a transformation of the family labour unit, the Berno brothers employed men who lived on the property, including an Anglo Australian. The arrangement challenges the *contadino* model of subsistence and reliance on family and indicates a new kind of authority in employment relationships which comes close to the role of *padrone*:

> And then we had people, one of the --- labourers that used to work with us lived there for a long time. His name was Albert Wyatt and he was almost part of the family. He lived - he divorced, and he lived on his own in his later years.
>
> (Remo Berno, OH 87246, 27 June 2017, 35).

A narrator from the Abrruzzese-Napoletano family who was integrated into the Veneto community remembers that his parents had employees:

> And then Dad had a couple of employees, this was later on in his life, of course, which were very good to us and they worked side by side with Dad for many, many years.
>
> (Mel Recchi, OH 872/31, 18 June 2014, 7).

Creating the family work unit in the market gardens

In the Veneto region men who travelled away with seasonal work returned to the security of the family household maintained by the inter-generational workforce. However, in Australia, the pioneer men had to create a level of stability and a financial base before they could call their wives and children to Australia or ask prospective wives to join them. The lone Veneto men at Lockleys were pioneers in the sense that they were the first *veneti* to set down roots as market gardeners in the area. The one exception was the Marchioro family, Francesco and Margherita and their infant,

who had arrived in 1926 and began market gardening in the Lockleys area in the early 1930s. The couple teamed up with Francesco's brother for several years. In studies of Italian and southern European groups in Australia between the wars, scholars of Italian migration consistently report the role of the lone male who migrated and paved the way for his family.[340]. As discussed in Chapter 1, the reunion of married couples or marriages of single men within ten or so years of arrival enabled pioneers to expand the production as women and children took up roles on the market gardens.

The family labour unit

Labour on the market gardens was shared between husbands, wives and children to a greater degree than in the model of the *contadino* family farm in the Veneto region where roles were more strictly defined in terms of domestic routines and work in the fields. In the Veneto region, women had assisted in the fields only during harvest or at times when the family labour force was diminished because the men were away for seasonal work.[341] In the emerging Veneto market gardening community, new patterns reflected the everyday reliance on the nuclear family rather than an intergenerational unit. The combined contribution of men, women and children created economic stability for the household. Women and men worked together planting, watering, pruning and picking in the market gardens and grading in the packing sheds. Women had responsibility for domestic animals such as the milking cow and poultry and were involved in processes for making cheese and butter and killing chickens. They also tended kitchen gardens and orchards which

[340] See Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 53-59, who provides detailed statistical data as evidence of the high proportion of Italian men who migrated alone to Australia 1922-1940 with numbers much reduced in the period between1931-1940 when the proportion of women migrants increased; Gentilli, *Italian Roots in Australia Soil*, 76-83, examines the incidence of lone Italian men who settled in clusters in Western Australia through chain migration between 1922-1928. Studies of Italian migration to the Americas also confirm that large proportions of lone males emigrated prior to family reunion or formation: Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 26-31; Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 162-165; di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 52-64; Yans-Mclaughlin, *Family and Community*, 35-54.

[341] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 20-21, describes the roles of women in the intergenerational household in the Veneto region.

increased family self-sufficiency and were responsible for producing meals.[342] Children were allocated a range of tasks according to age and skill:

> We had to run back home after to work in the garden before morning and before school … hoeing, cleaning, picking, beans.
>
> (Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 5).

Figure 52: Virginia Santin, feeding new chickens, Valetta Road, mid-1940s.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

Working side-by-side, much of the work was nevertheless gendered. For example, men usually managed the heavy work, which in the early years, included digging the soil by hand or ploughing with horses and watering which may have involved accessing bores or wells. Later, families accumulated funds to buy equipment such as tractors and rotary hoes which reduced the amount of hand digging before planting.

Machinery was usually operated by men, as observed by the daughter of a pioneer:

[342] The roles of women contributed to the self-reliance of the family. Aspects of the role of rural Italian women in the Lismore area are described in Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 57.

> I know my Dad bought a lot of machines and things but I don't remember because mostly I was at school … but that was men's stuff, you don't, you're not into that.
>
> (Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo, 20 March 2014, OH 872/29, 11).

Most men acquired drivers' licences although two Ballestrin cousins, who were partners in a large market garden, never gained licences and depended on relatives to take produce to market. Two women in the Santin families learned to drive which was unusual in the Veneto market gardener community. Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo reflects on the advantages, including independence, she and her sister-in-law gained by having their driver's licences:

> Lucky, I learnt to drive … Rosina and I … we learnt to drive so we could go and do our shopping and that, without the men, dragging them along.
>
> (Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 17 April 2013, 31-32).

That women usually did not obtain drivers' licences points to wider gendered roles and expectations which resulted in less freedom of movement for some women in the Veneto community.

There was a strict gender demarcation for selling vegetables. While women and some older children graded and packed vegetables like tomatoes, and women were responsible for nailing the lids of celery boxes, men took vegetables to market or to the railway station for consignment to Melbourne or Sydney. Sometimes children accompanied fathers to market, but men interacted with the world of business beyond the boundaries of the market garden. This was a custom observed by both Italian and the Anglo Australian market gardeners. Men sold the vegetables at market, assuming the role of 'trader', a reflection of the then societal values about men's work and

employment.[343] Men transacted sales in the wholesale market and enjoyed the company of peers in the market hotel or café after trading where they acquired knowledge about farming techniques, sales of equipment and tools. While the men were at market three mornings a week, women carried on with the physical labour in the gardens.

Patriarchal structures and norms were reproduced with the male head of the household mostly responsible for managing family finances, a common practice in most families in Australia at the time. The model of the management of finances by the male head of the household in the Veneto region was transplanted to the family market garden business in Adelaide.[344] However, in at least one Veneto market gardener family, second-generation children handed wages over to their mother. In the case of Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin it was her mother who managed the family finances and Norma was not permitted to keep her pay: “I'd have to ask her for the money. She would give it to me, but she wouldn't let me keep my wages, (Norma Camozatto nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 22). Generally, the pioneer men managed the business aspects of the market gardens from the time they established their tenancies at Lockleys.

Some narrators reflect on the achievements of their fathers and describe their pioneering status in reverential terms.[345] For example, one of the 1.5 generation, Albert Tonellato, reflected on the impact of his parents’ decision to migrate in the 1920s referring to his father and Angelo Piovesan. Both men arrived on the same boat in 1927. Angelo was twenty-two years when he arrived and

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[343] See interview with Rae Ballantyne interviewed by Madeleine Regan OH 872/21, 15 September 2012, 19-20, for confirmation of roles of men as head of household business dealings in an Anglo Australian market garden family in the Lockleys area.

[344] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 23, confirms that the head of the household managed all the financial arrangements in the household in the Veneto region. However, in at least one Veneto market gardener family, second-generation children handed wages over to their mother: in the case of Dino Piovesan, it was because his mother was a widow and became the head of the household.

[345] See Marie-Françoise Chanfrault-Duchet, “Narrative Structures, Social Models and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story,” in *Women’s Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 81-82, for discussion of myths in collective memories.

Secondo Tonellato was thirty-two years and had five children and it appears that although they lived in villages about twenty kilometres apart their families had some connections prior to emigration.[346] At Lockleys Angelo and Secondo lived on adjacent market gardens.

In the interview, Albert's wife, Mary, portrays the two men as brave and suggests their "heroic" role as pioneers, a phenomenon noted in narratives of Italian migrant men in England.[347] Albert and Mary provide an insight into the legacy of the role of the men in establishing the community at Lockleys:

> Albert: It was bad for them. Dad and Mum, like Dad and Piovesan there, they had nobody. Worse still, they were a lot worse than us.
> Mary: Being the first settlers.
> Albert: In the first that came out.
>
> (Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 27).

Albert and Mary, both in their eighties when interviewed, refer to the pioneers confronting obstacles without support of extended family in the initial years after arrival. The experience of the pioneers takes on a mythic quality, "first settlers," in comparison to Albert and Mary who also surely had to overcome their own migration challenges as members of the 1.5 generation. Such reconstruction of the past reflects a celebratory rather than a critical assessment of the history of the community.

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[346] See Angelo Piovesan, "Links between the Piovesan and Tonellato families," Veneti Market Gardeners Website Blog, 29 November 2020, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/

[347] See Anne-Marie Fortier, *Migrant Belongings,* 48-49, for analysis of the gendered analysis of migration; men are the adventurers and first settlers while the women follow them to the new country and are positioned in relation to the family and household. See also Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, Introduction, in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1990), 17-18, for discussion of idealising masculine and feminine characteristics which can convey positive and negative images of myths. The authors argue that the heroic is generally represented by the male while the representation of women is in the domestic sphere and motherhood.

In the case of the *veneti*, the meaning ascribed to the masculine pioneer role detracts from the role of women who were also pioneers and made extensive readjustments as migrants particularly those who followed after the migration of husbands. Although used to periods without their husbands because of seasonal employment, Italian women like those from the Veneto, managed to subsist without their husbands until they were 'called' and they the migration processes with children or travelled alone to join their intended husbands. Women at Lockleys participated in the labour on the market gardens and added further responsibilities to create the domestic structure in the nuclear family without assistance from the older generation to maintain the household or provide child care. The pioneers needed family labour as a strategy in the process of *sistemazione* and women assumed a combination of roles, market gardener, kitchen gardener, carer, cook and cleaner in response to new conditions in Australia.

The role of women in the market gardens

To balance the focus on men and male heads of households that dominates migration historical accounts, I analyse the roles of women in the narratives of the Veneto market gardener community. For this task it is important to go beyond generalisations and appreciate the differences in circumstances of Italian women in relation to migration and settlement in the process of examining the lives of individuals.[348] This focus on the individual is difficult to reconstruct through official documents alone. For example, women were cast in the role as dependants and viewed within a narrow occupational status in Australian migration policy and census records.[349]

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[348] Anne-Marie Fortier, *Migrant Belongings,* 48-50, refers to the image of women confined to passive roles in settlement narratives rather than as agents in the migration process represented in literature about Italian migrants in England.

[349] Lara Palombo, "Italian Women in Australia from the 1870s to 1930s: From Invisibility to Motherhood," (M.A. thesis, Flinders University, 1998), 97, argues that because Italian women were viewed as dependants in the context of Australian immigration policies, they were considered "non-workers" and visible only in relation to their husbands. However, the Veneto women on the market gardens contributed extensively to the family business.

In Passenger Statements gathered between 1927 and 1940, occupations of Italian women in South Australia were almost exclusively classified as "home duties."[350] However, women contributed extensive labour in the market gardens, as partners rather than dependants, in addition to their domestic and parenting responsibilities. Thus, in order to understand the impact of women in the Veneto market gardener community at Lockleys, I build on practices of early feminist oral historians who promoted initiatives to record oral histories to ensure women's experiences were documented and preserved.[351] Oral historians record individual stories with women to demonstrate the diversity of their circumstances, roles and agency. Gluck and Patai argue that a woman who tells her story through oral history is empowered when the interviewer works with the narrator to reflect on both their subjectivities in the interview.[352]

The status of Veneto women in the market garden community was much more complex than suggested in narratives that limit the characterisation of Italian migrant woman to wife and mother, "guardian of the family nucleus."[353] The complexity in the role of women in market gardener families in this study is described through the various responsibilities undertaken by the women market gardeners inside the household where they experienced types of agency which had not

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[350] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 115, identifies that "home duties" was the third largest classification of occupations recorded by Italians who arrived in South Australia 1927-1940; John Stuart MacDonald, "Italian Emigration to Australia, the Empire and the Commonwealth," in *Italians in Australia Historical and Social Perspectives*: *Proceedings of the Conference on the Italians in Australia: The First 200 Years, held at the University of Wollongong and Macquarie University, 27-29 August 1988,* edited by Gaetano Rando and Michael Arrighi (Wollongong: Department of Modern Languages, University of Wollongong, Dante Alighieri Society Wollongong Chapter,1993), 123, 134. MacDonald argues that the role of Italian migrant women has been invisible in census data in terms of their participation in the family cash economy through running boarding houses, cafes and shops.

[351] See Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 1-3. In their introduction to the text, the editors discuss the value of women's oral history and its growth through the women's movement and interdisciplinary studies which have broken down rigidity of disciplines and focused on women representing themselves. However, the authors acknowledge questions of power imbalance inherent in the roles of interviewer and narrator which may be overcome by practices of reflexivity and analysis. See also Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 71- 74.

[352] Gluck and Patai, *Women's Words*, 2.

[353] See Fortier, *Migrant Belongings*, 50.

been possible in Italy where they would have been younger members of the patriarchal intergenerational residence. Their contribution to work on the market gardens was a vital aspect of the family economy.

An additional role undertaken by women, reported by several narrators, was the transnational responsibility of their mothers for maintaining contact with families through writing letters. Diane Vecchio, refers to Italian women in the United States of America who strengthened links between family members separated by migration and identifies this as a form of "kin responsibilities."[354]

Dino Piovesan explains that his mother provided material support to her family and her husband's family through sending parcels to them in Italy:

> The parcels that my mother used to make: coffee, old clothes that
> my father wouldn't wear, she would send them home by surface mail.
> It took about three months to get there, but they were greatly appreciated
> when they got there.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 3).

Jimmy Ballestrin, aged seventy-two years when interviewed, recalls daily life in his parents' market gardens, reflects on the distribution of work and observes imbalance in his mother's role:

> My mother and father both worked the glasshouses, probably I'd like to
> say equal, but maybe not quite equal because my mother would have
> to then go and cook and do all the household duties.
>
> (Jimmy Ballestrin, OH 872/15, 6 June 2011, 3).

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[354] See Vecchio, "Ties of Affection," 129-130. See also Sinke, "Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives," *The International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (2006) 94-95, for discussion of the role of migrant women and involvement in the "technology of communication" and their maintenance of transnational family relationships in the first years of separation by writing letters.

Jimmy respects the extensive roles of his mother and acknowledges her effort in maintaining family life and contributing to the cultivation of the market gardens. The participation of women in the family labour unit in the pioneer family contrasts with the patriarchal structures in the Veneto *contadino* family. In the large Veneto household "men laboured as a team under the direction of the head of the household" and married women were assigned a subordinate position after marriage under the scrutiny of the eldest wife.[355] In the new setting of households without the inter-generational hierarchies, young married women could advance to the role of matriarch and manage the domestic responsibilities despite their age and without the scrutiny of a mother-in-law. However, Jimmy also acknowledges the 'double shift' that his mother and other women assumed in the Lockleys households: the domestic and agricultural work.

Figure 53: Ballestrin family: Narciso, Lina, Maria, Jimmy. Front: Silvano, Norina. Flinders Park, c 1959.

Photo supplied by Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin.

Other narrators mirror Jimmy's observations about the role of their mothers within the family. They recall little separation of women's lives between the domestic and agricultural domains. For example, Bruno Piovesan recalls his mother widowed at forty-two years: "Well, I can always remember my mother working all the time." (Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/17, 4 October 2008, 13).

[355] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 20, 23.

When I asked another man if wives worked beside husbands in the market gardens, he replied: "… they were slaves [laughter] to the garden, to be honest," (Lino Ballestrin, OH 872/40, 22 November 2016, 10).[356] Lino's insight into the degree of labour contributed by his mother, and others like her, indicates discomfort about the expectations of women in the market gardener families of that time. His language creates an image of the garden like a beast demanding continual labour with his mother cast as a captive. His laughter conveys a sense of embarrassment recalling that women endured the relentless burden of physical labour in the market garden as a form of enslavement.[357] This image contrasts with the elevated status attributed to the almost saintly role of 'mother' in Italian families. Lino uses a frame of reference from his position as a man in the twenty-first century which may also have been influenced by his career as a senior public servant which caused him to question the scope of his mother's work.

Figure 54: Giuseppe Tieppo and his sister, Cesira Ballestrin cutting celery, Hartley Road, late 1950s.

Photo supplied by Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin.

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[356] Paul Depasquale, *My Path to the Brownlow*, 92-93, uses the same term, "slaves" to describe the work of his mother and siblings in a Calabrian family who had a market garden adjacent to Veneto families in Lockleys. He critiques the expectation of husbands who expected wives to "to work seven days a week for probably on average fourteen hours a day at killing physical toil."

[357] Stephanie Panichelli-Batalla, "Laughter in Oral History Interviews of Displacement: 'One Goes on A Mission to Solve Their Problems,'" *The Oral History Review* 47, no. 1 (2020): 73-92.
discusses the use of laughter in oral history interviews which communicate difficult memories or indicate the difference in the experience of life between the time of the story and the time of the interview, or incongruity about diverse periods of history. In this case, Lino shares his discomposure about his mother's workload which he could not contemplate for women in Australia today.

In the market gardener family, the absence of the older generation released women (and men) from the hierarchical structures of the *contadino* household.[358] In contrast, the Lockleys households were feminised spaces managed by married women free of the constraints of an intergenerational structure although the absence of an older generation meant that women could not share child rearing with grandparents. The one exception was in the mixed Santin family household where the grandparents assisted with the child care while the three mothers worked the market gardens with their husbands. Women in the Veneto market gardener family were pivots in the household and exerted influence because they worked in partnership with husbands in the market gardens, even if their names were not generally added to certificates of title of land. They assumed more authority than they had observed in their mothers' roles in the households in the Veneto region, and as will be explored later, new relationships emerged between mothers and daughters at Lockleys.[359]

Figure 55: Luigia Zalunardo nee Ballestrin with Noemi, and Maria Ballestrin nee Dotto with Silvano.Taking a rest from working in the glasshouses, Frogmore Road, c 1948.

Photo supplied by Noemi Campagnolo nee Ballestrin.

[358] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 23-25, identifies the challenges for a Veneto *contadino* woman after marriage who moved into the household of a husband's family as a subordinate and more akin to the role of a servant for the older generation.

[359] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 77-82, outlines the new approach to partnerships between Veneto husbands and wives on farms at Griffith between the wars and notes that women "had a say in running of the property."

The following examples demonstrate diversity in women's roles and modifications in the structure of work practices in the Veneto market gardener families at Lockleys.

Marrying into a market gardener family

When a woman from outside the community married into a market gardener family, there was no period of transition or apprenticeship. In 1949, Anna Mattiazzo, a 1.5 generation Veneta, married Vito, the second of three Santin sons who co-owned a large market garden at Lockleys. Anna's family lived in the city and she had worked in two factories prior to her marriage. Interviewed at 86 years, she recalls the quick adaptation to life on the market gardens, the sudden switch from wage earner for seven years as a single woman to wife and market gardener. She had met Vito through the wider Veneto network in Adelaide because the Santin family bought their meat from Anna's father who owned a butcher shop in the city. Engaged for five years, an unusually long period, Anna recalled a social life that included going to see films once or twice a week. [360]

Anna began her marriage in the regulated life of a market gardener family. She moved into the Santin household which she and Vito shared with her parents-in-law, younger brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The third brother, his wife and family lived in an adjacent house on the market gardens. This replicated the patri-virilocal arrangement of the traditional Veneto household where a married woman lived with her husband's family. When I asked Anna if she had had a honeymoon she chuckles and acknowledges that she learned quickly:

> Got married on the Saturday, on the Monday I went to cut celery [laughs] … Oh well, you just picked it up. They gave you a knife in your hand and go down with your backside up and cut celery.
>
> (Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, interview OH 872/24, 3 April 2013, 12, 15).

[360] Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24 3 April 2012, 5-6, 8-9. I am not sure why the engagement period was so long.

Her laughter is ironic as if she questions how I could have ever imagined that a market gardener would have taken time off to have a honeymoon![361]

In 1952, the Santin families bought sixteen acres on Frogmore Road and they continued intergenerational arrangements even as children were born. Although Anna and her sisters-in-law lived in a multi-generational configuration, their contribution to working the market gardens was very different from the Veneto traditional structure. Anna explains her working life and clarifies that her mother-in-law managed the domestic arrangements that supported the three families and their business:

> Nothing but work in the garden all day, mother-in-law used to do the cooking, and we used to help her afterwards, wash up and clean the house … Mother-in-law used to look after the kids. We used to come in and feed them, lunchtime, and she'd look after them.
>
> (Anna Santin OH 872/24, 3 April 2013, 15, 16).

This communal arrangement continued for twenty years during which time the elderly Santin parents died. Anna was forty-five years old when she managed her own household for the first time in 1972. In response to a question about what difference it made to have her own home Anna exclaims in a most animated way:

> Oh gee. I think it was everybody's dream those days to buy, to build a house that you liked … I remember we never took any of the old furniture from the old house, we bought everything new, so I was in my glory!
>
> (Anna Santin OH 872/24, 3 April 2013, 32).

[361] The laughter reflects the point made by Norrick about the laughter of narrators in oral history interviews that demonstrates a dissonance between what has happened earlier in a narrator's life and the conventions of the present, a way of making a statement about changes in experience and identity over time. See Norrick, "Humour in Oral History Interviews," 90.

The word, “glory” suggests Anna’s triumph, pride, joy, and achievement; it suggests that she was elated to have the independence and a beautiful home. Anna’s experience is consistent with findings made by Pascoe, who argues that Italian migrant families prioritised work and economic security and often lived in basic accommodation before they built new houses.[362] The opportunity to move into a new home with new furniture symbolises the reward for the extensive years of physical work and represented the achievement of wellbeing and comfort which was like a delayed *sistemazione* for Anna, her husband and child, and the other Santin brothers and their wives.[363]

Outside the old house shared by two Santin families, Frogmore Road, 1972.

Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

[362] Robert Pascoe, *Open for Business: Immigrant and Aboriginal Entrepreneurs Tell Their Story*. (Canberra: Office for Multicultural Affairs, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1990), 23, argues that Italian migrant families were prepared to suspend their desire for a new “decorous” home while they worked to achieve financial security for the family. This is consistent with the idea of *sistemazione* and the initiatives that the Veneto market gardener families took to establish security before embarking on building new homes.

[363] Pascoe, “The Zanatta Family,” in *Open for Business,* 23. Pascoe argues that instead of building a new house, Italian families on the land in Australia worked hard, delayed material comforts and paid off machinery before they built a comfortable home. He describes the Zanatta families who were pioneer vegetable growers in the Granite Belt district in southern Queensland from the 1930s and followed the model of postponing their desire for building homes.

A mother challenges the order

When circumstances threatened the family labour unit in the market garden, some women solved problems and demonstrated their capacity to further modify and adapt practices of Veneto *contadino* households. For example, when women in market garden families were widowed with young children, they confronted issues of managing labour, family income and security alone. At Lockleys, three women on market gardens were widowed in the 1940s. Sons in two families preserved structures that positioned the man at the centre of the family farming enterprises. However, Margherita Marchioro, who had three daughters, had already taken a primary role in the family business because of her husband's chronic illness, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Margherita applied previous experience of a business partnership with her brother-in-law and enlisted her daughter, Lina, already employed outside the home. [364] They worked the sixteen glasshouses and unusually, Margherita and Lina worked as equals.[365] They increased production which enabled Margherita to accumulate enough capital after three years to buy land with her brother-in-law and build her own house, a source of great pride:

> She built a lovely house and I suppose she had that satisfaction that
> she'd got what she wanted, a lovely house, furnished it nicely, so …
> after living all those years in a wooden/iron place, you know,
> you can imagine. A joy to have it!
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 15 November 2010, 50).

[364] In Chapter 2, the partnership between Margherita Marchioro and her brother-in-law, Vittorio Marchioro was examined as an exceptional business arrangement for Veneto *contadini* who would not have ever considered intra-familial financial operations, especially between a man and his sister-in-law. See also interview with Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 3-4, 6.

[365] There was another exception where a mother and daughter worked together on the family market gardens after the husband had been murdered in an incident relating to water rights. The daughter, Mary, married into one of the Veneto market gardener families in the late 1940s. See Chapter 5 and interview with Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti, OH 872/3, 3 October 2008, 3-5 for details about mother and daughter working glasshouses by themselves with assistance from Veneto neighbours.

At this time, Margherita encouraged Lina to move away from the market gardens to train as a dressmaker because she recognised her daughter's creative skills. The proceeds of her work as dressmaker contributed to the family income. At twenty-one years, Lina became part-owner in a couture business with an Anglo Australian woman and they deliberately selected a wealthy suburb for their studio where they knew clients could afford their garments. Lina's mother permitted her daughter a level of independence not offered in most families where patriarchal structures constrained daughters and young women. Her daughter gained financial acumen and independence and Margherita achieved a new kind of *sistemazione* as a widow.

Although committed to her life as a market gardener, Margherita had organised an interim solution to address the family crisis by involving her eldest and second daughter in the market garden until finances were sufficient for building the family home. The eldest daughter who was intellectually disabled assisted in the glasshouses. With mother and daughter separately self-employed, the economic, employment and housing needs were satisfied in ways that challenged the traditional order of the *contadino* household. Margherita transformed the prospects of second-generation daughters in a market gardener family by encouraging Lina and her third daughter to gain employment outside the market gardens. This example of a movement away from *contadino* life in the second generation and of daughters taking action for themselves is explored further in the following case study of Cesira Ballestrin and her daughter, Norma.

A daughter challenges the order

The traditional Veneto role of *contadina* women was not easily followed in the second generation in Australia. Daughters who received more education than their mothers and who had been exposed to different cultural practices in their schooling in Adelaide observed possibilities other than the direct pathway from the market garden to marriage. In one family, a daughter directly challenged this practice. Norma, an only daughter with two brothers, was required to leave school at fourteen

years to assist in the domestic life of the family.[366] In contrast, both Norma's brothers completed twelve years of schooling and were among the few in the second-generation Veneto market gardener families who completed more than the compulsory years of schooling, a subject addressed in Chapter 6.

At seventy-five years, Norma recalls the decision she made to disregard her parents' expectations that she would stay at home to undertake domestic responsibilities:

> Well, I left school at fourteen, and --- the noise from home came out that I was going to stay home and work the garden, not work the garden, work the house, do the cooking, the washing and all that. And I thought: 'Like fun!' So, I went up and looked at the paper … I saw it and went and applied for a job.
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 21).

Figure 57: Norma Ballestrin, Hartley Road, c 1950.

Photo supplied by Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin.

[366] Norma had a brother six years older and a brother nine years younger. The older son, Lino was the narrator who described his mother as "a slave to the garden."

From her perspective later in life, Norma remembers the expectation that she would be directed into domestic responsibilities as “noise” rather than a family obligation. In her mother’s experience in the Veneto region, choices were constrained by family and social standards about the status of daughters. Although not the eldest daughter, Norma’s role as the *only* daughter indicates the expectations of her duties in the family. [367] However, at the age of fourteen years, Norma defied gender conventions and initiated her own working life outside the family. She worked as a typist in a financial organisation in the city of Adelaide for seven years. Her mother took Norma’s earnings, leaving a small amount for basic costs and appropriated the male role in handling family finances.

When I asked Norma about her mother’s role, her initial response is about work in the garden and as she continues, she expands the tasks undertaken by her:

> OH: How much work did your mother do in the garden?
> NC: Always, she was always in the garden. Always. That was it. That was her life …
> OH: And looking after the children?
> NC: Well, yes,
> OH: And cooking?
> NC: And cooking, all that, you know. But that was her life. She went out into the garden and she'd say... when I was around... when I was young enough to understand, she'd say: ‘I'm going out to the garden. Do this, do that!’ I was trained, I used to look after the house, but I didn't like it. [laughter].
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/ 37, 21 September 2016, 16).

[367] In the previous chapter there was reference to the responsibilities of the eldest daughter in the Veneto *contadino* household. Four daughters in this study reported the obligations in the household and roles which were allocated to them because they were the eldest. See interviews with Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro OH 872/915 November 2010, 44, 5 May 2011, 70, who describes her role of looking after her older intellectually disabled sister and her younger sister who was eleven years her junior while her mother was working on the market garden; Sandra Conci nee Santin OH 872/47, 25 August 2018, 7, 9-10, 33, who explains her role of looking after her disabled brother after school while her mother worked the market gardens; Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo OH 872/29, 20 March 2014, 7-9, who describes her role as carer from a young age for her mother who had a terminal illness; Diana Panazzolo nee Santin OH 872/27 13 September 2013, 4-5, describes how she cared for her sister who was 18 years younger because her mother was working in the market gardens.

After clarifying aspects of her mother's role, Norma turns to her own life and the gendered expectations of daughters in the household. As an adolescent, Norma may not have recognised that she was being "trained" for marriage. With the distance of fifty years, she laughs and understands that her mother was pressing her towards a future preparing her for the role of wife.[368]

Norma resisted the expectations within the Veneto *contadino* family which directed a daughter to marriage.[369] When Norma married at twenty-five years, older than many of her peers, she recalls that her parents were happy, and relieved that her husband came from a town close to their *paese* in the Veneto region. I asked Norma how her parents felt about the origins of her husband:

> … very important because they could talk to him in their own language
> and he wasn't one of those Australians, the riff raff, you know … Yes.
> I think it was pretty important. And they were pleased.
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 24).

Her choice of marriage partner reflected the customary pattern of the *paese* in the Veneto region of a husband coming from the same locality. It was a means to maintain Veneto identity within the family rather than accommodating a son-in-law from outside the community, let alone an Australian "riff raff." Norma's reflections on the impact of gendered roles within the family demonstrate that second-generation women could occasionally reshape role definitions in the Veneto community.

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[368] This is another example of the role of laughter in oral history interviews discussed by Stephanie Panichelli-Batalla, "Laughter in Oral History interviews of Displacement." Here, Norma's laughter conveys a view of her younger self and the disparity between the values of her mother and her own regarding the choices of women and the idea that she may have been constrained to a life of domesticity rather than a working life outside the family. Norma's laughter also communicates her realisation that as a fourteen-year-old girl she was able to extract herself from the family culture and community expectations for a daughter. It demonstrates the point that narrators can re-evaluate a past event and acknowledge changes in their identity and roles. See also Norrick, "Laughter in Oral History Interviews," 92-93.

[369] The trajectory for a young woman to move from her parents' home via marriage to the household of her father-in-law in a patrilineal community in the region of Campania is described as "the enculturation of women," See Diana Glenn, "Writing Campanian Lives: Considerations of Transnational Identity and Belonging," *Forum Italicum* 47, no. 1 (2013): 158.

A single woman in the community

Daughters and sons who did not marry profoundly challenged conventions in the Veneto community. In the close-knit group of extended families in the pioneer Veneto community, a sister and a brother in one family never married. Maria Rosa Tormena, niece to two market gardener pioneers, had arrived with her parents and brother in 1940 shortly before Italy entered the Second World War. She attended school until the compulsory leaving age at fourteen years. As a wage earner, she pursued her deep love of sport, changing jobs frequently to allow her to play in the state team in softball championships and travel interstate.[370]

Figure 58: Maria Rosa Tormena, Adelaide, c 1950.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

> I used to be very involved in sport then so if that job interfered with the sport, I'd go off doing my sport, you know, interstate. It'd be every year around March we'd go interstate, a different state every year. And if I couldn't get the time off, I'd say, well I'd leave and hope for the best. But I never, ever had trouble getting jobs.
>
> (Maria Rosa Tormena OH 872/19, 15 June 2012, 18).

[370] See Maria Rosa Tormena interview, OH 872/19, 25 May 2012, 7-8, 18-20.

Working life was secondary to her participation in sport. Maria Rosa co-founded the Sturt Softball Club in 1963 which became one of the largest women's softball clubs in Adelaide.[371] Later Maria Rosa became a coach and after active roles, travelled regularly to World Series competitions. Maria Rosa explored her passion, resisting the conformity of marriage and a subordinate position to a husband. Her account of living in the Veneto community in Adelaide contrasts with those of other women, the 1.5 generation and even the second-generation women who, as expected, married, raised children and undertook roles that brought order to families.

The Veneto women who challenged conventions show that changes were taking place in the structures of market gardener families and their relatives. Living in Australia offered opportunities for women's roles which had not been imaginable in the *contadino* family. Roles were less hierarchically defined after migration because the flatter structure of the family household with just two generations created a different dynamic and because women worked with men in the market gardens. The few women who moved outside the *status quo* resisted customary practices and redefined the role of women within the Veneto family and the market gardener community.[372]

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[371] See Madeleine Regan, "The Tormena Family," *Veneti Market Gardeners Website, Blog*, 15 November 2020, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/page/2/

[372] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie", 168-171, refers to post-war changes within the Molfettese family because of outside influences including institutions and he argues that "family solidarity" was modified by external institutions; a view that is evident in the stories of the Veneto market gardeners. Bromley argues that changes occurred within the community which became less cohesive because young people looked outside the community to achieve their goals.

Figure 59: Maria Rosa Tormena and her German Zundapp Bella scooter, Adelaide 1953

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

Children's roles in the market gardens

As the women's roles evolved in Australia, the status of children in the market gardener families was also changing. The *contadino* custom was to put children to work for the family as soon as possible.[373] In the Veneto region sons worked in the fields or in seasonal jobs and the daughters worked in the house or were sent to domestic service. In contrast, at Lockleys, parents complied with legislation which required children to attend school until fourteen years of age. However, children in the pioneer families contributed to the market gardens in combination with their schooling. Childhood in the market gardens could be viewed as demanding and arduous and the work was relentless because of the cycle of cultivation; however, the financial success of the family enterprise depended on the contribution of the whole group. While narrators describe physical tasks, time absorbed by the chores and continuity of the seasonal work, they qualify their memories about working in market gardens. They confirm that hard work was the convention for

[373] Most of the Veneto pioneers had had between two and four years of schooling in Italy before they were allocated to the family labour unit.

most children in market gardener families, including in Anglo Australian and other Italian families.[374]

A 1.5-generation narrator, Lino Tonellato, was ten years old when he arrived with his mother and four siblings in 1935. His father, Secondo, was growing vegetables in open gardens at Lockleys at the time. Secondo appreciated the advantage of four sons who contributed their labour. When I asked Lino if he went to market with his father, he told me about his older brother combining school with helping his father on market days:

> Oh yeah, oh yeah, we went a few times when I was young you know. After we were too busy working home and Dad was doing the marketing. [laughs] We didn't want to go, have to get up too early. [laughs] You've got to go to school so you didn't go much, but Albert used to go with the horse and trolley. He used to get up at 2 o'clock in the morning and then stop on the way back to school, going back, coming back from the Adelaide at 12 o'clock … and the teacher, poor teacher, he was going to sleep from 3 o'clock in the morning. [laughs] He was going to sleep at the table, and the … teacher never woke him up, he used to leave him sleep. [laughs].
>
> (Lino Tonellato, interview 16 July 2010, 10).

Lino punctuates his description of the sale of vegetables at market with laughter which indicates his amusement and sense of incredulity about the difference in expectations of what constituted children's work between the 1930s and the time when he was interviewed in 2010.[375] He also

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[374] See interviews with adult children of Anglo Australian market gardeners: Rae Ballantyne, OH 872/21, 25 August 2012 and 1 September 2012; Barry West, OH 872/22, 25 August 2012 and 15 September 2012; Barbara Haynes nee Ballantyne, OH 872/23, 1 September, 15 September 2012 and Paul Depasquale, *My Path to the Brownlow*, 47, 92-93. Paul writes about some of the challenges of growing up in a Calabrian market gardener family in the Lockleys area around the same time as second-generation Veneto Australians.

[375] Ned R. Norrick, "Humour in Oral History Interviews," 90-91, argues that laughter can indicate surprise about the changes that have occurred during a person's lifetime and the incredulity of cultural practices in the past as compared with the present. Humour is part of a process of reassessing the past.

communicates contempt of the requirement to attend school when it was not a necessary foundation for a working life in the market gardens. All four sons left school at the minimum age and immediately worked with their father. As 1.5 generation sons, they had memories of the *contadino* life of the village of Caselle di Altivole and their labour from an early age was an apprenticeship serving the economic needs of the family and an expected trajectory for sons.

Figure 60: Albert Tonellato and his son Raymond, Findon Road, c 1955.

Photo supplied by Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti.

Delineation between education and work on the market garden

The expectation that the whole family contributed to the work unit and that education had limited value in the Veneto family culture of the 1930s to the 1950s need to be considered from a contemporary viewpoint. The family enterprise was developed through the contribution of the children, and the pioneers assumed that the land and livelihood of the market gardens would be passed onto their sons because they were part of the "'internal' economic system."[376] Similar attitudes also appeared to exist in Anglo Australian market gardener families which suggests that education was not valued highly in an occupation that required physical rather than intellectual

[376] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 80, 117. Bromley argues that the family economy of living frugally and saving for the benefit of the whole group was a habit developed in Italy to address poverty.

skills and where the family enterprise was inherited by sons. [377] In pioneer families, it was accepted that the land and livelihood were passed onto sons; a model that reflected customs in the Veneto region and was taken up by the 1.5 generation more than the second generation, discussed in Chapter 6.

Many narrators provide evidence to show that the complexity of tasks in the market garden allocated to children increased with age. Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo recalls learning over time how to pack tomatoes:

> I think it was 12, 13 and then you'd graduate, and you learn other things, you know. But that was my job when I was that age.
>
> (Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo, OH 872/29, 20 March 2014, 8).

Children were put to work as required and school work was less important. Bruno Piovesan, interviewed at seventy-one years, recalls the division between school life and work in the gardens:

> I remember coming home from school, didn't even know what homework was because we had our chores to do: take the leaves out of the glasshouse when they were pruning tomatoes; hoe around the side of the glasshouse so insects wouldn't get inside of the glasshouse. Always something to do. Sowing beans – – –. (laughs) We were kept busy all the time. There wasn't a question of having nothing to do, that's for sure.
>
> (Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5, 4 October 2008, 3).

Bruno communicates amusement about the assumption that a market gardener family would value education because in his experience, his labour was more important than completing homework. However, like most of the second-generation boys, Bruno was educated at a Catholic school and

[377] For references to education and inheritance in Anglo Australian market gardener families see the interviews with Rae Ballantyne, OH 872/2, 25 August and 1 September 2012; and Barrie West, OH 872/22, 25 August and 15 September 2012.

his parents paid school fees which suggests that although they valued the moral education provided by the religious orders, work in the market garden took priority outside school hours. Bruno and his two brothers became even more involved in the work in the garden as young adolescents when their father died suddenly. In many families, respect for education had to wait for the next generation. [378]

Daughters, education and the market gardens

Although Veneto market garden families complied with legislation in South Australia and children attended school for the compulsory years, there was an exception. In the Zampin family, Sandra refused to go to secondary school because she did not like school and had been bullied because of a "turned eye" which affected her appearance.[379] In 1961 when Sandra left at twelve years of age, her parents obtained permission from the State Government Education Department and guaranteed her employment which, of course, was in the family market garden.

Two years later, Sandra's parents made their first trip to Italy and left her in charge of the tomato crops for several months, realising her capacity to manage a season, to the surprise of some of the pioneer market gardeners. Sandra proudly, and with delight, recalled an incident that occurred when she was managing the glass houses in her parents' absence:

> Dad was in Italy … I was in the glasshouse doing something, and I could hear these voices and I thought what's going on? So, I went outside: 'Hello Sandra. We've come to help you.' And I said: 'To do what?' And they said: 'To prune the tomatoes.' And I said: 'Okay.'[laughs] And they looked in and their hats come off. And they says: 'We'd better go home and do our own. She's finished.' [laughs] I'll never forget that day. They just --- couldn't believe that I had just finished doing these nine glasshouses

[378] Bruno placed emphasis on his own children's education; although his son has developmental issues, his three daughters have completed post-secondary studies.

[379] Although she had corrective surgery, Sandra's "turned eye" was noticeable, and she explains that the differences in the focus of her eyes had made her feel awkward and she experienced bullying at school. Sandra Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/44, 27 April 2017, 4, 15, 26.

> and they were going to come and help me so that I wouldn't get behind. ---
> And they said: 'When did you start?' I said: 'Last week. I'm finished.'
> And they're standing there, scratching their head … [laughs].
>
> (Sandra Semola nee Zampin OH 872/44, 27 April 2017, 17-18).

In her interview, Sandra reported that her father took half her 'wage' for board and some was paid into an account for her future wedding (Sandra Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/44, OH 872/44, 23). In a second family, Noemi Zalunardo completed the minimum years of high school and worked with her father. She also helped to care for her chronically ill mother until she died when Noemi was eighteen years old. In both cases, daughters adopted a role as co-workers with their fathers and reduced the need to employ workers outside the family. In some families the labour of daughters in the market gardens in Lockleys was essential; a new position that departed from gendered roles in the *contadino* family work model.

Conflicted views of children's contributions

Recalling their experience of growing up on the market gardens, daughters in a large family expressed reservations about the extent of their participation.[380] The Zampin parents relied on their eight daughters to work in the market gardens from an early age. Silvano Zampin did not allow his daughters to stay at school beyond the minimum age and when they started work, a proportion of their wages contributed to a family fund to purchase a property.[381] One daughter responded to my question at the end of the interview about whether she would like to add any further memories.

Bruna remembered the challenge of the never-ending chores and reflected on the rigid timetable as a school student: market garden-school-market garden and little time for friendships or leisure:

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[380] Daughters in the Zampin family remembered the hard work expected by their father and convey conflicted feelings about the obligations to work before and after school and even when they worked for wages. Their labour took precedence over other activities.

[381] The priority of addressing family concerns over the individual is considered also by Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 77-78, who refers to the Molfettese culture which considered that the family interest prevailed over individual members in matters relating to finances.

> I wouldn't like to go through it again. [laughs]. I've had enough of that …
> I know it was hard for us, I know it was hard for Mum and Dad. I know
> I wouldn't like to do it again.
>
> (Bruna Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/39, 8 November 2016, 23).

It was as if Bruna had waited for the opportunity at the end of her interview to emphasise the difficult and unpleasant memories of the never-ending labour for her parents even as she expresses empathy for their situation. In interviews, each Zampin sister reflects on her experience and understands that her life had been shaped by the patriarchal culture that co-opted them to the goal for their parents to buy their own land and home.[382] The sisters imply that gender reduced opportunities within their family, education and working lives.

I suggest that their views at the time of interviews have been influenced by contemporary thinking about the need for equity and women's right to education, employment and career paths. While narrators recall the expectation of hard physical work, they also acknowledge that it was not unusual since market gardener households depended on the concerted efforts of all members.[383] Recognising that peers in other market gardener families were also required to contribute to the family labour unit seems to ameliorate the fact that the work was arduous for a child.

In one of five Ballestrin families, a son asserts that the incidence of children working in the market garden was not extreme:

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[382] See Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 44-46, for discussion of women's oral history accounts and examination of feminist oral history methodology. Abrams argues that the interview relies on the relationship between narrator and interviewer and is influenced by the cultural context of the narrator's life, 58-74.

[383] As discussed previously in this chapter, a son in a family from another Italian region who had a market garden in the same area wrote an autobiography and remonstrated about the way that Italian women and children were "exploited" and treated like "slaves" on family market gardens. See Depasquale, *My Path to the Brownlow*, 92-93)

> We were taught that we had to help, from a young age, and thinking back on it, we worked very hard as kids, but thought nothing of it because all my friends did exactly the same, and I didn't hear any of them complain. We didn't seem to think it was a chore at all, it was just something that was done.
>
> (Jimmy Ballestrin, OH 872/15, 6 June 2011, 3).

However, work in the family unit was a gendered division in the households at Lockleys for sons and daughters from an early age, and particularly post-school. Generally, daughters in the second-generation were not expected to work in the market gardens after they left school. Daughters were not likely to have a future on the land unless they married into market gardener families and worked beside their husbands. Their experience differed from their mothers because they had received more education, even if only to compulsory age, and they were permitted to work outside the home.[384] Sons, especially in the 1.5 generation, were expected to take on increased responsibilities in the market gardens in preparation for their future role and inheritance of the business, a subject examined in Chapter 6. In one family, because his parents could not read or write, a son gained knowledge of the business administration of the market gardens from primary school years through writing cheques and accompanying his father to the bank.

Family business arrangements

To manage external commercial transactions, Veneto families developed their own business arrangements and market gardeners were required to report earnings to the taxation office. The need for accountability to the state contrasted with subsistence life in Italy where the purpose of labour was to feed the household. Whereas in Australia, the market gardeners worked to support their family, they could make a profit and it was also possible to become prosperous.[385] The

[384] Compulsory school age in South Australia was fourteen years until 1963 when it was raised to fifteen years. https://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1071

[385] See George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good," *American Anthropologist* 67, no. 2 (1965): 293-315. Foster discusses aspects of the traditional peasant community limited by its subsistence existence, lack of access to land and technology that could improve the economic situation. He argues that it was impossible for peasant families to improve financial status or acquire wealth.

accounting system was usually managed within families and several narrators reported that they assisted their parents by keeping records of expenses and sales which filled pages of notebooks. When some owners had difficulties with the administration of their business and were identified as having failed to report income, they employed accountants to assist with the requirements for compliance with government regulations.[386]

Some larger families formed partnerships that were a variation of the rigid arrangements expected in the Veneto region. In the case of two Ballestrin cousins and their wives who co-owned a twenty-acre market garden, financial arrangements were casual and involved an older family member, Isidoro, who took responsibility for market transactions because neither cousin had a driver's licence and one did not read or write. The processes are described by one of the sons:

> That was a fifty: fifty arrangement. One didn't have excess over the other one. So --- basically a fifty: fifty arrangement, that's how that worked … They didn't do any books. There was no such thing as books ... they had a strange arrangement where often a lot of paper work and bills were paid by Isidoro Ballestrin. And what they'd do once a year, get under the shed with all their notes and bits of papers and say: 'Oh you owe me $20 for that,' and 'I owe you $50.' And it sort of, settled out things like that but there was no bookkeeping as such.
>
> (Lino Ballestrin, OH 872/40, 22 November 2016, 20).

[386] NAA: State Deputy Prices Commissioner, South Australia, AP5/1, *Prices regulation, administrative and policy files, investigation cases and financial statement/trading result files, annual single number series*, 01 Jan 1939 – 31 Dec 1948; 1944/988, Trading results – Berno Bros – gardeners, 1943 – 1947. In 1944, Alberto and Vittorio Pietro Berno were required to provide documentation of their earnings for the financial years, 1939-1943. Further, they were issued with a notice informing them that legal proceedings would be undertaken if they failed to comply with the request to present business records for the 1944 financial year. An accountant acted on their behalf to produce all documentation. See also documentation for Antonio Ballestrin's taxation records which were requested for the period, 1939-1943, NAA: State Deputy Prices Commissioner, South Australia, AP5/1, *Prices regulation, administrative and policy files, investigation cases and financial statement/trading result files, annual single number series*, 01 Jan 1939 – 31 Dec 1948; 1945/2610, Trading results – A Ballestrin, Lockleys – tomato grower, 1938 – 1945.

Figure 61: Semi-trailer laden with a consignment of Ballestrin-grown tomatoes, late 1950s.

Because of a strike instead of being sent by train, the tomatoes were sent to Melbourne by truck.

Image supplied by Frankie Ballestrin, source unknown.

The cooperative arrangements demonstrate the trust and loyalty within families which were akin to the unwritten agreements in family business and in transactions relating to finances in land purchase in the Veneto household.

Reliance on family and employment of labourers

A variety of family partnerships within the Veneto community were established for the distribution of labour and to meet increased production. For example, as stated previously, partnerships formed between fathers and adult sons; a group of brothers and their wives worked together, or brothers and cousins leased and bought land as partners. In the first years when production was modest, it was possible to rely entirely on family members for labour. Those extended family households like the Ballestrin family comprising a mother, three brothers and their wives, a sister and brother-in-law and cousin, all of whom were market gardeners, were also advantaged because

additional labour and resources such as transport were readily available.[387] As discussed in Chapter 2, arrangements between a brother-in-law and sister-in-law facilitated the viability of a market garden over many years in two Marchioro families.

One partnership between two single brothers contrasted with other Veneto market gardeners. The Berno brothers who did not marry until after the war, employed casual labour for many years, and without families to support, Alberto and Pietro Berno earned the reputation for being the most prosperous of the *veneti* and were considered by some as community leaders because of their financial success. After the Berno brothers married, their wives contributed to the market gardens, like the other women who had been in Adelaide for many years.[388] In other families, employment of labourers increased as the market gardens became more profitable.

Post-war Veneto labour strategies

The market gardeners were well established after nearly twenty years, their produce achieved good prices in Adelaide and Melbourne markets and the *veneti* bought new equipment such as tractors and rotary hoes and introduced new cultivation strategies.[389] In the 1950s, following the new wave of Italian migrants who arrived in South Australia, some families in the Veneto community in the Lockleys area, modified their approach to labour.

Young single Veneto men who had arrived in the post-Second World War migration wave enlarged the community and added to the pool of labourers for the market gardens. Included in the new

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[387] The Ballestrin families developed separate businesses and had established four separate market gardens by 1939: Antonio and Romilda; Isidoro and Gina; Giuseppe and Cesira with his cousin, Ermenegildo who had arrived in 1937, and Narcisio (arrived in 1938) and Maria (arrived in 1940).

[388] All the pioneer market gardeners were married by 1939, except for Eugenio Zalunardo who married Luigia Ballestrin in 1943 and the Berno brothers who married women in Italy. Pietro Berno married in 1948 and Alberto Berno married in 1951.

[389] Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 148, reports that the Italians in the lower Torrens Valley (the Lockleys area) continued to use traditional methods of cultivation into the 1950s. He cites the use of hand equipment and horse-drawn ploughs while Anglo Australian neighbours were using tractors and other mechanical equipment.

wave were a few women who were married or came as prospective brides. Some market gardeners, like the Berno brothers, sponsored young men from their home village, taking responsibility for the migrants' work and accommodation and employing them in the market garden work, replicating the model of chain migration.[390] In other cases, young men arrived and within a short time, found work in local factories. Some also worked part-time in the Lockleys market gardens, sometimes for wages and/or for payment in kind with vegetables. Diana recalls arrangements that the Santin families made with the newly arrived migrants from the Veneto in the late 1950s and early 1960s:

> A lot of the men that used to work at Holden's that used to come on a Tuesday night, weekends, they'd used to come and help and then they'd bring produce home, you know what I mean. Sort of something for them. I know every year Dad used to buy them a bottle, they used to buy them a bottle of whisky or something, at Christmas time, to say thank you. But I don't think there was money exchanged.
>
> (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin OH 872/27, 13 September 2014, 9).

Figure 62: Young Veneto men who provided labour for the Santin families, Frogmore Road, 1962.

Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

[390] This arrangement of providing accommodation and work also echoed aspects of the *mezzadria* model of the landlord and tenant.

The three couples in the Santin family engaged young men in the market gardens from their home village extending bonds with kin and *paesani* from the *paese* or village, Riese Pio X. See Figure 61. The elderly Santin parents who were pioneers, had kept in contact with kin in the *paese*, and provided the new arrivals with intergenerational structures that linked back to shared origins. The Veneto market gardeners met increased needs for labour through connections with the newly arrived *paesani*. At the same time, settler families provided the experience of the transplanted Veneto hearth for the young men (and women), a resource which had not been available to them on arrival in the late 1920s. Unlike the male pioneers who endured the first years of itinerant labour, the new arrivals had access to *paesani* and a community. They experienced a simpler transition to *sistemazione* and were drawn into the existing Veneto community, a theme discussed in Chapter 6.

Members of the first generation often assisted with the provision of a car for marriages for the young *veneti* as is illustrated in Figure 63. Pietro Berno is shown assisting the groom, Romeo Favaro, at his wedding. Romeo had arrived in the early 1950s, sponsored by his *paesani*, the Berno brothers. Romeo married Ermenegilda Simeoni who was from the same village as Romeo and the Berno brothers.

Figure 63: Pietro Berno assists groom, Romeo Favaro, on his wedding day, 1953.

Photo supplied by Ermenegilda Simeoni.

Identity and external relations

The cluster of market gardeners from the Veneto region formed the basis of the neighbourhood which evolved as a *paese* at Lockleys.[391] The focus on the identity and structure of the pioneer Veneto community, family life and labour in the market garden area at Lockleys and its place within the wider Anglo Australian world is illustrated in Figure 64. At the heart of the concentric circles is the nuclear family with a second ring that represents the extended family which was significant for some Veneto market gardeners.[392] The two inner rings of the circle represent the close relationships of family who interact with people in the broader market gardener community, the third circle. The Veneto community of market gardeners is comprised of the informal network of families which provided benefits of support, care, godparent relationships and shared occupation.

At Lockleys, these first three circles recreate the *paese* of the Veneto region which enabled the market gardens to find "a strong cohesive force and a great source of comfort as together they faced an alien world."[393] There was no imperative to meet needs outside the community at Lockleys or the wider Veneto community that had included a grocer and butcher in the city from the 1930s. The cohesion reduced the need for the Veneto market gardeners to interact more widely or to attempt assimilation and was a factor in strengthening the community in the war years, a theme which is examined in Chapter 5.[394]

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[391] Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 159-171 identifies the village-of-origin-based cluster as the basis of the neighbourhood for the Italian migrant groups in New York City and Buenos Aires. At Lockleys the Veneto region cluster of market gardeners was the neighbourhood and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

[392] The Ballestrin family, as noted in Chapter 1, created a one-family micro chain after the arrival in 1927 of two brothers and their first cousin. By the beginning of the Second World War, the two Ballestrin pioneer brothers "called" family members and the extended Ballestrin family included their mother, four brothers and their wives, and youngest sister. After the war, the Ballestrin cousin who had arrived in 1927 sponsored his middle-aged single sister who contributed her labour. The two pioneer Berno brothers sponsored another brother. The Marchioro extended family was also significant in the partnership for land purchase.

[393] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 7.

[394] Scholars who discuss the challenges for assimilation in Australia include Charles Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 200-274; Charles A. Price, "Southern Europeans in Australia: Problems of Assimilation," *The International Migration Review*, 2, no. 3 (Summer, 1968), Borrie*, Italians and Germans in*

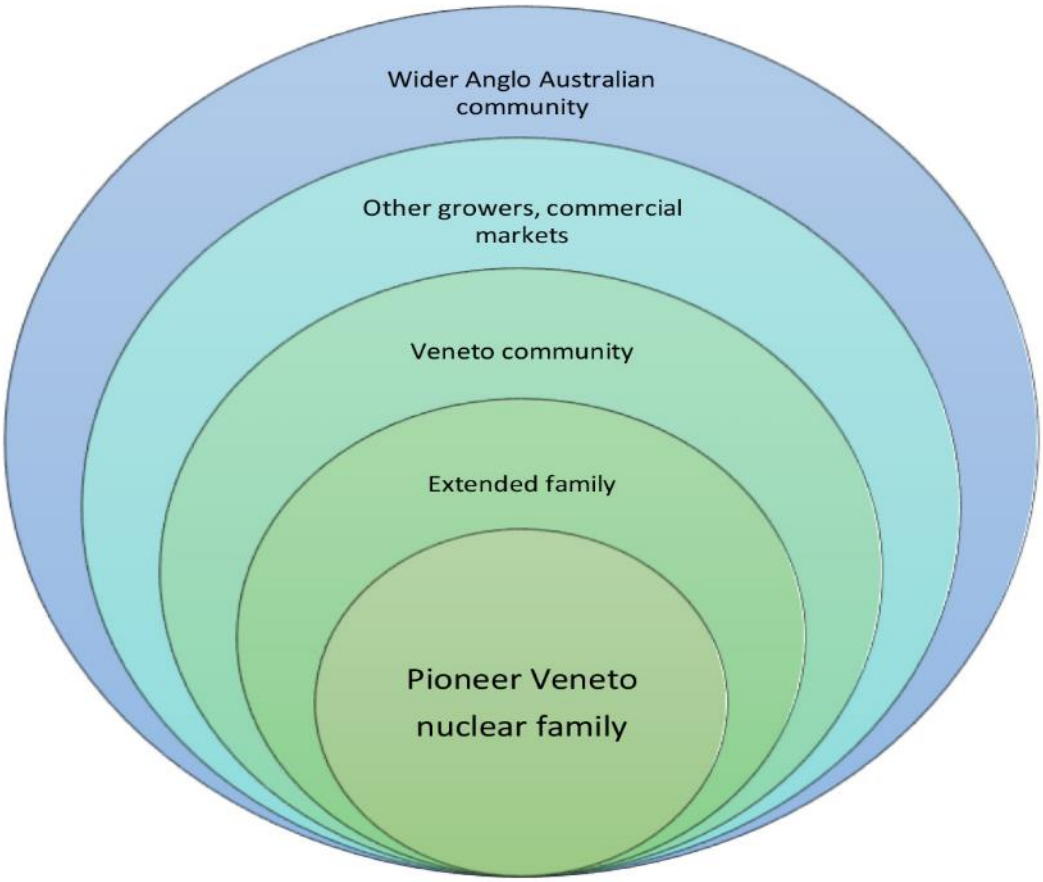

Figure 64: The circle of interaction for the pioneer Veneto market gardener families up to 1950s.

Outside the community circle is a gendered space where Veneto men interacted with other vegetable growers including Italians and Anglo Australians who owned market gardens and the commercial market where vegetables were sold is also in this sphere.[395] The final circle represents the wider Anglo Australian community and the social and political world which were external influences on the lives of the *veneti.* Herbert Gans, refers to external influences in the Boston

Australia, 62-64, 217-231; Joy Damousi, "'We are Human Beings, and have a Past': The 'Adjustment' of Migrants and the Australian Assimilationist Policies of the 1950s," *Australian Journal of Politics and History,* 59, no. 4 *(*2013): 501-516.

[395] The one exception to men entering the space with other growers and the market was Margherita Marchioro. She worked her own market gardens and in partnership with her brother-in-law after her husband died in 1945.

Italian community in the late 1950s as "the outside world," comprised of institutions, organisations and services external to the daily needs of the *paese*.[396]

The Veneto market gardener group did not see the need for integration with the Anglo Australian world. Two market gardeners drew their Anglo Australian wives into the community rather than the men being drawn outwards. In the diagram, the intensity of interactions reduces as the circles extend because most everyday needs were met within the inner circles of family and the Veneto community.[397] The identity of the community was sustained in a concentrated geographical area by the pioneers who shared and valued the work of market gardening.[398] The principal reason to venture away from the community was related to the commercial processes involving the market gardens.[399]

Structures created security

The identity of the Veneto family market gardeners gradually formed from the mid-1930s when they took up the leaseholds and remained intact and bounded until the 1960s. The pioneers established structures that enabled the 1.5 generation to share work on the market garden and they took opportunities to buy their properties and, where possible, to increase the size of land holdings. The 1.5 sons and daughters received limited education in South Australia and the future of sons was guaranteed on the market gardens, an occupation all seven men in that generation

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[396] Gans, *The Urban Villagers,* 120-121.

[397] The *veneti* did not develop a business environment and infrastructures at Lockleys like the 'little Italies' with ethnic business networks found in American cities. See for example, Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 160-164, di Leonardi, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 135 – 138; Donna R. Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street: Housing and Social Change Among Italian Immigrants, 1880-1930* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1984); Or see Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Italian Population of Carlton: A Demographic and Sociological Survey." (Ph.D., Australian National University, 1962) for examination of the Italian community or "the Carlton universe" in Melbourne.

[398] Mantello, *Now and Then,* 24, 26, also a feature in the Sicilian community at Werribee South from 1929 to 1949.

[399] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 105, confirms that for the *veneti* in Gippsland between the wars, the main reason for contact outside their own community was because of economic matters.

took up after marriage. They leased and bought property close to the location of their parents' property, and in some cases, parents gifted land to sons. The second generation was not constrained by the expectations of the pioneers to participate in the family enterprise and were more dependent on "the outside world" than the 1.5 generation, discussed further in Chapter 6. By the late 1950s the pioneers were well established in the market gardens and machinery had replaced horses and hand tools. Families expanded with marriages and births of grandchildren. The community absorbed the new arrivals sponsored by the pioneers who were the sons, and, in a few cases, daughters of relatives or *paesani* in the Veneto.

While the experience of the Veneto market gardeners follows the common migration trajectory from the challenge of departure to the uncertainty of the early years after arrival to the security of settlement, the community differed from many migrant groups in several important respects. As discussed in Chapter 1, the pioneers developed their *paese* and identified as *veneti* rather than as a group who had originated from the same village or family line. Nevertheless, they shared the occupation of market gardener and on neighbouring landholdings built a defined community that drew on the model of the *paese*. The male pioneers were thus able to move from the marginal position they held in the first years after arrival in Australia to achieve *sistemazione* and economic success shared with their wives and children which was evident in the *paese* at Lockleys.

Figure 65: Veneto women and children from market gardener families, Frogmore Road, c 1945.

Photo by Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro.

The market gardens at Lockleys became a site of community and financial independence that enabled the *veneti* to maintain some traditional family structures and rituals of the Veneto region which satisfied nostalgic attachment to the *contadino* way of life.[400] At the same time, the pioneer men and women grasped economic and commercial opportunities they could never have realised in Italy. Men, women and children cooperated in the family economic unit in new and unexpected ways. While they looked back to the Veneto for rules about loyalty of family and the tradition of cultivation of land, the imperative to develop and own commercial market gardens enabled the pioneers to modify customs.

Within families at Lockleys structures of labour and roles became less constrained and new alternatives emerged when sons could become business partners with fathers, in-laws could jointly purchase and work market gardens, and some daughters challenged gendered expectations about domestic work, parental authority and marriage. Within the community pioneer families created their new identity in Australia, developed a strong social network and created physical and social stability for the second generation. The Veneto group achieved *sistemazione* at both family and community levels between the wars. The group satisfied the need for comfort and security within a close community that reshaped the *paese* in the Lockleys area of Adelaide which is the focus of the next chapter.

[400] Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 28, argues that the difficulties experienced by Greek migrants in the United States of America in the early decades of the twentieth century created conditions that resulted in them having “an upswell of nostalgia for the old country.”

Chapter four: Life within the community

Madeleine Regan: We're coming to the end of the interview, Assunta. But what would you like people to know about, today, about this particular area?
Assunta Giovannini: Well, in this particular area like that you said, Madeleine, in those days there were just these migrants that arrived, tried to make a living, tried to make something for themselves, they worked hard and they all kept in touch with one another and everyone seemed to have got on with everyone else. There was no arguments, there were no quarrels it was just that all the families helped one another and you were all classed as friends, you know, if something happened to someone the other one would know and it all seems to be in that square, there. And they all kept close contact, you know and it's good to remember that these people you know they all looked out for one another.

(Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 9 October, 2014
JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/6, 37).

Click here to listen

Figure 66: Assunta Tonellato and her uncle, Secondo Tonellato, Frogmore Road, c 1953.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

Assunta's memories of the early community of the market gardeners at Lockleys offer an image of a group whose interactions recreated the experience of the *paese,* or village from the Veneto region in an outer suburb of Adelaide in the interwar years.[401] In response to the question about the area Assunta immediately directs her focus to the history of the community. Like other narrators, she remembers growing up within family structures, everyday working lives, and a social network that maintained the internal life of the market gardener community at Lockleys. Assunta communicates the shared experience of living among families on farms where members enjoyed trust, security and solidarity in everyday life and inter-dependence in times of need.

A second-generation woman interviewed at seventy-seven years, Assunta remembers an idealised community and communicates a nostalgia for a past that is different from her present life.[402] Assunta also conveys the loss of the pioneer generation, her connections to the community and a hint that her own experience and identity may be lost. Assunta provides an inter-generational insight into the settlement of a migrant community and records both her account of the life of the pioneer market gardeners from her position as an older woman looking back on her experience of a stable migrant community embedded at Lockleys. Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone also address the issue of memory, oral history and generational transmission and argue that memory is a site of conflict between the past and the present, the individual and the social.[403]

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[401] Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers,* 36-39, uses the term "urban village" in his study of a population of households of first- and second-generation Italian American families who lived in the West End of Boston in the late 1950s. He argued that families recreated social structures that reflected village life in a "Little Italy" environment. He identifies the "community" or the "peer group" as other Italians and not people of other ethnic backgrounds who lived in the area and refers to the "outside world" which included people outside the community with whom there were limited interactions. The Veneto market gardeners are an example of this kind of urban village community although there are differences in terms of the composition of families and shared life in a peri-urban context in the single occupation as market gardeners.

[402] Penny Summerfield, "Oral History as an Autobiographical Practice," *Miranda* [Online],12, (2016): 12. Summerfield argues that through the oral history interview a narrator articulates her subjective position in the process of remembering and gives meaning to the past. Assunta remembers the comfort and safety of the community created by her parents which has increased in significance for her as an older woman.

[403] Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds. *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 1-21.

Earlier in the interview Assunta referred to the intimacy of relationships within the *paese*: “But the early years all the old people kept close together,” (36). Assunta’s reference to the “old people” reflects esteem and affection for the pioneers and their role in developing the community at Lockleys.

In this chapter I argue that the pioneers who settled between the wars on market garden land established a communal, interdependent approach to everyday life, a legacy of their experience in the Veneto region. I draw on Bromley’s anthropological study of the Molfettese community in Port Pirie South Australia to explain the development of the Veneto pioneers’ *paese* at Lockleys. Bromley identified that the family was the core of the Molfettese fisher community at Port Pirie because it served a range of functions that created social and financial stability.[404] The pioneers at Lockleys were involved in transcultural processes of shaping family and community life on the market gardens attached to what they had known as *contadini* from the Veneto region and applying that knowledge to their new circumstances.[405] I contend that the market gardeners satisfied an imperative to maintain their identity as a Veneto community, simultaneously reconfiguring the *paese* they had known and modifying the structures they encountered. One of the modifications that families made at Lockleys was the focus on children’s recreation, a subject examined later in this chapter.

In previous chapters I have argued that the community at Lockleys was established by the pioneers and reflected the customs and culture of the *contadini* in the Veneto region. This chapter investigates the Veneto market gardeners’ everyday life and presence at Lockleys between the wars and the social arrangements that provided the foundations for a contained community that supported families and extended network from the 1930s to the 1970s.

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[404] See Bromley, “The Italians of Port Pirie,” 116-118, and reference to solidarity which was characterised in a family by co-operation and contribution to the domestic economy and a shared commitment to security and wellbeing of all members.

[405] For more details about the transcultural strategies Italian migrants in Australia have taken in the processes of migration and settlement to achieve “orientation and emplacement”, see Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 131-133.

Community and assimilation

The examination of the settlement and life within the Veneto community of market gardeners is set against the social *milieu* of Australia and its assimilationist government policies and public opinion in the interwar years. Cronin who wrote about Sicilians in Australia and the United States of America argues that the Australian Government did not have strategies to manage the presence of southern European migrants in urban and rural areas. Without official structures that supported their settlement, migrants moved into their own ethnic communities.[406] While Cronin asserts that migrant groups "were pushed" into their own settlements, I argue that rather than being pushed, the *veneti* were drawn to the availability of land at Lockleys where they knew they could organise their lives, transforming their experience in the Veneto region. Although the land was a vital catalyst for settlement, the aggregation of *veneti* enabled pioneers to live near *paesani* with whom they could interact daily and with whom they could achieve *sistemazione,* as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

At Lockleys the range of internal interactions that brought meaning to their everyday lives included sharing language, relationships with kin and proxy family members, social activities and cultural customs and practices, all of which separated them from the Anglo Australian community. The Veneto market gardeners did not adapt their interactions to achieve assimilation, unlike the model of interactions in the Italian tobacco farmers in rural Victoria, which over time contributed to increasing contact with Anglo Australians as examined by Phillips and cited by Burnley.[407] The

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[406] Constance E. Cronin, *The Sting of Change: Sicilians in Sicily and Australia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 131-132.

[407] Ian Harry Burnley, *Social Environment: A Population and Social Geography of Australia*, (Sydney, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), 87-88, cites research by Daphne Phillips, "Italians and Australians in the Ovens Valley Area: A Sociological Study of Interaction between Migrants and the Host Population in a Rural Area of Victoria" (Ph. D., Australian National University, 1970). Phillips examines interactions between Italians and Anglo Australians which created the possibility of assimilation of Italians in the Ovens Valley, a tobacco growing area of Victoria. Burnley uses this example to argue that it was possible for Italians to mix with "Australians" in a shared occupation such as tobacco-growing. However, he acknowledges that Italians who owned farms usually employed other Italians which lessened interactions with Anglo Australians. Intermarriage between Italians and Anglo Australians in the Ovens Valley was rare.

Veneto pioneers restricted their interactions to the "necessary" contact with the market, as discussed in Chapter 3. In the other area defined as "necessary", religious practice, the majority of the *veneti* attended church regularly but unlike their experience in the *paese* in the Veneto region, it was more a voluntary act than a necessity to profess their faith under the control of the priest.

In the village, as Huber observes, the priest was "the most powerful man in the commune (sic)," and determined the amount of the annual crop to donate to the parish and advised about voting and marriage.[408] The *veneti* at Lockleys did not have to answer to the local priest because they were much more anonymous and as discussed later in the chapter, were not fully accepted as a cultural group in the Catholic Church in Adelaide until after the Second World War.[409] However, the full community attended religious rites of passage such as baptisms, first holy communions, confirmations and weddings as witnesses and also because they were important social and celebratory occasions that marked the close connections between families.

While the Australian Government's White Australia policy promoted assimilation and public opinion and identified and denounced 'racial' differences of Italians and other non-British migrants, the *veneti* concentrated on their livelihood and community at Lockleys. [410] I agree with Bromleys' claim that the group of Molfettese fishers in Port Pirie slowed down the possibility for assimilation because the families and the community were self-contained during the interwar years.[411]

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[408] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 26.

[409] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 131.

[410] Government and popular concern about settlements like the Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys had circulated in the wider Australian community since 1925 when the report on aliens in Queensland fed fears of Italian migrants and their presence generally in Australia. Thomas Arthur Ferry, *Report of the Royal Commission appointed to Inquire into and Report on the Social and Economic Effect of Increase in Number of Aliens in North Queensland*, 1925, 25. In his report Commissioner Ferry advised Commonwealth and State Governments against "the formation of alien groups … all anti-British in sympathy and outlook." The context of the war produced a deep division between the Anglo Australian and Italian communities that is discussed in Chapter 5.

[411] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 197-198. Bromley asserts that the Molfettese looked to Italy more than Australia although the community had been established since the beginning of the twentieth century.

However, in contrast to Bromley's argument that the Molfettese were more oriented towards Italy, the pioneers at Lockleys concentrated on the goal of *sistemazione* which turned them inwards as they settled their families and created community. Certainly, they withdrew from prospects of assimilation but not the vision of settling permanently in Australia.

In the absence of assistance from governments, individual Veneto families, like many other southern European migrant groups at the time, found support within their community and consequently, the incentive to assimilate was limited at least until children born in Australia went to school. Bromley argues that the nuclear family was paramount in Italian communities because they did not trust that Anglo Australian institutions would care for them as well as the family in the processes of settlement.[412] Italian migrants did not feel connected to Anglo Australia and the experience of isolation is discussed in a study of migrants who remigrated to Italy in the 1960s. Thompson asserts that the "lack of acceptance" by Anglo Australians was a major factor for Italians who left Australia. Thompson argues that discriminatory practices had their origins in the 1920s when the fear of increasing numbers created the environment for Anglo Australians to deny opportunities for Italians which mitigated against the possibility of assimilation.[413] At Lockleys, there were few reasons for hosting people other than *veneti* in family households.[414]

Although the *veneti* were self-contained in their *paese*, they did not create their own commercial centre or cultural organisation at Lockleys, perhaps an outcome of the relatively small sized population between the wars. The *veneti* located commercial/market activities and those goods and services essential to any household and health providers outside the Lockleys area. The

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[412]. Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 198-200. Bromley argues that the solidarity of the family and the various functions it fulfilled drew the Molfettese families inwards to their community at Port Pirie and away from Anglo Australia goal of assimilating migrants.

[413] Thompson, *Australia Through Italian Eyes,* 160-186*,* 229-230. Thompson interviewed people in one hundred and thirty-eight households who returned to live in Italy between 1960 and 1970. Her research included mostly post World War II migrants although some had migrated to Australia between the wars.

[414] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 109, also notes the lack of interaction with Anglo Australians within the domestic sphere of the Molfettese families.

veneti patronised Italian shops in the city and it was many years before they joined cultural organisations or clubs which were established decades after the arrival of the *veneti.* [415] The pioneers demonstrated their allegiance to Lockleys as a *paese* where they developed their primary relationships and made the connections "between place and belonging."[416] Like narrator Assunta Giovannini, the narrators obtain their bearings from the past, from the family market gardens and represent their identity as market gardener families within the pioneer community.

Land creates community

The attachment to land created the identity of the pioneers as market gardeners; it gave them a livelihood and familiarity as *contadini* and connected them to their heritage as cultivators. The close settlement at Lockleys which gave opportunities for daily interactions contrasted with limited opportunities for communication experienced by some other groups of Italians in Australia who lived at a distance from each other in rural areas. For example, everyday communication was a particular challenge for women who lived with their husbands on properties in Gippsland and Shepparton in Victoria and Griffith and Lismore in New South Wales.[417]

Conditions of occupying the land enabled the pioneers to settle into a stable community at Lockleys for over forty years. In contrast, the six Sicilian market gardener families in Werribee South, Victoria were left landless and without livelihood when the lease of their land was

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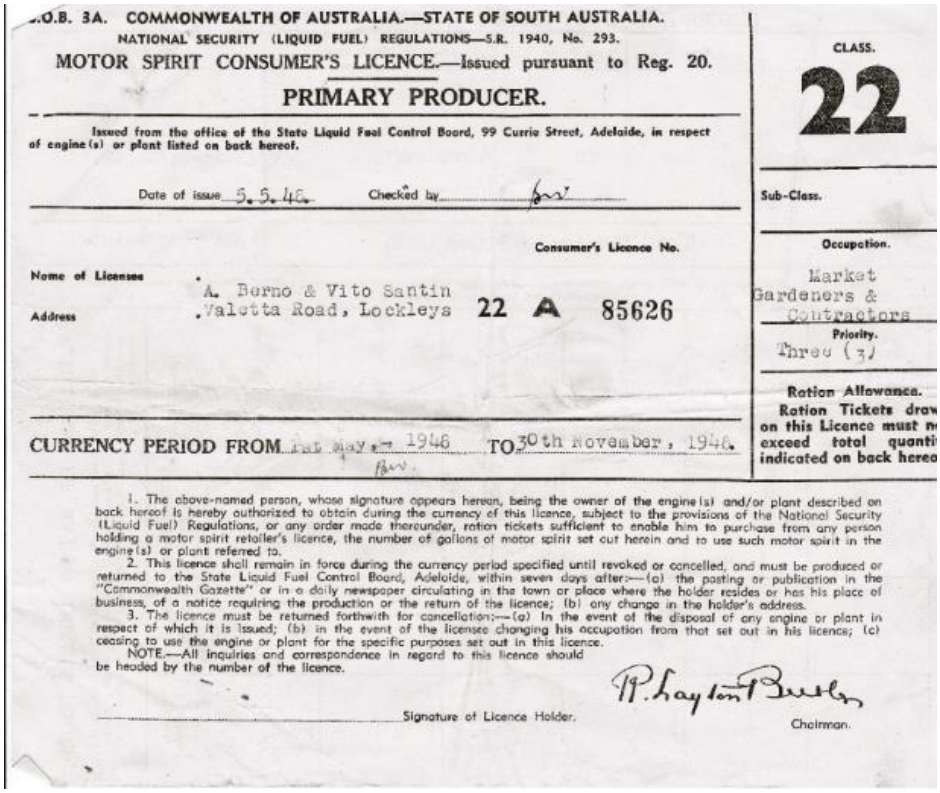
[415] See di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 154-156, who uses the terms, "co-ethnic interdependence" and "the economically interconnected ethnic community" to refer to the network of ethnic businesses that catered for Italian communities in Northern California and explain the relationships built through the development of Italian businesses and organisations.

[416] Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes eds., *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), xii. The authors discuss the connections between place and belonging.

[417] See Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 56-57, who refers to the "deprivation and loneliness" of the Veneto women in the interwar years including one who did not have contact with others in the Italian community for three years after her arrival in 1927; Margaret Pagone, "Italians in Shepparton between the Wars," *Oral History Association of Australia Journal* 7, (1986): 57, 58; Huber, *From Pasta* to Pavlova, 74, notes that wives felt isolated on farms in the Griffith area which were some distance apart; Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 53-75, includes examples that highlight the isolation of Italian women in the Lismore area in New South Wales in the 1930s. For example, one proxy bride did not see another woman for six months after arrival.

unexpectedly terminated in 1949.[418] Instead of replicating an extended family household or a chain migration cluster from a village, the *veneti* at Lockleys transposed familiar aspects of the *paese* including shared work and everyday contact along with formal social connections which supported the development of their new community.

The licence in Figure 67 shows that two pioneer families were joint licensees for the purchase of petrol for six months during the post-war rationing in 1946.



..O.B. 3A. COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.—STATE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
NATIONAL SECURITY (LIQUID FUEL) REGULATIONS—S.R. 1940, No. 293.
MOTOR SPIRIT CONSUMER'S LICENCE.—Issued pursuant to Reg. 20.
PRIMARY PRODUCER.

Issued from the office of the State Liquid Fuel Control Board, 99 Currie Street, Adelaide, in respect of engine(s) or plant listed on back hereof.

Date of issue 5.5.46. Checked by

Consumer's Licence No.

Name of Licensee A. Berno & Vito Santin
Address Valetta Road, Lockleys 22 A 85626

CLASS. 22
Sub-Class.
Occupation. Market Gardeners & Contractors
Priority. Three (3)
Ration Allowance. Ration Tickets drawn on this Licence must not exceed total quantity indicated on back hereof

CURRENCY PERIOD FROM 1st May, 1946 TO 30th November, 1946.

1. The above-named person, whose signature appears hereon, being the owner of the engine(s) and/or plant described on back hereof is hereby authorized to obtain during the currency of this licence, subject to the provisions of the National Security (Liquid Fuel) Regulations, or any order made thereunder, ration tickets sufficient to enable him to purchase from any person holding a motor spirit retailer's licence, the number of gallons of motor spirit set out herein and to use such motor spirit in the engine(s) or plant referred to.
2. This licence shall remain in force during the currency period specified until revoked or cancelled, and must be produced or returned to the State Liquid Fuel Control Board, Adelaide, within seven days after:—(a) the posting or publication in the "Commonwealth Gazette" or in a daily newspaper circulating in the town or place where the holder resides or has his place of business, of a notice requiring the production or the return of the licence; (b) any change in the holder's address.
3. The licence must be returned forthwith for cancellation:—(a) In the event of the disposal of any engine or plant in respect of which it is issued; (b) in the event of the licensee changing his occupation from that set out in his licence; (c) ceasing to use the engine or plant for the specific purposes set out in this licence.
NOTE.—All inquiries and correspondence in regard to this licence should be headed by the number of the licence.

Signature of Licence Holder.
Chairman.

Figure 67: Licence for petrol use shared between Albert Berno and Vito Santin, 1948.

The Santin family sub-leased land on Valetta Road from the Berno brothers at that time.

Supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

[418] *Mantello, Now and Then,* 21, 22, 25, refers to the "eviction" of the Sicilian community in 1949 by the Catholic Church, the landlord, which caused great hardship because the community was forced to disperse and find other land to lease or buy to continue their livelihoods as market gardeners.

The comfort of the close community

The role of godparents was the most significant of the internal formal bonds within the pioneer community.[419] In the Catholic tradition parents select significant people to take on the role of godparent of their children at baptism and confirmation. In Italian communities, godparents are usually called *comare/i*.[420] In the Veneto community at Lockleys, godparents were known as *santole/i*.[421] Godparents reinforced close and enduring connections of care between pioneer families.[422]

Figure 68: Baptism photo of Louis Ballestrin, Hartley Road, 1952.

L-R: Gino Berno – godfather; parents: Cesira holding Louis, Giuseppe Ballestrin in front of boxes for packing celery.

Photo supplied by the Ballestrin family.

[419] This was apart from the kinship connections between members of three extended families in the community; the Ballestrin, Marchioro and Rossetto families.

[420] In personal communication a narrator explained that her connection with a family in the community was special because she and her husband had been confirmation sponsors for the son. (Conversation with Armida Mattiazzo, 18 July 2020).

[421] *Santole* is feminine plural for godmothers and *santoli* is masculine plural. These terms are Veneto dialect.

[422] Donna Leon, *Unto Us a Son is Given* (London: Arrow Books, 2019), 168. In a contemporary novel set in the Veneto region the author uses an expression about close friends “with the rights of family members” which explains non-blood relationships relevant to the Veneto family. Such relationships include godparents.

While in Italy, aunts and uncles were often godparents, at Lockleys the pioneers selected them from within the market gardener group or sometimes, the wider Adelaide Veneto community. Whereas Huber concludes that the godparent role in the Veneto region was not significant, I argue that at Lockleys, the selection of godparents was significant for the Veneto market gardener families because in the absence of family, they became proxy family members.[423] To illustrate their importance in one family, four of six sisters interviewed for this study named four separate pioneer couples in the pioneer community as their godparents.

The Marchioro parents took an unusual step to select as godparents for their first-born son, an Anglo Australian woman and her Veneto husband, Irene and Attilio Destro. Although not market gardeners, Attilio had emigrated from the same village as Vittorio and had married Rene in the first years after his arrival in 1927. The Destro family lived on the neighbouring property, and as Johnny Marchioro indicates, it was an honour for a person to be invited to have a formal connection to the child and family: "When I was baptised, she held me for the christening" (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 28). The image of the child being "held" suggests an intimacy and exclusivity in a role chosen by the parents. The Marchioro family demonstrated an openness in giving the respected status of *santola* to an Anglo Australian woman who through that role, became a *paesana*.[424]

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[423] Although Huber *From Pasta to Pavlova,* 25, states that godparents were not as significant for families in the Veneto region as they were for southern Italians, she notes that among the *veneti* in Griffith (87), they used the terms *comare* and *compare* which suggests that the relationship was valued in a similar way by the Veneto market gardeners.

[424] Edith Irene Destro nee McCauley was born in 1907 in Broken Hill and married Attilio Destro who had arrived in 1927. In 1942 Irene, who was assigned Italian nationality by her marriage to Attilio, applied for and was naturalised a British subject. See *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, No. 94, 26th March 1942, 749. Irene Destro died in 1976.

Figure 69: Group of Veneta women and child, Frogmore Road, c 1946.

Irene Destro is fourth from the left.

Photo by Lino Rismondo nee Marchioro.

Irene Destro is remembered by some narrators as the person who introduced the Anglo Australian cultural practice of making cakes for children's birthdays. Romano Marchioro recalls that his family had been influenced by Irene's custom of celebrating birthdays: "We were lucky we were one of the first people that used to have birthday cakes because of our Australian influence," (Romano Marchioro, OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 4). Irene also took a role as a concerned neighbour to the Marchioro family during the war, as discussed in Chapter 5. Irene Destro had been ascribed a significant role through assisting Veneto women with interpreting and because she and her husband allowed pioneers to use their telephone which seemed to be the only one in the community.[425] Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato explains:

[425] References to Irene's impact in the pioneer community were communicated in anecdotes outside interviews. For example, in follow up discussions Johnny and Romano Marchioro spoke about the Destro family phone as a resource in the community. Irene also advocated on behalf of their mother Angelina during the war, writing letters to the authority when Angelina was seriously ill, and her husband had been conscripted to the Allied Works Council and prohibited from returning home to assist her. See Chapter 5.

> Rene Destro. She married an Italian, Destro … she was the only one in that area to have a phone. Now, if anyone had to make a phone call, they all had to go to her and she was, seemed to an interpreter for everybody.
>
> (Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872 6, 15 July 2010, 9).

Johnny's *santolo* was Pietro Berno, a single man at the time of Johnny's birth in 1940. In a congruence that characterised *paesani* links, Johnny's parents were asked to be *santoli* when Pietro and Antonietta Berno's second son, Remo, was born in 1953. Johnny maintained contact with his *santolo* even after the Berno families returned to live in Italy in 1969. The following photo, Figure 69, of Johnny and Pietro was taken when Johnny and his family visited Italy in 1975.

Figure 70: Johnny Marchioro and his santolo, Pietro Berno, Riese Pio X, 1975.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

The birth of children and selection of their godparents reinforced ties within the community that were maintained beyond childhood.[426] The meaning of the godparent relationship, and use of two terms of familiarity within the community is conveyed in the following declaration by Dino Piovesan:

[426] A narrator, Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, interviewed in 2013, recalled that she maintained contact with her godmother from 1969 when she returned to live in the Veneto until her death in 2013, (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 18 October 2013, 22).

> As far as the Italian community is concerned, that is a very important relationship, because if you ask someone to be a *compare* for you, a sponsor for your child, that person, that family has special significance after that, and they remain friends forever, shall we say. There was not so much of a bond but a special relationship between those who were *compare* and *comare* … Gino Berno … was my *santolo*, the word *santolo* meant more than the name itself. He was the person to be respected, the *santolo*.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 11).

The godparent relationship was prominent within the network of relationships that supported pioneer families although the role was part of the "religious institution of symbolic kinship."[427] Of the narrators born in Australia, only a handful could not recall their *santoli,* a measure of the significance of the godparent relationship.

Bonds within the community

The bonds within the community were strengthened through a range of daily and seasonal interactions. For the Lockleys *veneti,* the most important were the relationships, customs and conduct in the community that stemmed from a collective history, shared language, culture, religious background, colocation and common occupation, elements also noted by Bromley in his study of the Molfettese fisher community in Port Pirie.[428]

Shared language

The market gardeners shared Veneto dialect although there were variations because of the seven different places of origin of the pioneers. Because of their limited education their command of standard Italian language was limited and they communicated through adapting different Veneto dialects. The need to learn English in Adelaide was minimal and women were less likely to learn

[427] di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 119.

[428] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 207, argues that the homogeneity of the Molfettese fisher community in Port Pirie was created by the single occupation, shared language and customs, participation in community social life, and the constant interactions of members in the close settlement.

English since they did not participate in the commercial world outside the community. Dino Piovesan, son of pioneers, recalls his mother's view of the need to speak English: "Mum always used to say jokingly: 'You don't need to speak English to spend money. All you need is money,'" (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 12).

Even if the market gardeners had been motivated to learn English in the first years after their arrival, the Australian Government did not provide official language programs for adult migrants until 1947, a policy response to mass migration of European migrants after the Second World War.[429] Pioneers in the Veneto community did not speak fluent English and like children in many migrant families, some narrators became translators and interpreters in formal transactions that required complex discourses such as in hospitals, government or legal organisations. As a primary school child, Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro recalled that she was translator and interpreter for her uncle about taxation obligations and was uncertain about the financial details relating to his income. However, she was asked by the taxation officer to vouch for her uncle's honesty. She begins by confirming that she interpreted for her uncle, Vittorio Marchioro:

> … and from my Uncle at the Taxation Office when he had to do his income tax, and I didn't know what he was talking about [laughs]. I remember once the tax, the one that was talking to us said to me: 'You're not telling lies, are you? I said: 'No'. I don't think they believed me when I said, you know, 'Uncle wasn't making much money.' And I had to tell them there wasn't much money. And: 'You're not telling me lies, are you?' I said: 'No.' [laughs].
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 13).

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[429]. For discussion of the provision of English language programs see Jean I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977* (Hornsby, New South Wales: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), 83-84. For an overview of language programs provided by the Australian Government from post-war to 1990, see Martin Shirley. "Provision for Longer Term Residents in the Adult Migrant Education Program: An Historical Overview from 1947 to 1990" (M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1991); and for a history of English language programs in Australia, see Rhonda Oliver, Judith Rochecouste, and Nguyen, Bich. "ESL in Australia - a chequered history." *TESOL in Context*, 26, no. 1 (2017): 7-26. This research situates early years of provision within an Anglo mono-cultural context which supported assimilation.

Lina was compelled to defend her uncle although as a primary aged school girl, she was unsure of the financial discourse; a cause for her laughter at eight-three years of age in interview. The situation had deeper meaning for both Lina and her uncle because within the patriarchal structures of the Veneto family, a male uncle would never have yielded his power to a young female relative in any circumstances. The dynamics differed from the regulation of relationships within the family because the Australian Government did not make allowances for migrants who could not speak fluent English. The experience of migrants in the context of official institutions was a relationship of inequality which reflected their status of 'aliens' required to comply with an assimilationist culture marked by the requirement to speak English.[430]

Adapting relationships

Other relationships were adapted in response to new circumstances in the *paese*. For example, when an adult male died, different people in the community assisted to accommodate losses in families. Without this community assistance the economic status of three families faced with the sudden deaths of pioneer male market gardeners in the 1940s would have been severely compromised. The extent of support and assistance provided to these families illustrates the maturity and cohesion of the community by the 1940s. The role of migrants in supporting each other through the development of community structures is discussed by several scholars. [431] In the Veneto region, immediate families would have enveloped the family and provided additional

[430] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 62, 100, refers to racist linguistic policies and practices which after the Second World War were barriers for non-English speaking migrants in Australia. In the interwar years, the racism was even more apparent in relation to language proficiency.

[431] See for example, Monica Boyd, "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Development and New Agendas," *The International Migration Review* 23, no. 3 (1989): 651-652, for discussion of the role of personal networks in the settlement of migrants. For perspectives in Australia see, Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 156- 178, who discusses the establishment of formal and informal networks that supported the settlement of Italians in Australia; Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 85-93, refers to the Lismore area and experience of the community of Italian families with the structure of the boarding houses as central places for social life; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 159-171, examines the development of communities in neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870-1914; Fortier, Migrant Belongings, 46-52, discusses the formation of the settler community of Italians from nineteenth century England.

support. When the early deaths disrupted individual families the web of connectivity strengthened within the Lockleys *paese* because of the shared need to provide care and support as proxy family. For example, Guido Rebuli recalls Pietro Berno, a neighbour, who was attentive to the needs of his mother and family after his father's death in 1947 when Guido was nine years old:

> Peter Berno, Piero (sic) Berno. He was the person in those years that if somebody needed some help or, you know what I mean? He wasn't a guardian over the rest of them, but he was very good with the people to help them when they needed help. And of course, by that time, Dad had gone so he knew, you know, and he used to pop through there: 'Nana, is everything alright?'
>
> (Guido Rebuli, OH 872/25, 24 April 2013, 13).

A new kind of leadership

Pietro Berno and his brother Alberto became informal leaders within the pioneer community. As discussed in Chapter 3, they were not disadvantaged in the *paese* because of their status as single men for more than twenty years.[432] At Lockleys, the Berno brothers were respected and had been invited to become *santoli;* this provides evidence of the community accepting differences in marital status and adapting the *contadino* model of kin and family.[433] Although narrators do not identify class divisions in the community, it appears that the Berno brothers achieved prominence because of their hard work and prosperity. This status was also recognised by Davine in her study of the Veneto community in Gippsland between the wars. While she found that there were no real class divisions, men who had achieved a substantial financial status and gave advice to others, created a proxy class structure through their leadership roles.[434] By the time the brothers had

[432] As noted previously, a single man was not fully accepted in *contadino* culture. To have remained single for more than twenty years set the Berno brothers outside the *contadino* conventions. However, financial success was status which might have displaced marriage status in the case of the Berno brothers.
[433] As discussed in Chapter 1, the community seemingly had accepted the circumstances of two Veneto men who married Anglo Australian women in the 1930s.
[434] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 52-53.

returned from Italy after their respective marriages (Pietro in 1948 and Alberto in 1951), they were unequivocally recognised as leaders.

From a poor *contadino* family, the Berno brothers had worked hard to become prosperous in Australia and acquired a form of patriarchal authority in the pioneer community.[435] The community at Lockleys recognised the leadership role of the Berno brothers, both the pioneer group and the newly arrived migrants or 'new Australians.'[436] The market gardeners used the term, "new Australians" to describe the post-war Veneto migrants to differentiate them from the community of pioneer families. A Veneto man who arrived in 1951 referred to the Berno brothers as "the bank for the Italians" because they lent money to new arrivals and assisted them with employment; "they opened more doors for us to work," (Angelo Innocente, OH 872/8, 5 January 2009, 21). In the Veneto region, the pioneers would have recognised the authority of a priest and *sindaco* (or mayor) of a *comune*. The status attributed to the Berno brothers appears to have combined the roles of the priest, *sindaco* and the *padrone* in the Veneto region.[437]

While the Berno brothers were considered leaders within the Veneto community, the judgement of the Australian government was less favourable. In 1944, they were not seen as being "fit subjects for Naturalization." The main argument the Government used against the Berno brothers related to their tax returns for the years 1937 to 1942 which attracted fines. The brothers were able to

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[435] Remo Berno speaks about the poverty that his father's family experienced after the First World War in the interview, Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 6-8. In contrast in Australia, the brothers became wealthy and respected. The case of the Berno brothers, who had been the subject of a Commonwealth Attorney General enquiry into the probity of land ownership, was examined in Chapter 2.

[436] The term, 'new Australians,' was also used by governments to identify post-war migrants who were expected to assimilate and adopt the Anglo Australian way of life. See Stephen Castles, "Italian Migration and Settlement since 1945," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society,* ed. Stephen Castles, Caroline Alcorso, Gaetano Rando, Ellie Vasta (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992) 38-39; Borrie, *Italians and Germans,* 228-229.

[437] The Berno brothers were featured in an article in the Australian Italian newspaper, "La Fiamma," in 1963 in a supplement dedicated to Italians in South Australia which indicates their role and influence in the wider Italian community. The article outlined the history of the Berno brothers in Adelaide and their success as market gardeners, property owners and community members.

negotiate the financial structures in Australia, avoided legal proceedings and paid the sum quickly which suggests that they had accrued finances. [438]

Figure 71: Pietro and Albert Tonellato, Valetta Road, c 1963.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

In the absence of guidance from Australian governments, the market gardeners respected leaders among their *paesani* and found economic and practical assistance within their own group. Apart from their economic success, the leadership of the Berno brothers was manifested in hosting regular social occasions in their packing sheds. In the 1950s, the Berno families sponsored numbers of young men and couples who migrated after the Second World War from their village, Riese Pio X when destruction and poverty in the Veneto region overwhelmed families.[439]

[438] National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944 – 31 Dec 1950; 1946/4/4527 Berno Alberto – born 16 February 1905 – Italian, 1939-1946.

[439] The Berno brothers were featured in an article in "La Fiamma" in 1963 when a supplement was dedicated to Italians in South Australia which indicates their role and influence in the wider Italian community. The article outlined their history in South Australia and their success as market gardeners, property owners and community members. Further details about sponsoring young men and some married couples in the early 1950s is discussed in Chapter 6.

Albert Tonellato, one of the 1.5 generation market gardeners, recalls the influence of the Berno brothers and the rigour of their work ethic. He remembers one brother challenged him when Albert and his wife planned to visit Italy for several months. In the Berno mindset, an extended absence meant forgoing income:

> Berno, he comes up to me, he goes: 'Albert,' he said: 'I heard you're going for a holiday.' And I said: 'Yeah, why?' He said: 'You're going to lose a crop.' 'When I die, I lose everything!' [laughter] We had five or six months in Italy on holiday.
>
> (Albert Tonellato OH 872 /3, 3 October 2008, 15).

Albert's ironic laughter indicates that he had a different attitude to balancing labour and recreation and did not defer to the Berno judgement unlike the situation that would have involved the *padrone, sindaco* or priest. Although the reputation of the Berno brothers equated with the kind of influence a village leader might have exercised in a Veneto village, they were also appreciated for their generosity in hosting social occasions in their large packing shed and supporting the social life in the *paese*. When the families remigrated in the 1960s, the Veneto community at Lockleys was saddened.

Recreation in the *paese*

Some social activities which had been customary in households in the Veneto region were adapted and valued in the market gardener community. In the Veneto region the only family social opportunity was the outing to attend Sunday Mass or religious festivals. Other leisure activities in the Veneto were limited although men visited the local *osteria,* tavern or inn, and played cards or *bocce*. Women's social activities were confined to the domestic sphere, receiving relatives in their houses or visiting them.[440] In the early 1930s at Lockleys, before most of the women and children had arrived, the pioneer men visited each other and the two married couples who comprised the

[440] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova, 27,* summarises social activities in the Veneto villages which, apart from attending religious rituals, were separate for men and women.

initial market gardener community shared social evenings of eating and singing. Market gardeners also combined sales at the wholesale market with social visits to other *veneti* who lived in the city.

As the community network at Lockleys grew, it became easier to visit other market gardeners because families lived within walking distance.[441] The custom of *filò (*or *fiò* in the Veneto dialect) or gathering at night in the warmth of the stable in the extended household in the Veneto took on new significance in Adelaide.[442] For the *veneti* in Lockleys, *fiò* became the practice of making frequent visits to other market gardener families in the area after dinner. Silvano Ballestrin explains the experience of *fiò* in his family:

> We would often go to *fiò* and visit all of our relatives and friends and they would visit us as well. Once or twice a week, usually after dinner, we would hear our parents talking to each other, saying something like: 'Andemmo a *fiò?*' ('Shall we go visiting?') 'Va ben, andove demo?' (All right. Where shall we go?') 'A ben, andemmo da Yiyo Toneato.' ('Oh well, let's go to Luigi Tonellato.') … the family would walk from our Valetta Road home to friend and relatives' places after dinner during the evening *fiò.* For example, from Valetta Road our family would walk two and a half kilometres to the Marchioro's at the end of White Avenue, stay for two-three hours and then walk back later that night. A five-kilometre all round walk.[443]

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[441] The close connections in the neighbourhood reflect the structures that some Italian families created in suburbs in Australia with adjoining houses and access through gates cut into side and back fences rather than from the street. See Frank Bongiorno," Island Stories: How One Family Negotiated Identities between Different Italies," *Griffith Review* 69: "The European Exchange." [online]

[442] See Baggio, *The Shoe in My Cheese*, 17, 19-20 for a description of the visits of the Veneto families at Little River near Geelong. He uses the term, *filò* to portray the evening gatherings of families and the rituals of food and drink that accompanied the practice. In contrast, Silvano Ballestrin uses the term, *fiò* which suggests a matter of pronunciation since the *veneti* do not always pronounce a consonant between vowels.

[443] Silvano Ballestrin, "Narciso Ballestrin and Maria Dotto family," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 12 July 2020, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/page/2

Figure 72: Ballestrin siblings, Findon Road, 1960.

Photo annotated and supplied by Silvano Ballestrin.

Some narrators recalled visiting families in the wider Veneto community in the city or other suburbs at weekends.[444] While some religious rituals such as baptisms or confirmations were more intimate occasions attended by the Lockleys *paesani*, weddings drew the wider Adelaide Veneto community together. In the following excerpt, Maria Rosa Tormena, answers a question about attending weddings in the Veneto community in Adelaide:

> They used to end up, I think, a hundred and fifty to two hundred people at their weddings … Certainly all of Lockleys, the Italians of Lockleys plus the ones that they got to know because … once they had to take their tomatoes to the market, the East End market and we lived in town, they used to call around and maybe they have a glass of wine or a coffee so you got to know them that way, you know. You visited one friend and they took you to the other one. Which doesn't happen now, does it?
>
> (Maria Rosa Tormena, OH 872/19, 25 May 2012, 13).

[444]See interviews with Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872/6, 15 July 2010, 5; Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 6; Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 3.

Maria Rosa emphasises the roles of members of the community who made links with others outside the Lockleys group and highlights the ease of making connections and the ritual of visiting friends of friends which she reflects nostalgically is no longer a common practice. Some *veneti* in the city, like Maria Rosa's family, were relatives of market gardeners and others came from the same villages in the Veneto region. Families adapted the custom of visiting, or *fiò*, to maintain regular contact with *paesani* at Lockleys or in wider Adelaide.

A tradition for the Veneto market gardeners developed after the war demonstrates changes in community leisure time. The annual New Year's Day trip to Saint Kilda beach thirty kilometres from Lockleys involved whole families sharing a day of crabbing, games and eating. Anna Santin recalls the event:

> One of the family used to get the truck, and we used to put a tarpaulin on, on top, and we all used to get behind with a keg of beer, and something to eat and that, and go around St Kilda, mostly it was.
>
> (Anna Santin OH 872/24, 17 April 2013, 27).

Anna emphasises in her interview that New Year's Day was an exception because all the families took the day off from the market gardens.

Figure 73: Group of Veneto families, Saint Kilda, early 1950s.

Photo supplied by Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo.

Packing sheds as halls

Large packing sheds were transformed from sites of labour into venues for community social events. Some large sheds took the place of the village *piazza,* the village square, a formal or informal meeting place. One narrator described the packing sheds used for community gatherings as “halls,” (Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella, OH 872/30, 23 April 2014, 6).

Figure 74: Berno shed, Valetta Road, Lockleys, c 1960s.

The shed was used from the late 1940s to the late 1960s. Unknown man next to the tractor.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

The Berno brothers and their wives often offered their packing shed for community social occasions although they were committed to working longer hours than most pioneer market gardeners and not known for participating in a range of leisure activities. The couples recognised the importance of bringing the *paese* together through hosting gatherings such as baptisms, weddings, first holy communion and confirmation parties for members of the community who took time away from their working lives to celebrate rites of passage. One second generation narrator describes the market gardeners as “like the family” and continues: “Everybody on their own, but when we had a party, everyone used to come there in the shed.” (Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 19 November 2015, 23).

Gendered social activities

When the pioneers were establishing their gardens prior to the Second World War, there was little time for leisure, apart from the evening *fiò* and Sunday afternoon *bocce* hosted by a Veneto man several kilometres away from Lockleys.[445] After the Second World War when freedom of movement resumed for Italians and the market gardeners were more financially secure, social activities increased, particularly for men. Men congregated at Isidoro Ballestrin's large packing shed on Sunday afternoons to enjoy the company of other *veneti,* and sons were often included before they had their own social lives. Adrian Tonellato recalls the regular shed gatherings:

> And [Isidoro] had the shed and he used to buy the beer and they used to sit in the shed and talk about old times, about Italy … Every Sunday. They used to go there, what? About 11:00 in the morning … and come home about 6:00 or 7:00 at night … in those days, they didn't own cars, or they had bikes or they walked.
>
> (Adrian Tonellato OH 872/35, 19 November 2015, 15).

Adrian's ninety-two-year old mother, Italia, was present at the interview, and when I asked where the women were on Sunday afternoons, Italia confirmed that they stayed home. Both mother and son laughed about the difference between social activities of women and men, inferring that women's role was indisputably in the domestic sphere, apart from the times they visited each other with their young children. This was clearly the situation at the party the day after the marriage of Anna Mattiazzo and Vito Santin in 1949.

The presence of just a few women, in comparison to the large group of men and boys, is conspicuous in the gathering depicted in Figure 75.

[445] See interview with Bruno Piovesan who states that his parents had a limited social life but he describes accompanying his father to *bocce* at Rosewater on Sundays including during the war years when there were restrictions on travel. Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5, 4 October 2008, 10.

Figure 75: The day after the wedding of Anna Mattiazzo and Vito Santin, Valetta Road, 1949.

The photo depicts pioneers, including Giovanni Santin in the front row, new arrivals and second-generation boys.

Photo supplied by the Marchioro family.

The Sunday afternoon *bocce* competitions expanded after the post-war wave of migration. The Sbrissa family from the Veneto, although not pioneers, created a *bocce* rink on their market garden and established a formal public competition, the results of which were reported in the Italian page in the Catholic weekly newspaper.[446] Later, another group of men played *bocce* behind the Santin packing shed on Sundays. See Figure 76.

[446] *Southern Cross*, "Grande Gara Bocciofila a Lockleys il 20 giugno, 1954", "L'Angolo Degli Italiani (No. 89)" 11 June 1954, page 10. When Mr Sbrissa died, his wife Clara continued the Sunday tournaments for some time and a few pioneer men took on management roles.

Figure 76: Group of Veneto men at the Santin bocce court, Frogmore Road, 1962.

Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

Children and recreation

In contrast to the rigid working days and patriarchal structure in the traditional Veneto household where children were not afforded planned leisure, the pioneers created occasions for children. Although children worked in the market gardens at Lockleys, their lives were more expansive, there was time for play, and they stayed with their families until adulthood. Several narrators remember trips to the beach on hot summer days during school holidays. Men dropped off their wives and children at the beach four kilometres away in the mornings and picked them up after finishing work on the market gardens and having a glass of beer at the beachside hotel.[447] Pioneer families took advantage of the Adelaide climate and proximity to the beach and organised outings for the enjoyment of children. Children were taken to the zoo and enjoyed picnics with other Veneto family groups.

[447] See interviews with Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 5 January 2009, 15; Lino Ballestrin, OH872/40, 22 November 2006, 18; Lina Campagnaro, OH 872/28, 13 March 2014, 13; Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 9-10.

Figure 77: Antonietta Berno, her daughter and cousins, Henley Beach, early 1960s.

Photo supplied by the family.

Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato recalls joining children in neighbouring families for play and leisure using the area around houses and the market gardens, including her house which was the *vagòn* or railway carriage:

> We used to go around our place, we used to make it like a dirt track and we would ride our bikes and that was our entertainment, riding our bikes around the house, [laughs] and nearly knocking the old ladies over and playing cricket there on the courtyard in the front, or tennis or whatever we were doing.
>
> (Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872/6, 15 July 2010).

Figure 78: Children from Ballestrin, Marchioro, Piovesan, Tonellato, families, Frogmore Road, c 1947.

The group is in front of the Tonellato vagòn.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

Guido Rebuli, whose father had died when he was nine years old, was a talented sportsman and represented South Australia in interstate championships in football and cricket. This was an exceptional occurrence in an Italian household to compete in elite sports at a young age and go away on extended interstate trips without family members. Guido's experience in national school boys' championships demonstrates the openness of the family to support his sporting ability:

> Actually, I got picked in the State School Boys --- Under 14, but you know, most of us were only 12 or so …Well, the football carnival was in Hobart. Went for cricket, went to Sydney, with the state, this is State Schoolboys … we went with the school, the teachers and all, you know, and the teachers come around home and said this is where we're going to go and my brothers were there, being the fathers for me. And [Mum] she was quite happy.[448]
>
> (Guido Rebuli, OH 872/25 24 April 2013, 15).

[448] Guido refers to his older brothers as "fathers." This reinforces the patriarchal model of the Veneto *contadino* family household. In the absence of his father who had died, the older brothers exerted authority.

Although their parents were focused on the market gardens and the work required to maintain the constant seasonal cycle of planting, cultivation and selling, some children born in Adelaide expanded their experience of life to an Anglo Australian competitive sport environment outside the Veneto and Italian community. Their parents, however, maintained a social life that strengthened the bonds and provided opportunities for preserving Veneto customs strictly within the community.

Maintaining customs

In their households at Lockleys, pioneer families preserved food customs which had been practised in the large intergenerational households in the Veneto region. Davine argues that the customs of the Veneto community living in the Gippsland area of Victoria between the wars maintained the sense of community identity although they may also have inhibited integration with the wider Anglo Australian society.[449] Like the community in Gippsland, the Veneto market gardeners preserved practices that contrasted with Anglo Australian food customs. For example, the *veneti* ate food grown and produced by the household and drank wine made from grapes sourced by the family.

Figure 79: Angelo Innocente, at 89 years, testing the alcohol level of his wine, Lockleys, March 2010.

Photo by Madeleine Regan.

[449] Grollo, *Cooper's Creek*, 141-142, describes the various cultural traditions related to food and wine undertaken by the Trevisano community between the wars and emphasises the role of women in providing food for the table, cheese-making and in tending vegetables and chickens.

The pioneer families enjoyed a "mensatic" culture based on sharing home-grown and produced food and wine at the family table, also a place of hospitality for guests who visited through the custom of *fiò*.[450] In the early years women used produce from the market gardens and their own vegetable plots and orchards, milked their cows to make cheese and butter, raised chickens and prepared food from the land. Johnny Marchioro remembers his mother's role:

> … all had a cow for the family to make their own butter and cheese. That's what the ladies used to do. [laughs] … Yes, I remember her [Mum] just making this butter … When we used to milk the cow was in like a four-gallon bucket and after a couple of days they'd put the leftover milk together and stir it up to make their butter and put it on the side.
>
> (Johnny Marchioro OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 24).

Later, other customs were introduced that signified more prosperity and access to resources; processing food often involved more than one household. [451] The costs of killing a pig and making salami, or buying grapes and making wine, were often shared between two or more families who participated in the annual customs.[452] The sense of celebration and shared meaning about food

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[450] Feliks Gross, *Il Paese: Values and Social Change in an Italian Village* (New York: New York University Press, 1973), 266, I build on the concept of a "mensatic" culture Gross uses to describe domestic life in a village in central Italy from the 1950s to 1971. The concept refers to the culture of making and sharing home-produced food and wine, enjoying lengthy meals and conversation with family and hosting *paesani* at table.

[451] See Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 111-114, for discussion of the role of food traditions in the Veneto family in Australia. See also Madeleine Regan, "Autumn and wine-making," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 21 March 2021, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/
See also Aida, Gino and Mary Innocente, "Making Salamis Part 1," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 2 May 2021, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/making-salamis-part-1/ and Making Salamis Part 2," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 16 May 2021
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/making-salamis-part-2/

[452] See interviews where food and wine customs are discussed: Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 September 2013, 17-19; Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 20 December 2015, 33-34.
For blogs about making salamis in a Veneto family, see: Aida, Gino and Mary Innocente, "Making salamis, Part 1," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 2 May 2021:
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/making-salamis-part-1/ See also Aida, Gino and Mary Innocente,

and wine customs is summarised by Jimmy Ballestrin who discusses the significance of maintaining Veneto traditions for his parents:

> In those days especially, they all liked to have their glass of wine, and wine wasn't that easy to come by here in Adelaide, the type of wine they were used to drinking, and also the type of foods that they were used to eating, weren't readily available. I think it was very important because … you know, there's always something of home … they liked to keep the lifestyle of their Italian lifestyle and, might I say, perhaps improved on the Italian lifestyle that they had because of their poverty over there …
>
> (Jimmy Ballestrin, OH 872/15, 6 June 2011, 5).

Jimmy registers the difference between initial efforts of the first generation to maintain customs from "home" and their adaptation once families had attained a more robust economic position in Australia. His view is repeated by several other narrators who acknowledge that the annual ritual of killing the pig and making the salami was a luxury that only became viable because of their prosperity in Australia. In personal communication, Jimmy reported that he and his brother and sister's families in Adelaide continue to make salami each year.

"Making Salamis, Part 2," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 16 May 2021: https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/making-salamis-part-2/

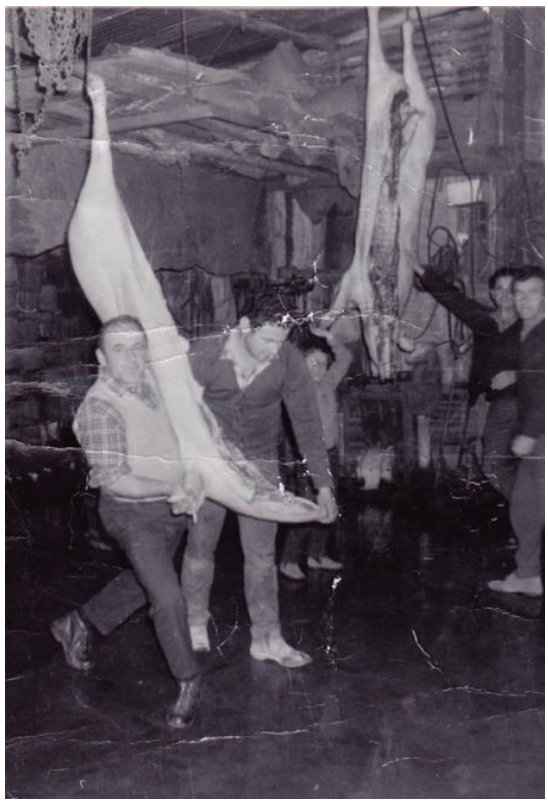

Figure 80: Veneto men preparing to make salami in the Santin packing shed, Frogmore Road, 1960s.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

Many of the second generation, and in some cases, third-generation *veneti*, have retained Veneto and/or Italian words and phrases to describe dishes like *polenta e baccal*à, *carciofi*, *risi e bisi,* and *crostoli.*[453] Families who continue annual rituals such as making tomato sauce and cooking traditional dishes at Easter and Christmas acknowledge that they connect back to the memories of their parents and the Veneto customs of their ancestors. For example, Christine Rebellato whose parents were 1.5 generation *veneti*, explains in a blog on the Veneto market gardeners' website, the significance of Easter customs for her family:

> Over the years Easter time has been a time for our family to be together to enjoy each other's company, a time to keep our traditions, a time to enjoy food with a focus on keeping our loved ones alive.[454]

[453] These dishes translate as polenta and stockfish, artichokes and rice and peas and a kind of pastry which is deep-fried and dusted with icing sugar.

[454] Christine Rebellato, "Polenta e Baccalà: More than a Meal," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, 21 March 2021, 5 April, 2020, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/page/4/

Figure 81: Peter Rebellato and his father-in-law, Oscar Mattiazzo, preparing baccalà, Easter, 2009.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

Transnational connections

The need to preserve traditions and connections to their birthplace motivated some pioneers to make return visits to the Veneto region in the 1960s. The early visits sometimes provided opportunities for their children to develop relationships with relatives they continued to maintain as adults. Figure 82 depicts a group of relatives and friends farewelling members of Ballestrin family making the first return visit to Italy.

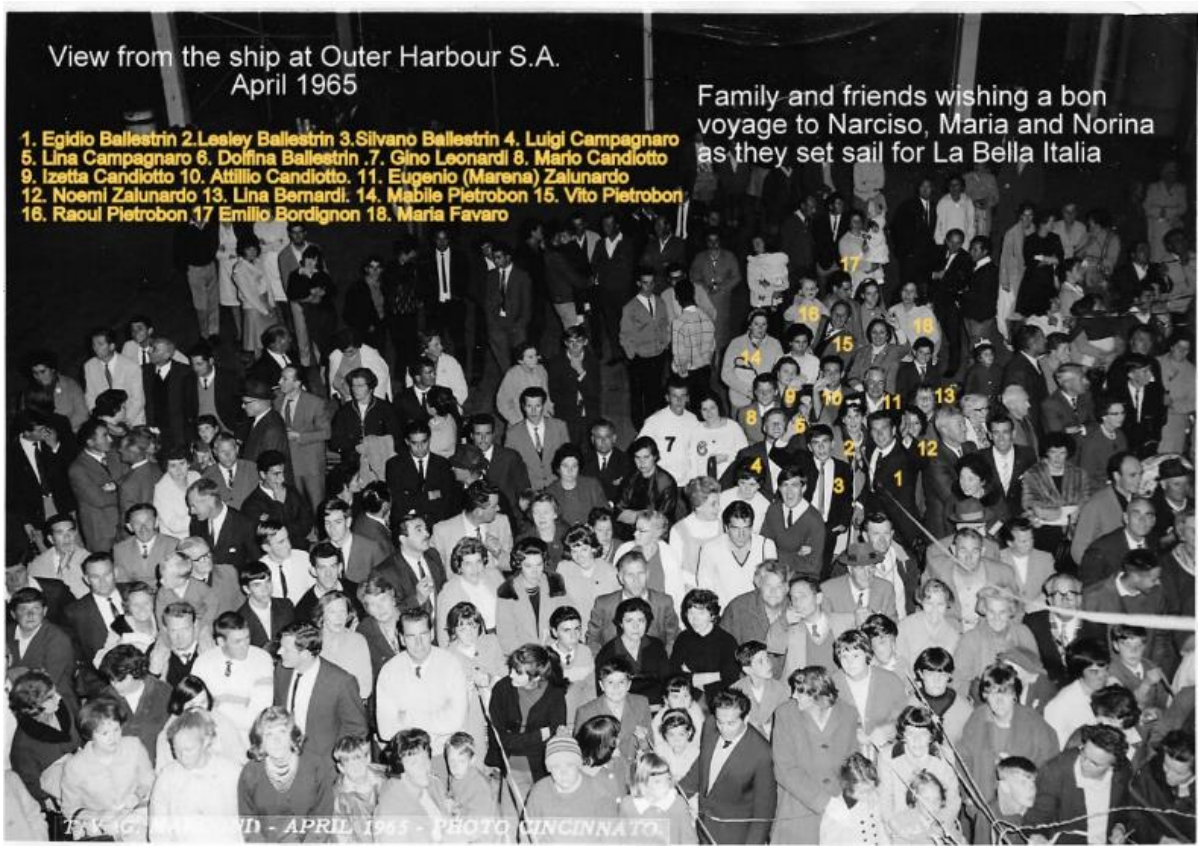

Figure 82: Farewell to members of the Ballestrin family taking the first trip to Italy, April 1965.

Photo annotated and supplied by Silvano Ballestrin.

This was the case for the Marchioro family whose parents made four visits to their respective *paesi*. Romano, born in 1942, speaks about his enduring connection with relatives in Italy made through his parents who also hosted their siblings in Adelaide:

> I think if I went back to Italy, I'd always be welcome back to where they come from even though they're all thinning out, I'm losing a lot of cousins, we've only got one auntie left. She must be getting close to a hundred, I'd say. Umberto's grandmother, --- she come here --- three times, I think she came. She come with my Mum's sister together one year.
>
> (Romano Marchioro OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 19).

Romano's reference, "back to Italy" expresses a familiarity and an affinity with his parents' birthplace even though he was born in Australia. He uses the first person, initially in singular, "I' and then moves to state "we" as he reflects on the loss of his relatives who are ageing in the

Veneto and conveys his strong sense of identity and belonging to a migrant family line. Romano also speaks of two aunts who made visits to Adelaide; an example of transnational links within families who had been separated in the 1920s.[455] Another narrator recalled that when an uncle came to attend her wedding in 1974, the Adelaide family paid for his ticket.[456] Visits by Italian relatives were celebrated in the market garden community and illustrated the strength of the ties between the two *paesi*: in the Veneto and the other, transplanted at Lockleys.

However, not all pioneers made the return journey to Veneto. Of the nineteen pioneers who arrived between 1926 and 1928, six did not go back to Italy. Three men died at an early age and three others, according to their children, were not interested in returning to their birthplace because their memories of poverty and subsistence in Italy were too troubling.[457] For example, Frankie Ballestrin recalls his father's attitude about his commitment to staying in Australia without visiting Italy:

> And, actually Dad never, ever wanted to go back to Italy, and he never did, because of probably the starvation they had there.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin OH/8727, 5 January 2009, 41).

A number of second-generation narrators stress that their parents identified Adelaide as their home where they had created stable, prosperous lives in comparison to their experience of hardship and *la miseria* in the Veneto region after the First World War.[458]

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[455] One aunt from Malo visited her brother and sister-in-law and extended family in Adelaide three times. (Personal communication with Johnny Marchioro, 9 April 2021.)

[456] Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 December 2013, 50.

[457] In Italian, this feeling was described as *la miseria*. Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 155-157, discusses the concept both as an experience of poverty and an outlook on life.

[458] See interviews with Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 5 January 2009, 40; Lina Rismondo, nee Marchioro OH 872/9, 5 May, 2011, 54.

The community and external interactions

While it was possible to contain many aspects of Veneto traditions within the *paese* at Lockleys, pioneer families had to negotiate interactions with institutions outside the community in order to manage services and needs. In the study of the Italians in the Ovens Valley cited earlier, Phillips identifies economic life, religion and education as "necessary" on the continuum of increasing interactions.[459] The Veneto market gardeners' interaction with economic life was addressed in Chapter 3. In the following section I examine the pioneer community and intersections with the education system and the Catholic Church. The transactions with these institutions were ambiguous for the *veneti* whose traditions were outside the Anglo/Irish cultural conventions.

Education as assimilation

Both the 1.5 and the second generations attended schools in a period from the mid-1930s to the 1960s when education reflected the monocultural values of Australian society. [460] Even in the 1950s, characterised by mass migration of non-English speaking migrants, and when most children of pioneer market gardeners attended school, schools did not provide dedicated programs to assist children who spoke only their first language.[461] The majority of second-generation narrators reported that they did not speak English when they started school and Veneto market gardener parents had minimal involvement in the education of their children because they did not have English language skills. In schools, teachers were not provided with resources to communicate with non-English speaking communities and little or no language assistance was provided to children from non-English-speaking families.

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[459] Daphne Eunice Phillips, "Italians and Australians in the Ovens Valley Area," 384.

[460] Martin, *The Migrant Presence,* 84-89 cites a 1951 report into child migrant education in Australia that identified schooling as a mechanism of assimilation. Family culture was disregarded, and parents of migrant children were viewed as "problems" because their first language was not English. Martin points out that dedicated education programs were not provided for child migrants until 1970.

[461] Generally, the 1.5 generation narrators do not provide many details about their school days in Australia but there would have been challenges with their lack of English and perhaps a connection with the fact that all of them left at compulsory age.

Figure 83: Johnny Marchioro's fifth birthday party, Frogmore Road, August 1945.

Note: seven of the ten children in the photo have been interviewed for this project.

Photo by Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro.

Jean Martin argues that post-war migration policy initiatives perceived the non-British migrant as a "problem" because they did not conform to the largely monocultural nature of Australian society. The goal was to render them assimilable to the existing Anglo culture. Children attended schools that governments promoted as having an "assimilationist function."[462]

Figure 84: Teresina Zampin, Valetta Road, mid 1950s.

Photo supplied by Irene Zampin.

[462] Martin, *The Migrant Presence,* 90.

The Catholic Church in Australia exerted considerable authority over its members in the area of education. Priests in the Church considered that children could only receive moral education through attendance at a Catholic school.[463] The Catholic school was viewed as "the most important structural aspect of the Australian Catholic parish" by the Irish Catholic community.[464] In Italy where the Church permeated civil life, the Catholic school system did not exist. Lacking familiarity with the Australian Catholic Church, pioneer market gardeners mostly sent children to the local government school near Lockleys.[465] However, several narrators recall that local parish priests persuaded parents to withdraw children from the government school and enrol them in the Catholic school. In the examples below, both families were required to send the children by public transport whereas they had been able to walk to the government school. Lino Tonellato was nine years old when he arrived in Adelaide in 1935 and recalled the parish priest intervening in his education. The local Irish Australian priest asked Mr Tonellato to remove his five children from the state school and send them to the Catholic school. When Mr Tonellato said he could not afford it, the priest paid the cost of tram fares and thereafter the children attended the Catholic school.[466]

In a similar example about the requirement for Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools, Bruna Semola nee Zampin, explains the persistence of the parish priest in the 1950s. She

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[463] For more information about the Catholic Church protecting family morality, see David Hilliard, "God in the Suburbs: The Religious Culture of Australian Cities in the 1950s, "*Australian Historical Studies* 24, no. 97 (1991): 411 emphasises the role of the Catholic Church in providing moral guidance for children, a time-honoured cultural model promulgated particularly in 1950s; Gabrielle Johnstone, "Ways of Belonging: Socio/ Religious Identities within Catholicism," *The Australasian Catholic Record* 75, no.1 (Jan 1998): 10-20; O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*: *An Australian History*, rev. ed. (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1985), 354-390, for an account of the Catholic Church in Australia in the interwar years.

[464] Adrian Pittarello *Soup without Salt: The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant* (Surry Hills, NSW: Centre for Migration Studies-Sydney, 1980), 58.

[465] See Pittarello *"Soup without Salt"*, 58-59, for discussion of the unfamiliarity of Catholic parish schools for Italians in Australia. Catholic schools in Italy were rare.

[466] Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 5, explains that enrolment in the Catholic school involved travel on a tram whereas the local government school was within walking distance of his home.

responds to a question about whether her parents were religious. Bruna pauses before she chooses the term, “insisted” to describe the priest’s actions:

> BS: No, they weren’t regular church people, no.
> OH: But they must have thought it was important to send you children to the Catholic school at Thebarton?
> BS: Well, the reason we went there was because the Catholic priest came down --- I wouldn’t say insisted, but: ‘They’re Catholics and they should be going to a Catholic school.’ Anyway, he came down that often that he, sort of drove them nuts.
>
> (Bruna Semola nee Zampin, OH872/39, 8 November, 2016, 13-14.).

Lino Ballestrin, who was born in Adelaide in 1935, received a scholarship to attend a Catholic boys’ secondary school. Lino reports on his parents’ disinterest in his education:

> They just left it up to me … they weren’t mentally … they were too concerned with the garden … at home, my parents gave me no indication, guidance of what I should be doing. So, another friend of mine and myself, together, we went around to the Public Service office in King William to talk, you know, about getting a job in the Public Service. That's how that happened.
>
> (Lino Ballestrin, OH 872/40, 22 November 2016, 14,15).

Relying on the authority of the clergy as they would have in the Veneto village, Lino’s parents relinquished the expectation, if they had had it, that their eldest son would follow them into the market garden. The intervention of the priest enabled Lino to matriculate and pursue a career in the Commonwealth public service: an exceptional example of occupational mobility in the second generation of the Veneto community at Lockleys.[467]

[467] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 193-196, addresses issues relating to the second generation who did not take up the occupations of their parents, a topic addressed in Chapter 6.

The *veneti* and the Catholic Church

The Veneto market gardeners transported their beliefs and understanding of the power of the Catholic Church and its practices from their villages in the Veneto region. Respect for the authority of the clergy was a fundamental element of the religious, social and cultural framework of the *comuni* in the 1920s.[468] However, the pioneers adapted their understanding of the Church in Australia which contrasted with the experience in their Veneto villages.[469] In the interwar years, Italians in Australia had to overcome obstacles like language and other cultural differences in the Australian Catholic Church. Irish clergy had dominated parishes and the training of Australian priests since the 19th Century. In the Archdiocese of Adelaide in 1939 where parishes covered extensive suburban areas, two thirds of sixty-five diocesan priests were Irish.[470]

Italian Australian migration historian Tolcvay argues that in the interwar years the Catholic Church hierarchy began to understand the need to provide support for the religious life of Italian migrants but it had been impossible to provide Italian-speaking priests to the small communities spread across Australia or even within a State.[471] From the late 1920s, in Adelaide, the Catholic Church

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[468] See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 26-27, for an overview of the role of the church in the lives of families in the Veneto region before the Second World War. Huber makes the point that the priest held the most authority in the *comune* or the local council area. In her interview, Angelina Marchioro provides memories of the control of the priest who expected all villagers to attend Mass and noted if people were absent and who was scornful of young people dancing (OH 12, 13 March 1984, 5, 7).

[469] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 57-58, asserts that the Gippsland *veneti* did not experience the Catholic Church in Australia as a place to belong to a community for celebrating with a priest who was well known as they had in the Veneto region. There were also anti-clerical views resulting from the interactions with priests who had exercised authority in the Veneto villages.

[470] Josephine Laffin. *Matthew Beovich: A Biography*. (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2008), 105.

[471] Monica Tolcvay, "Community and Church: The Italian 'Problem' in Australia during the Interwar Years," *Flinders University Languages Group Online Review* 3, no. 2 (August 2007): 51-66. For more detailed discussions about the role of the Australian Catholic Church in the lives of Italians and views of Irish Australian hierarchy towards Italians in the interwar years, see O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*,131-132, for discussion of the Catholic Church and Italians in South Australia in the 1930s, 4-8. See Richard Bosworth and Michal Bosworth, *Fremantle's Italy* (Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1993), 114-116, for details about the lack of sympathy in the Church for the experience of the Catholic Italian community in Fremantle until after the Second World War.

organised occasional visits from Italian priests like Father Vincenzo De Francesco, whose principal role was to serve the religious needs of Italians in Victoria.[472] In 1927 he visited Adelaide briefly and reported to his superior in Naples, his concern for the many Italians who did not participate in religious life.[473] However, it was not surprising that the participation of Italians in the Catholic parish was low because at this time the members of the Italian community were not welcomed into the Irish Catholic culture and did not see "their *Italianità* mirrored" in the Australian Catholic Church.[474] As Tolcvay notes, an occasional Italian priest could not maintain spiritual care for a growing population of Italian migrants in their own language.[475] The Church did not have the priests available and the Italians were less likely to attend religious services that were not inclusive of their tradition or language.

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[472] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 92, reports a similar arrangement with occasional visits of an Italian priest to minister for Italian Catholics in Griffith before the Second World War and Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 75, reports that in the 1930s a priest visited the far-flung community in northern New South Wales when he was able and said Mass in packing sheds or people's homes. Later in the 1950s a religious order of priests worked more closely with the community. See pages 203-209.

[473] Vincenzo De Francesco, *Letters to Naples: A Neapolitan Writes Home about his Work in Melbourne*, trans. and ed. Aniello Iannuzzi (Ballan, Victoria: Connor Court, 2010).

[474] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 131-132, argues that during the 1930s the Italian population did not see it was possible to be included in religious practices of the Irish Australian church.

[475] Monica Tolcvay, "Community and Church: Italians in South Australia in the Early Post-War Years," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 7, no. 2 (1999): 4-8; Monica Tolcvay "Community and Church," 51-66. See also Baldassar and Pesman , *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 114-120, for discussion of the limitations of the role taken by the Catholic Church prior to the Second World War because priests did not engage adequately with Italians and could not speak Italian; Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 92-96, cites factors that distanced the *veneti* at Griffith from the Church prior to the Second World War including the Irish heritage of the Church, lack of understanding of the Italian traditions and a general anti-clericalism. She contrasts the engagement of the new post-wat migrants who were more conscientious about attending Church than the pre-war Italian population. Caroline Alcorso, Cesare Giulio Popoli and Gaetano Rando, Community Networks and Institutions," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, eds. Stephen Castles et al., (North Sydney NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 107-112, who argue that Italians in Australia experienced an ambivalence about the role of the Catholic Church in comparison to the central position it held for people in their villages in Italy.

Figure 85: Maria Rosa Tormena's first communion, St Mary's Dominican Convent, Adelaide, c 1941.

Maria Rosa is first on the left in the front row.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

At Lockleys, some families attended Mass together at the Flinders Park church: "Of course they always went to church. We always worked but never worked on a Sunday." (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 16). Romano Marchioro recalled in his interview that his parents sent their two sons to Mass each week and part of their journey was to deliver a Sunday newspaper to another Veneto family on the way (Romano Marchioro, OH872/20, 11). Several narrators reflected that their mothers attended Church while their fathers worked on the market gardens; a custom that was not brought from the Veneto since the village priest would have followed up absences in the congregation. The role of the parish priest in the Veneto region continued to be a memory for pioneers like Angelina Marchioro, who indicated the dominance and control "because the priest knew everyone in the little town," (Angelina Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 5). Angelina also recalls that the priest did not like people dancing: "they were very strict in the town, the priests," (Angelina Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 7).

Figure 86: Ballestrin family: Narciso holding Lina, Maria and Jimmy, Valetta Road, 1947.

Jimmy holds mementos of his first holy communion: a prayer book and rosary beads.

Photo supplied by Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin.

The pioneer market gardener families did not develop social networks through the parish because it did not offer the *veneti* a community experience, nor did they participate in the various service associations or social groups.[476] Narrators reported that Masses were conducted in English in two local churches served by Irish Australian priests until after the Second World War. [477] However, a

[476] After the Second World War, the Flinders Park parish offered young women and men opportunities to participate in sport and social programs. See interviews: Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin, OH 872/28, 13 March 2014, 14; Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella, OH 872/30, 23 April 2014, 8.

[477] The weekly Catholic newspaper, *Southern Cross*, acknowledged the absence of providing dedicated Italian Masses and other sacraments in two articles published in 1952. In May that year, the paper began a weekly column written in Italian and in the first two articles explained that the South Australian Catholic Church was committed to serving the Italian community. In a brief history of the Italian Catholic community in South Australia, it specifically addressed "*i vecchi emigrati*" or "the old migrants" who had been deprived of appropriate spiritual guidance and were unable to participate in rituals in their own language. It referred to the significant contribution after the war of an Italian priest, Father Zolin, whose role is discussed in this chapter. The articles emphasised the newly established operations of the Italian Catholic Mission. (*Southern Cross*, Friday 30 May 1952, "*L'Angolo Degli Italiani* (No. 1)," 3; *Southern Cross*, Friday 6 June 1952, "*L'Angolo Degli Italiani* (No.2)," 3.)

member of the community recalled that one Anglo Australian priest in the Flinders Park parish spoke some Italian.[478]

With growing numbers of Italians after the war, the needs of Italians were addressed by the Archbishop of Adelaide. In 1946, an Italian priest was appointed to minister to the Italian community in South Australia, the first permanent Italian priest at a time when the community was expanding because of post-war migration.[479] Father Zolin, who resided in the western suburbs close to the market garden area between 1946 and 1949, brought the Catholic Church to the Italian community, a contrast to the experience of being on the margins of the Irish Australian tradition.

The Veneto community at Lockleys (and other Italian communities in Adelaide and rural areas) benefitted from the opportunity to attend Mass said in Italian from the early 1960s when changes in liturgical practice were introduced through Vatican II which allowed congregations to use their vernacular language rather than Latin. With an Italian priest, Italians who could not speak English were able to use their own language in the confessional. Father Zolin made pastoral visits and provided interpreting and translating services to families. He organised an education scholarship for students to attend Catholic schools for post-compulsory schooling which had been awarded to Lino Ballestrin, as stated previously.[480] In addition, Father Zolin addressed the social needs of young second-generation Italians in Adelaide through organising Sunday night dances which catered primarily for the social needs of single men arriving from Italy.[481] Several narrators recalled

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[478] Personal communication with Silvano Ballestrin – June 2020.

[479] See Monica Tolcvay, "Community and Church: Italians in South Australia in the early post-war years," *Italian Historical Society Journal* 7, no. 2 (1999):4-8. 1999, for more details about the role of Father Zolin in South Australia 1946-1949.

[480] I have not been able to discover if the scholarship was extended to girls or whether it was awarded solely to boys to attend Catholic secondary schools.

[481] In conversation, one elderly woman recalled her mother's surprise at the difference between the parish priest in Bigolino where she had lived before migrating and the priest in Adelaide. The priest censured families when their daughters were seen dancing in the village and rerouted a religious procession so it would not go past the house of a family whose daughter had danced in public. In contrast, the parish priest in

attending the dances and meeting their future husbands at the Sunday night events, a safe venue for young Italian Australian women to meet a young Italian migrant who might become a suitable husband.[482]

In 1950 the Catholic Church reflected the Australian Government's assimilationist views with the publication of a Bishops' Joint Pastoral Letter which encouraged Catholics to facilitate "the assimilation of our new settlers into a way of life that is Catholic and Australian."[483] However, some Veneto descendants recall that their parents were made welcome at the local parish church where children attended the Catholic school. A second-generation man remembers that the Irish Australian parish priest supported a distinctive Italian social event, *la cuccagna,* in the grounds of the local church in 1952.[484] The pioneers and their families adapted a Veneto tradition and organised a procession of decorated horse-driven carts which led from market garden houses to the church grounds for teams of men to climb a greasy pole and compete for a trophy. The teams included Veneto men from a suburb on the eastern side of Adelaide who were accompanied by their Italian priest. Pascoe argues that Italian communities who organised such events or *feste* solved the problem of connecting their own cultural traditions with the new experiences in Australia

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Adelaide visited the family and encouraged the young son and daughter to attend the dance in the Catholic hall in the city on Sunday nights. (Personal conversation with Maria Rosa Tormena, 23 February 2021).

[482] See interviews recorded with four second-generation women who recalled the Sunday night dances at St Patrick's hall where they met their respective husbands. See Roma Bordignon nee Zampin, OH 872/41, 3 February 2017, 6-7; Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872/6, 15 July, 2010, 13, 18; Connie Legovich nee Marchioro, OH 872 11 10 January 2011, 5; Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto, OH 872/32, 28 August 2014, 4. The men interviewed for this study did not attend the St Patrick's dances perhaps a consequence of competition with the young single men who had recently arrived from Italy. The Veneto young men frequented Anglo Australian dances which parents may not have allowed daughters to attend.

[483] Joint Pastoral Letter of the Australian Catholic Bishops 1950 cited in Frank W. Lewins, "The Catholic Church in Australia: An Agent of Assimilation," *Clearing House on Migration Issues* no. 391, 1980: 1-6. Lewins argues that the Catholic Church encouraged migrants to conform to the practices of the local parish rather than the parish being open and responsive to traditions that migrants brought with them.

[484] See Silvano Ballestrin, "Parties and Festivals," *Veneto Market Gardeners 1927 Website Blog*, July 12, 2020, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/page/4/

through an imaginary recreation of ritualised events they remembered in their village, and *la cuccagna* was an example of this.[485]

Figure 87: Veneto men pose with two priests after the inaugural cuccagna*. Flinders Park church, 1952. Narciso Ballestrin, fourth from left in front row, holds the trophy won by his team. Photo supplied by Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin.*

Silvano Ballestrin, a second-generation man recalled his memories of *la cuccagna* in 1952 and refers to the cup his father, (Narciso) holds in the photo above, Figure 87:

> I've looked closely at the old cup, now corroded, that Narciso is holding in the Cuccagna photo and it reads 'Campione Della Cuccagna in Sud Australia.' The inscribed date is either 1952 or 1957. Lina [Silvano's older sister] says she remembers the decorated horse and dray coming into the front yard at Valetta Rd which would make the year 1952 as we moved out of that property in 1955. It means that at *Cuccagna* time I was almost four but amazingly can still remember it. Obviously, the whole day left a big impression on me.
>
> So, they started at Doro's old house on River Rd and then picked up the team members along the way and drove, singing to Frank's accordion music, to the church grounds on Capt. Cook Ave … there were three teams and three greasy poles. The third team was from around Campbelltown way

[485] Bruce Pascoe, "Place and Community," 89-90.

> [about sixteen kilometres east of Lockleys]. Amazing really if they came all the way from Campbelltown with a horse and dray through the city. What a sight it must have been for everyone seeing them on that route.[486]

La cuccagna was held in later years at the first Catholic Church in the western suburbs built with the Italian community in mind. When the church was opened in 1954, the Archbishop's speech reflected the prevailing assimilationist language of post-war Australia: "The new church at Gleneagles in particular, would be largely used by our New Australian friends, especially those from Italy."[487] Irish Australian priests managed the parish until 1961 when the Archbishop recognised the needs of the growing Italian community and invited an Italian order of priests to minister to the local Italian community. Most pioneer families attended that church because it was within walking distance of the market gardens. The location was significant for the pioneers because it summoned memories of the proximity of the church in the *paese* in Veneto villages.

One pioneer family forged a transnational bond between the parish church at Gleneagles and the village church in Riese Pio X. In 1965 on a return visit to Italy, Antonietta Berno bought a life-sized statue of the patron saint of Riese and brought it back to Adelaide on the ship to donate to the parish. The statue continues to be a focal point in the church in which the feast of Pio X is celebrated each year.[488]

The Catholic Church in the everyday lives of the Veneto community

The influence of Catholic priests extended beyond the education of children to the values and morality of everyday family life. Three examples illustrate the control priests exerted in the lives of the market gardener families and their kin. The first demonstrates the role of the Catholic Church in

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[486] Email correspondence between Silvano Ballestrin and Madeleine Regan, 1 July 2020.

[487] *The Southern Cross*, Friday 12 March 1954, 1. The Archbishop had addressed the Italians in Italian and demonstrated ongoing support of the Italian community in Adelaide. Archbishop Beovich was the son of a Croatian migrant and may have had more understanding of migrant communities than previous Irish archbishops of the Adelaide Archdiocese.

[488] See interview with Remo Berno, OH 872/46, 27 June 2017, 30-31. Pio X was Pope Pius X from 1903 to 1914 and even today draws a following with the veneti because of his origins in the village of Riese Pio X.

endorsing the virtue of marriage and the nuclear family in a transnational context. In 1939, the parish priest in the village of Caselle di Altivole advocated on behalf of Maria Battaglia and her three children, separated from their husband and father, Guido Battaglia, who had migrated to Adelaide twelve years earlier in the same period as the pioneer market gardeners. Three married Veneto market gardeners who had arrived at the same time as Guido had sponsored their wives and children within eight years of arrival.[489]

The parish priest in Italy communicated with priests in Adelaide, discovered where the man worked and wrote instructing him to reunite with his wife and children. Consequently, the man sent for his family and they arrived in Adelaide in 1939. In the following excerpt, daughter Bruna, responds to a question about her father and his first years in Adelaide.

Bruna refers to the role of the priest in unifying the Battaglia family:

> Twelve years before he got Mum over, and the reason that he got Mum over, because the priest, we lived so close to the church, and the priest feel sorry for Mum, she used to cry all the time. He said, he wrote him a letter, the priest wrote him a letter, a real registered letter. So, they found out where he was working with the Del Fabbro [a terrazzo contractor in Adelaide]. He was a master plasterer then already, and they wrote him a letter. Then all of a sudden, we get, papers are ready to come to Australia. We got a letter with all the papers ready to come to Australia, and we got onto the *Esquilino* boat, and we came to Australia.
>
> (Bruna Rossetto nee Battaglia, OH 872/33, 18 December 2014, 2-3).

[489] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 137-138, reports average intervals of time between when Southern European men arrived and when they reunited in Australia with wives and family or married by proxy. In the 1920s, the average period was eight years and two months, less than in previous decades and more than in the next decade.

In the second example, Bruna experienced the intervention of the Catholic Church in family matters in Adelaide. Bruna had fallen in love with an older Veneto man.[490] In 1942, a young Irish Australian priest persuaded Guido Battaglia to agree to the marriage of his daughter with Giuseppe Rossetto:

> I was seventeen when I got married with my husband. He was thirty, and on top of that, the priest wrote a letter to my father: 'Don't you interfere anymore, let them get married and make a family out of it, and don't, don't keep ...' because my father was not a very nice man really, but never mind, let's not talk about him.
>
> (Bruna Rossetto nee Battaglia,OH 872/33, 18 December 2014, 11-12).

Although her father consented to the marriage, he denied Bruna the opportunity for a family celebration because he did not permit his wife or other children to attend the wedding. Bruna wore a black dress purchased by an aunt as a more practical item for her future wardrobe than a wedding dress, and the couple had a small party with her husband's family instead of a reception. Interviewed at eighty-nine years of age, Bruna communicates her negative feelings for her father and relief at the intervention of the priest although he must have been aware of her youth and the age difference with her husband.[491] The two examples demonstrate the patriarchal authority of Catholic priests and the transcultural influence of the Church in family life in Italy and Australia. The influence of the pastor's role provides an example of the authority that a non-Italian priest exerted in an Italian family in Australia in the 1940s.[492]

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[490] The couple had met through the social network of the wider Veneto community in the west end of the city of Adelaide. Giuseppe Rossetto had worked his brother's market garden at Lockleys and had lived in the city close to the Battaglia family.

[491] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2003, 1301.0 - Year Book Australia: provides information stating the median age for women to marry at that time was 23 years. https://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/aa7d335e6fa7eaa4ca256cae00053fa2?OpenDocument .

[492] Pittarello, "Soup without Salt", 21-24, reports that the priest in Italy assumed not just a religious role but had a civil authority which meant that he could settle disputes such as the family issue of whether a daughter could marry at a young age. The Irish Australian priest in this case was able to influence Bruna's father.

Figure 88: Bruna nee Battaglia and Beppi Rossetto, Adelaide, 1941.

Photo supplied by Bruna Rossetto

In a third example, the role of the Church represents a context for examining ambiguity between religious observance and the sexual identity of a young Adelaide-born woman. Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, born in 1927, whose parents were pioneers, speaks about her experience of confession, a sacrament of the Catholic Church. [493] When she was about eighteen years old, Lina and her neighbour, a young woman from a conservative southern Italian market gardener family went to a parish church every Saturday night to recount their sins and receive the sacrament of confession. Two young women, constrained by patriarchal family and Catholic cultures, identified the experience of going to confession as their weekly social outing, their Saturday night date:

> We were allowed to go to confession because her father was so strict but he'd let her go to confession, so [laughs] we'd go to confession every Saturday night … and halfway there, there were these boxthorn bushes, and we'd get behind

[493] See Pittarello *"Soup without Salt",* 26-28 for a brief overview of the role of confession in the lives of Australian Italians.

> the bushes and put lipstick on, and then [laughs] go to confession. [laughs]. And all we'd tell the priest was that we used to put lipstick on, and look, and we were 18 and 19 years of age … and we thought, we thought we were wicked, you know. That's dreadful. Talk about naïve, you know [laughs], and the priest, I can just imagine now when I look back, he must have thought it was so funny, the same girls every Saturday night going to confession.
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 5 May 2011, 75-76).

Lina and Teresa negotiated the path between their families and the world beyond the Italian market gardener community using the ritual of confession as their outlet for self-expression at the margins of their independence. Their rebellion is signified by applying lipstick for the journey, the act of adornment, assuming a brief sexualised identity for the short trip by tram between home and the church. However, the contradiction in this transgression is the confessional where the young women confessed a 'sin' of using lipstick. Lina is compassionate about herself as a naïve young woman, a second-generation Italian Australian, testing boundaries and appropriating the religious observance that allowed her with her friend to experiment innocently with their sexuality and family expectations.[494] In contrast, the Catholic Church dictated patriarchal standards and condemned the expression of sexuality in young single women.[495]

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[494] Lina also takes a certain delight in telling the story peppering it with laughter that reflects the re-evaluation process that Norrick argues is part of using humour in an oral history interview, (Norrick, "Humour in Oral History Interviews," 92-93). In Lina's case, it is her older self, viewing the incongruity of her youthful self: two views are evident alongside each other in the narrative.

[495] Hilliard, *God in the Suburbs*, 411-412 argues that the Australian churches in the 1950s were concerned about the emergence of a youth culture which threatened family values and they sought ways to keep young people within the culture of Christianity which might mean they were less likely to transgress the sanctity of marriage. Francesco Ricatti, *Embodying Migrants: Italians in Postwar Australia*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), refers to the 1950s when the Catholic Church constructed an image of the sanctity of the virginity of young women and cites Morris 2006b in relation to the focus on the Virgin Mary. See also Ricatti, *Italians in Australia* 85-89, for discussion of the intersections of ethnic identity, gender and sexuality for second-generation post-war Italians, and 107-112, for an overview of the role of Catholicism in the lives of Italian Australians from the early twentieth century and the impact of multiculturalism in transforming the Irish Australian traditions.

Figure 89: Marchioro sisters, Mary, Connie and Lina, Adelaide, c 1946.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

In the 1940s and 1950s Italian families, including the Veneto market gardeners, restricted opportunities for daughters to meet young men; the idea of daughters mixing with Anglo Australian men was unacceptable and even young men from Italian families were scrutinised by parents. The pioneers had established the community as a safe space for families to maintain Veneto cultural traditions with an expectation for young people to remain within its boundaries. The primary or peer relationships for the pioneers and the 1.5 generation were firmly held within the community at Lockleys. In contrast, opportunities for the second generation were exercised further outside the community, a theme discussed in Chapter 6.

The Veneto market gardeners maintained their sense of identity through the strength of the community relationships which replaced strict familial bonds left behind in the Veneto.[496] Their attachment to land resembled everyday life in the Veneto; they maintained language and cultural practices related to domestic life and production of food and wine. As noted previously, community members varied in their allegiance to the Irish Australian Catholic Church and responded to the

[496] See Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 207-211, for a summary of the factors that enabled the settlement of Trevisani in Griffith and transition from *contadino* life to their role as commercial farmers.

authority of individual clergy who intervened in family life, although it was a different experience from the Veneto region. The inclination of the *veneti* to turn inward was rewarded with security and stability achieved through the network of intergenerational bonds that transformed neighbours into "fictive kin."[497] The *veneti* benefited from strategies that supported their religious practices, and education opportunities of children, albeit with the risks of their acculturation.

Figure 90: Veneto market gardener families - picnic at Morialta Falls, Adelaide, early 1950s.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

The White Australia Policy had set the foundations for promoting a monoculture that positioned southern European migrants on the margins. Although Government migration policy advocated assimilation of migrants, the state did not provide structures or assistance to facilitate steps towards assimilation in the interwar years and the *veneti* were subjected to negative public opinion.[498] One scholar who studied Italian migrants in Australia claims that "assimilation was

[497] di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 119, refers to "nonreligious fictive kinship" to describe the close relationships within the community outside blood relationships.

[498] The persistence of promoting a British monoculture and the expectation that migrants from southern Europe would assimilate, accept Anglo Australian values and participate in the way of life was a consequence of the White Australia policy. Public opinion also engendered negative attitudes towards Italians and other non-British migrants. See Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians,* 63-64, 71-73; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 222-223; Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 1963: 200-216;

negligible amongst the first generation" up to 1947.[499] I argue that the goal of the pioneer Veneto market gardeners was to achieve *sistemazione.* They put down roots themselves to earn a living on the market gardens, establish family life and create a community. Their endeavours to focus on *sistemazione* were contrary to government policy of assimilation which, for the *veneti*, was no alternative to the security of their community.

The risk of assimilation for the market gardeners was loss of attachment to the Veneto, families, customs and practices they had left behind. Contrary to Price's theory that assimilation occurred most rapidly through intermarriage, the instance of two intermarriages within the pioneer community in the 1930s did not generate movement toward assimilation.[500] Largely detached from Anglo Australian society, the pioneers maintained their identity as a migrant community, as *veneti*, as market gardeners and *paesani* within the market gardener family network with variable interactions with institutions such as schools and the Catholic Church. The pioneers brought to life a dream that created possibilities for *sistemazione* and attachment to land, work, family and the vitality of a *paese* in the Lockleys area of Adelaide in the interwar years. However, the insulation could not endure comfortably in the circumstances of the Second World War which resulted in troubled times for the Veneto market gardeners as Italians in Australia. The impact of the war on the community of the market gardeners is examined in the next chapter.

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[499] Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 63-64, states that assimilation of Italians in this period was slow because they formed group settlement, did not intermarry, retained their language and preserved customs that maintained their separateness.

[500] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 200-207.

Chapter five: Community in times of crisis

When we arrived --- we could go anywhere. That's how Dad went up to the mica mines up there, like that. But four months after we arrived, when Italy entered the War, we became aliens --- with restrictions. We were aliens, we were not naturalised, you had to be in Australia for five years before you could apply for naturalisation. We were not allowed … to buy property or buy a house unless you were naturalised. And during the War years that we lived in Waymouth Street, to go down to my Auntie Giovanna, in Frogmore Road, Lockleys, we were not allowed to move outside the square mile of Adelaide. Now there, we got a permit from the police station. So, if we ever wanted to go and visit Auntie like that, we had to get, me, even twelve years old, we had to go to the police station, and we were finger-printed, and that permit was only allowed for that day.

(Johnny Tormena interviewed by Madeleine Regan, Adelaide, 6 July 2012, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/18, 35).

Click here to listen

Figure 91: Tormena family. Johnny, Maria Rosa. Front: Severina, Galliano. Adelaide mid-1940s.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

Johnny Tormena recalls an aspect of his experience in the Second World War after arriving in Adelaide as a twelve-year old. When Italy joined the war in June 1940 Australian Government policy restricted movement of Italians and other 'enemy aliens.' Interviewed as an 84-year-old, Johnny recalls the abrupt changes in circumstances, the discomfort of being identified as an 'enemy alien' and the control which dominated everyday life for his family, for members of the Italian community and other nationalities whose governments were at war against the allies. [501] Johnny feared being identified and refused to speak Italian in public as a result of Government regulations that created adverse conditions for enemy aliens and prompted hostility that brought long-standing racial prejudices to the fore in the Anglo Australian press and the wider community.

As an identifiable group, the Veneto market gardeners became a target for xenophobic behaviour. The racism was not new; it built on attitudes exhibited as the number of Italians increased and the Italian presence became more visible, in the case of the Veneto market gardener community at Lockleys.[502] Attitudes towards Italians in Australia became progressively hostile and deepened with the crisis of unemployment during the Depression and Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935.[503] As a consequence of these events, Italians were in a more vulnerable position and like Johnny, became more conscious of their exposure.

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[501] Ugolini, *The Internal Enemy 'Other*,'139-140, refers to the impact of Italy declaring war in 1940 on Italians in Scotland and how it shaped their identity. Ugolini especially focuses on oral history narratives of women whose experience was not as well-known as the evidence of men.

[502] For examples of the negative attitudes towards the Molfettese community in Port Pirie during the war see Bromley, *The Italians of Port Pirie*, 63-64 and 205.

[503] The Australian reaction to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia was influenced by Australia's role in the League of Nations as administrator of New Guinea, a mandated territory and mixed opinions about the role of Mussolini. See Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 90, who notes that the Italian invasion of Abyssinia was viewed with concern in Australia, which as a member of the League of Nations, imposed sanctions on Italy. See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 388-390, for observations of the inconsistent views of the Catholic Church. See also personal account of post-Abyssinian sentiments against an Italian child in 1935 in the interview with Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 13 April 2011, 11; 23 May 2012, 158.

Prior to the war, the Veneto community had witnessed the growth of organisations in Adelaide promoted and supported by the Italian Fascist Government.[504] However, as discussed in the introduction to the thesis, the narrators were not always able to access their parents' memories and were generally not aware of political conflict in their parents' lives or in the Veneto market gardener community. Johnny Tormena explains that children of the first generation *veneti* were not attentive to what parents thought about the hostilities: "I don't think if the oldies talked about the war, we were never included, never mixed in with it." (Johnny Tormena, OH 872/18, 25 May 2012, 19). More prevalent in interviews are accounts of the hardship in some families caused by the impact of war, regulations and conscription which contrast with reflections on the solidarity within the community and the strength of ties between families.[505] In particular, a number of narrators referred to their fathers being "interned." In reality, they had been conscripted to the Civil Aliens Corps and were compelled to serve in remote locations, which for the narrators, felt like a punishment for their fathers and the families. Frankie Ballestrin recalls the separation of his extended family:

> My uncles were all interned because the Italians were allied to the Germans during the War, so they interned my uncles and one went to the salt mines in Price on the Yorke Peninsula; the other one – two of them, actually – went

[504] On the subject of Fascism and anti-Fascism in Australia, see Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980) for an account of both Fascist and anti-Fascist movements and consequences for the Italian community in Australia from 1922 until the end of the war; Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia,* 73-96. For a survey of the influence of Fascism and movements against it in Australia; in South Australia see O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 143-162, for an extensive discussion of Fascist and anti-Fascist groups, the role of the vice consul in promoting Fascism and the impact of Fascism. For details of Veneto migrants involved in anti-Fascist activities in 1920s Baldassar and Pesman *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 48-49. See also Lara Palombo, "Italian Women in Australia from the 1870s to 1930s," 109-116, for examination of the role of women in Fascist movement in the 1930s which included support for Italy's war in Abyssinia. Palombo argues that the Catholic Church supported the Fascist Government in Italy and reinforced patriarchal values that maintained the secondary role of women as wives and mothers.

[505] Several scholars refer to the consolidation of small Italian communities during the war because of the need for solidarity in the face of restrictions imposed by authorities and hostility within the wider community. See Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 121-173; Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 63; Mantello, *Now and Then,* 40-45.

> up to Katherine and Adelaide River. And they were all supervised because of the war effort, that Italy was allied to Germans, you see …
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 12 December 2008, 5).

In this chapter I use memories provided by some 1.5 and second-generation members of Veneto market gardener families to explore ways that the community confronted challenges during the war years in Australia. I argue that the *veneti* endured physical and existential threats to their home, *paese* and safety that the pioneers had strived for in the efforts to achieve *sistemazione* during the 1930s at Lockleys. The processes of settlement became precarious because of the wartime restrictions placed on Italians. The war years interrupted the steady progress in the *sistemazione* of the pioneer families and the security of their *paese*.[506] I examine obstacles that disturbed the daily lives of the Veneto community during the war. The prohibitions relating to occupancy of land by enemy aliens were a challenge and hardship for a group whose occupation was on the land, and for whom land was foundational to community and security.

Although the pioneer group managed the hardships and experience of prohibitions, and the lives of some families were markedly disrupted, the *paese* was not as divided as other Italian communities, nor was it broken like the fishing communities in Port Pirie or Fremantle.[507] Despite regulations that restricted lease of land to enemy aliens, the founders of the Veneto market community retained their leaseholds and with Government contracts most participated in the war effort through growing

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[506] The sense of home and *paese* at Lockleys was significant because it was the place of settlement which the pioneers had been building as their new home. Different from their place of origin, it was a place symbolising *contadino*/migrant achievement of occupying and working land, and forming community.

[507] See Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 63-64, for information regarding the fishers who were prevented from fishing and whose boats were confiscated because of their possible threat to national security; O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 180-181 for discussion of the military order introduced 1 September 1941 that prohibited Italians from operating fishing vessels and for details of the numbers of Molfettese fishers from Port Pirie who were still interned in 1943; Richard Bosworth and Michal Bosworth, *Fremantle's Italy*, 102-103, for information about ways that women managed family economies in the absence of their fisher husbands who were interned, and 118-122, for an overview of the impact of the war and internment on the fisher community and the fishing industry in Fremantle.

vegetables for the armed services. Families supported each other in a climate of insecurity in Australia and continued to celebrate weddings, the birth of children and other social customs which allowed the community to endure the war years. Although their drive for *sistemazione* during the war years had been challenged, they adjusted their focus and incorporated young single men and other *paesani* from their home villages from the late 1940s and transformed the community.

The situation in Adelaide 1939

By 1939, the Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys constituted a self-reliant community with secure leaseholds, basic housing, and increasing numbers of children: a cluster of families working towards *sistemazione*. More than half of the pioneers were naturalised, an indication of the desire to settle permanently.[508] With the announcement of war, restrictions imposed by the Australian Government on enemy aliens re-shaped their everyday lives.[509] At the time all the pioneer families except for the Ballestrin group, who moved to the area in 1941, were leasing land in the Lockleys area.[510] Three men were yet to marry and as far as I can ascertain, all the market gardeners were contracted to supply vegetables to the Australian services.[511] The strategy to register aliens from

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[508] See Appendix 2: Dates of naturalisation of pioneer *veneti.* The dates range from 1931 to 1955.

[509] Under the National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations, enemy aliens were subject to compulsory registration, control of movement, prohibitions regarding land purchase and lease and other measures. See Noel W. Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia, 1939-46 (*Sydney: Noel Lamidey*,* 1974), 20-26, for a summary of the duties of aliens and powers exercised by the Minister; Paul Hasluck, and Australian War Memorial. *The Government and the People*, *1939-1941.* Australia in the War of 1939-1945. Series 4, Civil; v. 1. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952), 593-598, provides a chronological account of the successive regulations for the control of aliens and enemy aliens during the war. See also Margaret Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire Internment in Australia during World War II* (St Lucia Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1993). For a detailed analysis of the situation of Italians during the war in Queensland see Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels, *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*. (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2000).

[510] One pioneer was able to purchase land in 1942 with approval from the Attorney General – see Chapter2.

[511] As the war progressed, vegetables were supplied through a priority system; first for armed services, then the civilian population and third, exported to the United Kingdom and other allies. See NAA: Department of Post-War Reconstruction, Central Office, A11610, *Notes for the Minister of War Organisation and Industry, Mr Dedman, on the control and production of food in Australia during World War II,* 1943 – 1944; 1, 1943 – 1944.

1939 enabled the Commonwealth Government to collect information about them, and monitor their presence and movement. In South Australia the Police Commissioner had singled out Italians as potential troublemakers because it was difficult "to identify one Italian from another."[512]

While some men had experienced the Veneto tradition and mobility of seasonal work away from family, the pioneers had committed themselves to stability at Lockleys and were focused on becoming self-sufficient and earning a livelihood with their families on the land, as discussed in Chapter 3. However, new regulations in the environment of surveillance represented by regular reporting to police stations and restrictions on movement away from their home suburb were an imposition on the freedom of the enemy aliens.[513]

Life under security regulations

In the suite of controls that affected the daily lives of enemy aliens, internment was at the summit in the hierarchy of regulations imposed on enemy aliens. O'Connor argues that the lives of Italians in South Australia who were not interned were relatively secure if they obeyed restriction orders.[514] However, I contend that those who were not interned were directly and indirectly affected by the widespread anti-Italian sentiment in Australia. In their everyday lives, the Veneto market gardeners were subject to the restrictions of movement, as demonstrated earlier by Johnny Tormena's recollections of the regulations required for family Sunday visits to Lockleys which reflect an experience of trauma.[515] The requirement for the *veneti* to report weekly to alien registration officers at local police stations was a burden.[516]

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[512] See O'Connor, "Declared Black: Confrontation between Italian and Anglo-Celtic Workers in Port Adelaide 1928-1932," in Australian labour History Reconsidered, eds. David Palmer, Ross Shanahan, and Martin Shanahan. (Unley, SA: Australian Humanities Press, 1999), 204.

[513] See Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 158-159 for an outline of restrictions on Italians in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area during the war. See also Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 141-153 for an account of the impact of National Security Regulations on members of the Italian community in the Lismore area.

[514] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid,* 186.

[515] The relatives lived eight and half kilometres from the city where Johnny and his family resided.

[516] See Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia),* 5-8; Brian Galligan and John Chesterman, *Defining Australian Citizenship: Selected Documents.* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 60-62 for details

Narrators recall the imposition and tension of the procedures and one second generation man acknowledged the impact on his parents and grandparents as “a big stigma for them” (Adrian Tonellato, OH872/35, 30 January 2016, 56).[517] Many Veneto market gardeners had been controlled by *padroni* and the structures of serfdom in their households of origin in the Veneto region. Their new experience of freedom in South Australia and opportunities to be independent were challenged by the monitored environment of the war years. Their lives were disrupted by the regulations and the *veneti* were left “retreating into the family circle and visiting only their closest friends.”[518] During the war, the Veneto market gardeners further isolated themselves within their community.[519] The regulations threatened the independence of the pioneers and they were required to report weekly at the local police station.

In 1942, Giovanni Santin, who had been naturalised in 1939, was issued with an identity card which specified his status as a British subject shown in Figures 92 and 93. Even this status did not preclude him from having to report to the police.

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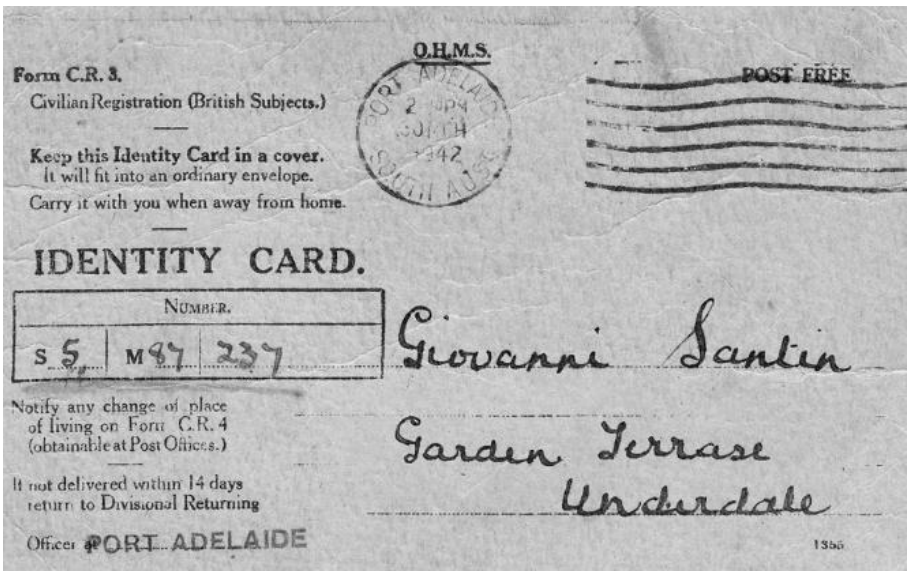
about processes of registration of enemy aliens. See also interview with Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872/6, 15 July 2010, 6, for an account of accompanying her family to the local police station.

[517] Adrian made the statement about the imposition on his grandparents, who had to report to the police station during the war, after the formal interview ended. It was as if Adrian carried the indignity and burden of the negative views of Italians for his parents and grandparents and he had identified with their experience.

[518] Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, 105.

[519] The war-time antipathy in mainstream Australia increased the solidarity and closeness in some Italian communities. See for example, Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 129, who argues that the Italian population at Lismore in New South Wales became “even more tightly knit” during the war years. This was also the case with the Molfettese community in Port Pirie, some of whom experienced the hostility of Anglo Australians and felt self-conscious about being Italian when they were going about their daily lives in the town. See Bromley, “The Italians of Port Pirie,” 63-64.



Form C.R. 3.
Civilian Registration (British Subjects.)

Keep this Identity Card in a cover.
It will fit into an ordinary envelope.
Carry it with you when away from home.

IDENTITY CARD.

Number.		
S 5	M 97	237

Notify any change of place of living on Form C.R. 4 (obtainable at Post Offices.)

If not delivered within 14 days return to Divisional Returning Officer PORT ADELAIDE

O.H.M.S.

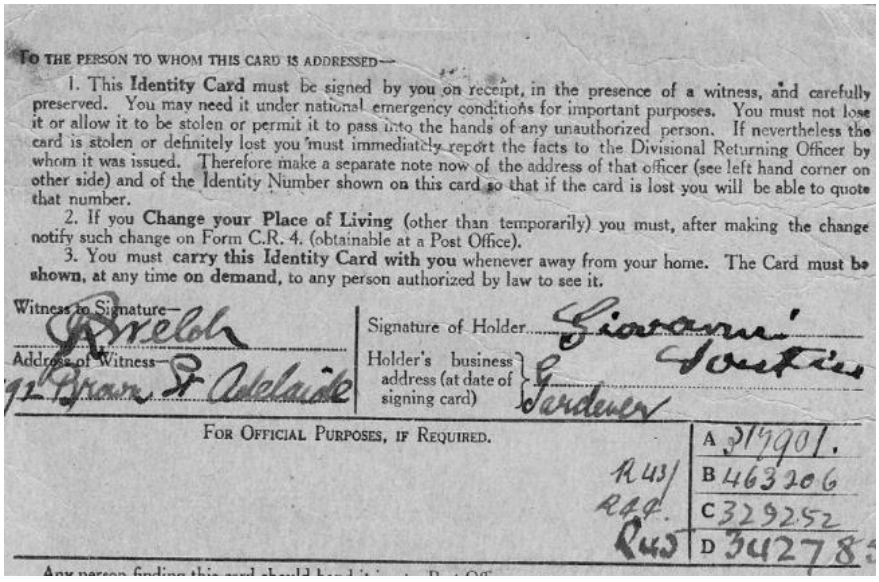
POST FREE

Giovanni Santin
Garden Terrace
Underdale

1355

Figure 92: Civilian registration card issued to Giovanni Santin, 1942. (front).

Card supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.



To the person to whom this card is addressed—

1. This **Identity Card** must be signed by you on receipt, in the presence of a witness, and carefully preserved. You may need it under national emergency conditions for important purposes. You must not lose it or allow it to be stolen or permit it to pass into the hands of any unauthorized person. If nevertheless the card is stolen or definitely lost you must immediately report the facts to the Divisional Returning Officer by whom it was issued. Therefore make a separate note now of the address of that officer (see left hand corner on other side) and of the Identity Number shown on this card so that if the card is lost you will be able to quote that number.

2. If you **Change your Place of Living** (other than temporarily) you must, after making the change notify such change on Form C.R. 4. (obtainable at a Post Office).

3. You must **carry this Identity Card with you** whenever away from your home. The Card must be **shown, at any time on demand,** to any person authorized by law to see it.

Witness to Signature— G. Welch
Address of Witness— 92 Bram St Adelaide

Signature of Holder Giovanni Santin
Holder's business address (at date of signing card) Gardener

For Official Purposes, if Required.

A 317901.
R43/ B 463206
R4P. C 329252
R43 D 34278

Figure 93: Civilian registration card issued to Giovanni Santin, 1942. (back).

Card supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

The Italians interpreted these regulations as humiliating and excessive and brought some *veneti* into conflict with the legal system. Convictions and fines were dispensed to those who breached National Security Regulations for either not producing their certificate of registration or not obtaining written permission from an aliens' registration officer to travel out of the suburb where they lived. Isidoro Ballestrin was convicted of failing to produce both his certificate of registration

and signed permission form and received fines of £13 with £1 in costs.[520] Although Isidoro's income was jointly earned with his family outside the wages system, comparison with the average male weekly wage in South Australia of £4/14/0 indicates the severity of the fine.[521]

Some in the wider Veneto community found solutions to resist the regulations. For example, Oscar Mattiazzo, a 1.5-generation youth whose relatives were market gardeners, was a keen cyclist and member of a local club and competed in cycling races. However, he could not gain permission to travel to competitions in different locations in Adelaide under the National Security Regulations. Unable to obtain the documentation, Oscar solved the problem by providing false names:

> See, I would have had to have permits, and they wouldn't supply permits for that, so I used to go just the same and race under a different name, things like that. Peter Peters, I remember one name a lot. [522]
>
> (Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 25 May 2011, 63).

Figure 94: Oscar Mattiazzo, Adelaide, c 1941.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

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[520] *Advertiser* (Adelaide) Thursday 4 November 1943, 6.

[521] Commonwealth Year Book 1301.0 - Year Book Australia, 1946-47: 483.

[522] Matt Matthews was another name Oscar had used to travel out of the city of Adelaide and participated in competitions, a show of humour and capacity to bend rules and outwit the authorities. (Email correspondence with Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo, 18 May 2021).

Yet the enforced restrictions and new circumstances related to the control of enemy aliens weighed heavily on Oscar who recalled sadly in his interview, even with the distance of seventy years, that some of his Italian friends whose parents were naturalised led different lives during the war. While peers, because of their parents' naturalisation, were called up to serve in the Army, Oscar was conscripted to serve in the Civil Aliens Corps, the manpower force established by the Commonwealth Government to provide labour for the war effort.

Oscar was removed to Port Augusta, three hundred kilometres north of Adelaide and remained in military-like conditions from April 1943 to June 1945 when he was twenty-one years old. Although given a powerful role as interpreter and translator in the Allied Works Council, Oscar felt the injustice because the war separated sons in Italian Australian families.[523] Previously, he had been 'let go' by his employer:

> Well, I went to Southcott in Gillies Street [engineering business in the city of Adelaide] as an apprentice fitter and turner, but … and then I changed and went to down here at Pope Products because I thought they could give me a better, a better apprenticeship … but shortly afterwards the war broke out with Italy and they dismissed me because I was Italian and not naturalised … but they had to release me because of the authorities could not allow an alien to work in munition factory, and so I went home.
>
> (Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 13 April 2011, 21).

[523] Oscar Mattiazzo. OH 872/13, 25 May 2011, 58-61, 66.

Figure 95: Oscar Mattiazzo and his parents, Angelo and Virginia, Adelaide, c 1940.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

Although Italians had become 'enemy aliens' after Italy's alliance with Germany in June 1940, three months later a newspaper featured a photo of Eugenio Zalunardo, a pioneer, as a successful grower who had sent half of his three thousand half cases of tomatoes interstate.[524] On the one hand, Italians were subject to a range of restrictions and judgements about their status. On the other, here was an Italian acknowledged for contributing to the state's economy and providing vegetables for the war effort.

In general, the reaction to the presence of Italians in Anglo Australia during the war was negative because as a group, they were considered a threat to the security of the country. The reaction was particularly strong where Italians lived in concentrated groups in a defined neighbourhood such as the Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys. The lives of the Bulgarian market gardener community

[524] *News* (Adelaide), Thursday 19 September 1940, 7. Zalunardo was not conscripted to the Civil Aliens Corps.

in the neighbouring locality of Fulham Gardens were also disrupted and some were conscripted to the Civil Aliens Corps.[525] In the rural area of Lismore, Italians were visible and felt threatened as illustrated in the memories of a participant in an oral history project who recalled:

> The war was hard because we were aliens ... It was harder because there was always a risk that if you went to town you would get offended or be called an old dago or enemy alien. We had to keep very quiet and mix with our own friends.[526]

At Lockleys in the market gardens, the pioneer community was also divided between those who remained on their land and those who were conscripted by the Commonwealth Government to provide manpower for the war effort. The experience of being subject to National Security Regulations and under constant Government and police surveillance must have been endured as a form of subjugation. The market gardener community grappled with war-time legislation that controlled their freedom in everyday life. Although the regulations and restrictions disturbed the wellbeing of the pioneers (and other enemy aliens), the threat of internment was even more intimidating.

The fear of internment

When Italy allied itself to Germany in June 1940, the Italian population in Australia faced the threat of internment.[527] The rapid detention of individuals created uncertainty and alarm in Italian

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[525] See Bulgarians' Educational and Friendly Society, *Jubilee edition to celebrate fifty years*, 5. Bulgarians were seen as enemy aliens and some men in the market gardener community were conscripted to the Civil Aliens Corps.

[526] Elsa Baisi nee Ghillardi, in Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 141-142.

[527] The subject of internment of Italians (and others) in Australia has been examined by the following: Joan Beaumont, Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien and Mathew Trinca, *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2008); Richard Bosworth, "Oral Histories of Internment" in *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australia Experience 19401990,* ed. Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini (Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale,1992), 105-116; Klaus Neumann*, In the Interest of National Security: Civilian Internment in Australia during World War II* (Canberra: National Archives of Australia, 2006); Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien, "The

communities. The *veneti* were fearful of what they observed as indiscriminate rounding up of both naturalised and non-naturalised Italians. The narrators indicate from their parents' perspective that the pioneers were not a threat and did not accept the reasoning of the Government.[528] Anxiety about internment was a reality for Italians and other enemy aliens in Australia especially when they realised that being naturalised was not a guarantee against being interned.[529] The market gardeners, their extended families and the wider Veneto community in Adelaide were also fearful.[530]

Interviewed at 86 years old, Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo's immediate response to a question about recollections of the war years was her statement about the generalised fear of internment in the Italian community.

Internment of Australian born and naturalized British Subjects of Italian Origin," in *War, Internment and Mass Migration: The Italo-Australia Experience 19401990,* ed. Richard Bosworth and Romano Ugolini (Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale,1992), 89—104; Kay Saunders, "A Difficult Reconciliation: Civil Liberties and Internment Policy in Australia during World War Two," in *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*, ed. Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels (St. Lucia Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2000), 114-137. For reference specifically to *veneti*, see Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 49-51. For details about internment of Italians in South Australia, see Mia Spizzica, "Italian Civilian Internment in South Australia Revisited," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 41, (2013): 65-79.

[528] See O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 173-187, for discussion of the effects of internment on Italians living in South Australia.

[529] See Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 129-141, for accounts of internment and the fear that it generated in the Italian community in the Lismore area of New South Wales. In the market gardener community at Werribee South district, it was reported that a disproportionate number of Italians had been interned and Italians felt the injustice of the internment of naturalised Italians, see Mantello, *Now and Then*, 44.

[530] See Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, 100-106, for a summary of the internment policy and its consequences for Italians. Cresicani argues that internment caused trauma for both the internees and those who were left in the community subjected to the regulations that limited their freedom in daily life and the experience of hostility of Anglo Australians.

Figure 96: Mattiazzo family: Anna on the right, Adelaide, early 1940s.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

At the beginning of the war, Anna was a school student and aware of the vulnerability of her father, a butcher in the city who served the Italian community:

> You were always frightened because they interned a few people around, and Dad was always frightened they were going to pick him up, but he was never questioned or anything, so we just lived it out 'till the end of the War, it was the same thing … it was always frightening, it was always somebody around to be frightened of, calling 'dirty dago' and all that, though my Dad never had any trouble with anybody.
>
> (Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 3 April 2013, 7).

Anna's repetition of "frightened", communicates a level of distress that was also apparent in the memories of other narrators who were old enough to remember the impact of the war on the community. The situation for the Italians (and other enemy aliens) replicated the regulations that were imposed on the German community in Australia in the First World War.[531] The legislation that

[531] In interviews with narrators, it was not clear whether the pioneers were aware of the incidence of the internment of 'enemy aliens' in the First World War in Australia.

authorised surveillance, deprivation of freedom, prohibition of owning cars, telephones and cameras constrained daily life for Germans, some of whom had lived in Australia for many years yet were treated with suspicion. The similarities between the situation for the Germans in the First World War and enemy aliens in the Second World War are readily apparent, including the incidence of internment of naturalised British subjects who were considered enemy aliens.[532]

Domenico Rossetto, a pioneer who became a grocer, was interned the day after Italy declared war against the allies in June 1940. He was forty-four years old. Ironically, he and seven other members of his anti-Fascist family had emigrated because of their opposition to Mussolini.[533] In interviews with the 1.5 and second-generation members of the Rossetto family from Bigolino in the Veneto region, it is evident that the family, including the elderly father, were labelled as anti-Fascist and subjected to attacks by local Fascist militia. Two brothers had fled to France to remove themselves from the violence before they emigrated in 1927.[534]

The presence of pro-Fascist Italian-born men and women was a concern for the security service in Australia in the late 1930s and dossiers were prepared at the state level by the security

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[532] Regarding the management of German enemy aliens in the First World War in Australia, see Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920,* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1989) for details about the impact of the War Precautions Act 1914, 65-76 and the incidence of internment, 77-120. See also Nadine Helmi and Gerhard Fischer, *The Enemy at Home: German Internees in World War I Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2011), 20-29.

[533] For details about the presence of anti-Fascist Italians in Australia from the mid-1920s see Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians,* 46-49. The authors discuss the presence of political refugees who migrated from Italy to Australia because of the growing influence of Fascism. See also O'Connor, No *Need to be Afraid*, 152-160, who examines anti-Fascist initiatives in South Australia from the mid-1920s until the late 1930s and provides details of the investigations of the Consular General for Italy.
In NAA: Investigation Branch, South Australia, D1915, *Investigation case files, single number series with 'SA' (South Australia) prefix*, 01 Jan 1910 – 31 Dec 1987; SA20480, Free Italy Movement and Anti-fascist Movement, 1941 – 1945, 145, Giuseppe, the youngest member of the Rossetto family is identified as an "active anti-Fascist" by the security service in Adelaide. See interviews with Domenico's nephews: Johnny Tormena OH 872/18, 25 May 2012, 6-7, 14; Aldo Rossetto, OH 872/16, 4 July 2011, 2.

[534] See interview with Johnny Tormena, OH 872/18, 6-7.

authorities.[535] In late 1939, in a routine police interview for his naturalisation application, an Italian man identified Domenico among a group of eight who were “definitely Fascists”.[536] The dossier compiled three months before Italy joined the war in 1940 by the Inspector-in-Charge of the Attorney General’s Department on Domenico Rossetto confirms the suspicion that he was “an active Fascist.” See Figure 97.

[535] See O’Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 160-162, for discussion of the actions taken in South Australia against pro-Fascist Italians.

[536] NAA: Department of the Army, Central Office; MP508/1 *General correspondence files, multiple number series,* 01 Jan 1898 – 24 Jul 1974; 4/703/530, Revocation of Detention Order Domenico Rossetto, 1939 – 1940. It appears that Italians were approached routinely to provide information about possible Fascist activity within the community in Adelaide.

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FASCIST

ANNEXURE I.

COMMONWEALTH INVESTIGATION BRANCH

Adelaide.

Surname title: ROSSETTO

and Christian names: Domenico

Alias, and surname at birth, if different: ---

Nationality: Naturalised British subject

Date and place of birth: 29/10/1896, Italy.

Occupation: Grocer

Married or single: Married

If married, wife's name: Sesta Carmela Rossetto

Date and port of arrival in Australia: 7/2/26 at Adelaide.

Employer: In business on own behalf

Address: (a) Business - 264 Hindley Street, Adelaide.
(b) Private - 264 Hindley Street, Adelaide.

Personal description: Height 5' 8", heavy build, dark complexion, brown hair, brown eyes.

Passport particulars and other official records: Passport No.49 issued in Italy on 1/4/26.

Remarks: Naturalised 24/2/33. It is alleged that in the past his shop has been used as a meeting place by the Fascist Party.

It is reported also by the Police that he is alleged to be an active Fascist.

R. WILLIAMS.
Inspector.

20/3/40.

Figure 97: Page from the dossier compiled on Domenico Rossetto, 20 March 1940.

Ministerial Warrant for Restriction or Detention, NAA: MP508/1, 4/703/530.

Distrust of Italians was already present in Australia and intelligence organisations were prepared to divide the Italian community and encourage informants who were not always reliable. In Domenico's case the suspicion of being a Fascist sympathiser was not substantiated and he was released after three months. However, his internment served as a warning to others in the

community and was remembered clearly by his nephews who were interviewed for the project.[537] For example, Johnny Tormena remembers details of his uncle's experience and in the interview, hesitates before he declares the term, "Fascist sympathisers" to describe the people who used to meet in his uncle's shop building:

> And we found out afterwards that he was interned purely because there
> was --- Fascist sympathisers that used to have meetings and because
> Uncle had a big house and a big storeroom, they used to ask him, can they
> use the storeroom to have the meeting. And it didn't worry him:
> 'Have the meeting.' But because of that, they thought that he was a sympathiser which he wasn't because the reason of him coming to Australia was to get away from Fascism, you know because they were quite against it, the four brothers
> were against it … I remember the day, the first day that there, in the newspapers that Italy entered the War and the police went around to all, apparently the police were aware of the Fascist sympathisers that existed and they went around picking all these people up and interned them down at Keswick [Army barracks],
> they were, and Uncle Domenico was one of them.
>
> (Johnny Tormena, OH 872/18, 6 July 2012, 36).

Figure 98: Domenico Rossetto in his grocery shop in the West End of the city of Adelaide, early 1940s.

Photo supplied by Oscar Mattiazzo.

[537] Oscar Mattiazzo OH 872/13; 25 May 2011, 61-63; Johnny Tormena OH 872/18, 36-37.

Newspaper reports of the arrests of Italians in South Australia communicated the drama of the coordinated initiative and assured citizens that the Army had the capability "to control the activities of all Italian nationals who are likely to act in a manner inimical to the national interest."[538] However, unlike the Sicilian market gardener community at Werribee where a number of men were interned for extended periods, none of the Veneto market gardeners was interned.[539] Relatives were interned and two narrators recalled visits to Loveday internment camp; one visited her uncle and the other accompanied friends seeing their father.[540] Oscar Mattiazzo experienced Loveday as a "concentration camp … a vast compound of barbed wire," and these kinds of views about places of internment were circulated in the community.[541]

Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro accompanied her aunt on a week-long trip to see her *zio* in Loveday camp and picked grapes in between visits. Her interpretations contrast with Oscar's memories, recalling the adventure of her experience, perhaps because she would not have travelled away from Adelaide before. She acknowledges in her interview that internment caused disruption to her uncle's terrazzo business in Perth:

> Well yes, it could have ruined my Uncle's business because he had to shut everything down but it was hard. I don't know, somehow, they managed. The Italians pick themselves up and start all over again, don't they?
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH872/9, 5 May 2011, 62).

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[538] *Advertiser,* (Adelaide) Wednesday 12 June 1940, 18.

[539] For a description of the fear of internment when men were taken away from their market gardens in Werribbee South see Mantello, *Now and Then*, 44-45.

[540] Loveday internment camp was set up in 1941 and accommodated about five thousand, five hundred Italians, Germans and Japanese. It was about two hundred kilometres north east of Adelaide. See Mia Spizzica, "Italian Civilian Internment in South Australia Revisited," 65-79, for details of the internment camp at Loveday.

[541] Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 25 May 2011, 67-68.

Within the Veneto market gardener community, some suffered disruption to their income because of other interventions associated with the National Security Regulations that imposed changes in the lives of enemy aliens. Unlike those Italians in occupations considered a risk in war time, such as the fisher communities or others who were wage earners and 'let go' by employers, the livelihoods of the market gardeners were protected from the impact of war because of their essential occupation as primary producers.

Assisting the war effort in the market gardens

Market gardeners across Australia grew vegetables from 1941 in order to meet increased demand during the war.[542] The Veneto market gardeners joined a cohort of vegetable growers mainly in rural areas who entered into contracts to supply the armed services with continuous supplies of vegetables.[543] The pioneers were guaranteed fixed prices for the crops they were directed to grow, and through their role as growers, were incorporated into the Australian war effort.[544] In 1943, the Commonwealth Food Control office was established with extensive powers including the expansion of primary production to meet the demand of the services.[545]

By early 1944, the Australian Government was concerned about maintaining continuity of supply to its three recipient cohorts: the armed services, civilians in Australia and the United Kingdom and

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[542] Australian Bureau of Statistics 1301.0 – *Year Book Australia 1944-45*: Chapter XX, Agricultural Production, 838-839. This section provides details of the increased production of fresh vegetables from December 1941 when Australia became a base for the Australian and allied services in the South West Pacific area. Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 58, notes that from early 1940s the Italians in Griffith in New South Wales cultivated vegetables for the allied forces.

[543] Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 153, summarises the rise in cultivation of vegetables in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, an increase of sixteen times the annual production from 1942 to 1944.

[544] Zoe Boccabella, *Joe's Fruit Shop and Milk Bar* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015), 96, suggests that her Italian grandfather who had a contract with the army to grow beans during the war was prohibited from selling them at the commercial market where he would have made more profit than the price fixed by the army.

[545] Andrea Gaynor, "Harvest of the Suburbs: An environmental history of growing food in Australian cities" (Ph.D., University of Western Australia, 2001), 228.

other allies.[546] Included in the amelioration strategy was the release of more than three thousand servicemen to work in primary production to meet the increased demand for food supplies.[547] Enemy alien internees were also released on the grounds that they were market gardeners.[548]

At Lockleys, some 1.5 generation young men, naturalised as children under the auspices of their father, were old enough to serve in the Army but were exempted because of their occupation as market gardeners. Lino Tonellato explains what happened when he registered at army headquarters in Adelaide:

> I was called up. When you come of age, eighteen, you go for the examination, and they say: 'What do you do?' 'I'm a market gardener'.
> I said: 'We've got contract with the Army, cabbages, caulis, and potatoes.'
> We had a contract for the Army at Keswick, and then they go: 'Oh', they looked that up. We were there … 'No, we don't need you, you go home and feed the Army.'
>
> (Lino Tonellato OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 19).

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[546] See NAA: Department of Post-War Reconstruction, Central Office; A11610, *[Notes for the Minister (Mr Dedman), Department of War Organisation of Industry, on control and production of food]* 1943-1944; 1, 1943-1944.

[547] NAA: A11610,1.

[548] See, for example, Mantello, *Now and Then*, 44-45. The Sicilian market gardeners at Werribee experienced the "inconsistency" of the internment policy and some internees were released early because market gardening was considered an essential industry; Saunders, "A Difficult Reconciliation," 135, refers to Italian market gardeners in Western Australia who were released in 1940 three months after being interned when the Government realised they produced most of the tomatoes in the state and they were needed for continuous production.

Figure 99: The Tonellato family, Adelaide c 1944.

Back: Lui, Nano, Rosina, Lino. Albert. Front: Secondo, Assunta, Elisabetta.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

Lino succeeded in arguing his status as a market gardener and was relieved from serving in the armed forces because as a young primary producer he had assumed responsibilities to contribute to the chain of food supplies, as a "national duty".[549] In 1944, a newspaper reported the "burden on growers and their families" working to the "point of exhaustion" in order to meet the demands of producing fresh vegetables for the army. Clearly the reference is to Anglo Australian families whose sons and employees had been called up to serve in the army.[550]

The majority of pioneers remained on their market gardens and earned a secure income through army contracts during the war. They were able to experience the security and stability of the *paese,* earn an income and continue with processes of *sistemazione* until the formation of the

[549] Like families who grew vegetables in their backyards as a contribution to the national goal of winning the war, the pioneer families were also cooperating with a national duty to supply vegetables for the war effort. See Gaynor, "Harvest of the Suburbs," 157.

[550] *Advertiser* (Adelaide) Friday 18 August 1944, 4.

national civilian manpower initiative which commenced conscripting enemy aliens to the war effort in 1942.[551]

Allied Works Council – another state intervention

The Civil Aliens Corps was established early in 1942 as part of the Allied Works Council which supported the material needs of the Australian war effort through the provision of a labour force.[552] Contrary to O'Connor's statement that Italian market gardeners were largely left alone during the war because of their occupation of cultivating vegetables, this was not the case for all members of the Veneto community at Lockleys.[553] Although market gardeners were included in a list of reserved occupations identified by the Commonwealth Government in 1940, this did not protect all members of the pioneer men at Lockleys.[554] Four pioneers and three close relatives were called up to the newly established Civil Constructional Corps and the Civil Aliens Corps in October 1942. [555]

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[551] NAA: Department of the Interior [II], Central Office; A659, *Correspondence files, class 1 (general, passports)*, 01 Jan 1892 - 31 Jul 1970; 1945/1/3162, Allied Works Council – Report of activities July 1943-February 1945, 79-80.

[552] The Allied Works Council (AWC) was established in March 1942 by the War Cabinet to address labour shortages and support the efforts of the Allied Forces in Australia. The Civil Constructional Corps and the Civil Aliens Corps (established in 1943) operated under the auspices of the AWC. On the establishment and history of the Civil Alien Corps see NAA: A659, 1945/1/3162. See Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, 595-597, for a summary of the War Cabinet decision to establish a labour force and the Civil Aliens Corps initiative to supply manpower with enemy aliens in remote locations in non-combative activities such as road construction, wood-felling in forests, maintenance of railways and creation of salt pans. See also Melanie Oppenheimer, *All Work, No Pay*: *Australian Civilian Volunteers in War* (Riverwood, NSW: Ligare Pty Ltd, 2002), 206, who identifies the Civil Constructional Corps as a "military-style" organisation which was the case also for the Allied Works Council and the Civil Aliens Corps.

[553] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 180, affirms that market gardeners were valuable to the war effort and were not targeted for other duties during the war years.

[554] See Appendix 3: List of men registered for the Allied Works Council. The Veneto men registered for the Allied Works Council in October 1942. Because of administrative issues in Government departments, enemy aliens were conscripted for the Civil Aliens Corps from late 1943. The *veneti* were conscripted during 1944 until its disbandment in August 1945. See Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, 595-597; NAA: A659, 1945/1/3162 for more information about the Allied Works Council.

[555] Examination of National Archive of Australia files revealed that although nine of the pioneers were called up, two were exempted on medical grounds and three others were excused, reasons not stated, and

They served in work camps in rural South Australia and remote locations in the Northern Territory between 1943 and 1945. In addition to the threats and restrictions imposed by Government policy, the market gardeners were exposed to a bureaucracy administering war-time military and civilian matters such as the control and conscription of enemy aliens that did not take into account their essential occupation as vegetable growers.

For example, at the time when the need to grow vegetables had become greater in 1943 and 1944 because American soldiers were deployed in Australia and the South Pacific, the Veneto market gardeners were conscripted to civilian labour forces.[556] The Veneto market gardeners carried the burden of the absence of family members and some women were left to manage the market gardens which was only possible because of the assistance of *paesani*.[557] Building on Cosmini-Rose, I argue that the selection of the Italian men for conscription to the Civil Aliens Corps was not even-handed; it was "unsystematic and random" and disrupted the lives of some Veneto families and the stability of the community.[558]

Case studies of conscripts in the civil corps

The case for conscripting the men from the Veneto market gardener community is difficult to understand when officially horticultural occupations were considered essential work. It seems that all the Veneto market gardeners had grown vegetables for the armed services in the period

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remained on their market gardens for the duration of the war. It has not been possible to identify the reasons why eight other pioneers had not been enrolled in the Allied Works Council in October 1942.

[556] National Archives of Australia: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia*, 03 May 1942 - by 16 Feb 1945; NN, Ballestrin, Isidoro, 1943-1944, 2. A lawyer's letter to the Allied Works Council in November 1944 states that Isidoro Ballestrin was committed to defence contracts which, as a market gardener, were for growing vegetables. The letter argued that on medical grounds Isidoro should not be called up for service. A note on his file clarified that despite evidence to the contrary, he was declared fit but was "reserved for manpower."

[557] Mantello, *Now and Then*, 44, notes that men left in the market gardener community at Werribee helped out women whose husbands had been interned by taking their produce to market.

[558] Daniela Cosmini-Rose, "Italians in the Civil Alien Corps: The 'Forgotten' Enemy Aliens," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* no. 42 (2014) 43-52.

between enrolment in the Allied Works Council in October 1942 and being called up to serve the next year.[559] While some pioneers used this period to arrange exemptions, such strategies were not effective for Gelindo Rossetto who worked ten acres including glasshouses and was called up to serve in the Civil Constructional Corps in 1943.[560] Exemption strategies were also unsuccessful for Antonio Ballestrin (eight acres) Giuseppe Ballestrin (three acres) and Vittorio Marchioro (four acres), all of whom served with the Civil Aliens Corps from early 1944 to different dates until the Corps was disbanded in August 1945.[561] The following examples illustrate the impact on Veneto market gardener families after four men were conscripted to the Civil Constructional Corps and the Civil Aliens Corps.

Gelindo Rossetto – a market gardener balancing roles

The experience of Gelindo Rossetto during the war is different from the rest of the Veneto market gardener community because he merged three roles: market gardener, mica miner and political activist. As examined in Chapter 2, Gelindo had successfully applied to jointly lease a mica mine in the Northern Territory in 1941 but had failed in his request to buy ten acres of land for market gardens in the Lockleys area in 1942. He grew vegetables on leased land there for several years which he managed between periods of work in the mine with the assistance of his youngest brother, Giuseppe Rossetto.

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[559] The implementation of the Civil Aliens Corps from 1942 to 1943 was delayed because of administrative issues in the early management of the alien workforce and a legal challenge about work conditions and pay. See Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, 595-597.

[560] Gelindo Rossetto was naturalised and perhaps this was the reason that he served in the Civil Constructional Corps rather than the Civil Aliens Corps. However, other pioneers had not been naturalised and received exemptions. See NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP14/2, *Personal files for members of the CCC [Civil Constructional Corps] enlisted in South Australia who served in the Northern Territory*, by 29 Sep 1942 - by 16 Feb 1945; 91261, Rossetto, Gelindo, 1942 - 1945.

[561] See NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia,* by 1942 – circa 1948; NN, Antonio Bembenato, (sic) 1942 – 1944; NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia,* by 1942 – circa 1948; NN Giuseppe Ballestrin; NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office: MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia,* by 1942 – circa 1948; NN, Marchioro, Vittorio, 1942 – 1945.

Figure 100: Lena and Gelindo Rossetto and family, Adelaide, 1937.

L-R: Aldo, Romeo, Lina.

Photo supplied by Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto.

Unlike other Veneto market gardeners, Gelindo and his family had moved their residence to the city of Adelaide in the late 1930s; he cycled to his market garden in Lockleys and sold vegetables to the Army.[562] However, in June that year, he was assigned work in the Northern Territory with the Civil Constructional Corps.[563] In a letter from his lawyer Gelindo requested exemption on two grounds: his wife was seven months pregnant and he needed to oversee the tomato crop in seventeen glasshouses on his leased property. He added that his brother, unable to speak

[562] A letter from Gelindo's lawyer on 2 July 1943 states that he had grown vegetables for "the military authorities," had seventeen glasshouses and a tomato crop worth £500: NAA: MP 14/2, 91261, 117-118.

[563] The Civil Constructional Corps was a manpower initiative during the Second World war. Gelindo was directed to serve in the Civil Constructional Corps in June 1943. He had been naturalised in 1939 which is why Gelindo was the only one of the Veneto men registered with the Civil Construction Corps and not the Civil Aliens Corps.

English, could not transact sales at market.[564] The request was initially refused but he was granted periods of leave without pay to stay with his wife after a further letter from his lawyer.[565]

Gelindo took liberties with instructions from the Civil Constructional Corps and was prosecuted and fined for absence without leave for several weeks as he travelled between the mica mine and Adelaide. During this time Gelindo undertook political activities with the *Italia Libera* movement in South Australia.[566] In 1943, state investigation branches were watching the activities of members of *Italia Libera,* a movement that aimed to support the allied countries and restore democracy in Italy.[567] Members circulated political materials to Italians in civil work camps for various campaigns including more parity of pay for different kinds of work undertaken by conscripts.

The South Australian Investigation Branch identified Gelindo as one of five Italians involved in *Italia Libera.*[568] He was discharged early from the Civil Constructional Corps after two unsuccessful attempts; one specifying the need to oversee matters in the mica mine and the other, identifying his agricultural occupation. Although his discharge nominated his release on the grounds of agricultural work, he began official duties with the South Australia branch of *Italia Libera* in

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[564] NAA: MP14/2, 91261, Rossetto, Gelindo, lawyer's letter, 2 July 1943, 117-118.

[565] NAA: MP14/2, 91261, Letters from lawyer and medical officers requesting extension of leave until after the birth of the baby, 108-114.

[566] See O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid,* 187-192 for details about the influence of the anti-Fascist movement of *Italia Libera* in South Australia during the war. See also NAA: Investigation Branch, South Australia; D1915, *Investigation case files, single number series with 'SA' (South Australia) prefix*, 01 Jan 1910 – 31 Dec 1987; SA20480, Free Italy Movement and Anti-fascist Movement, 1941 – 1945. The *Italia Libera* movement was founded in Melbourne in 1943 as an anti-Fascist organisation linked to similar groups in other countries where Italian migrants had emigrated in large numbers. In Australia the movement was also associated with obtaining rights for Italians who had been interned and those conscripted to the Allied Works Council working either in the Civil Constructional Corps or the Civil Aliens Corps. The Australian Government and Catholic Church believed that *Italia Libera* was a pro-communist organisation. Pamphlets and copies of the fortnightly newspaper, "Risveglio" were delivered to Italians in work camps. Although never large in South Australia, membership increased as men were released from internment and conscription.

[567] See NAA: D1915, SA20480, for extensive intelligence reports on the activities of the *Italia Libera* movement in South Australia.

[568] From the file it appears that he was being watched rather than being the target of any action.

November 1944 as secretary with an estimated membership of sixty including internees and conscripted civilians. Clearly, Gelindo emphasised his occupation as vegetable grower, an essential occupation during the war and this expedited his release from conscription.

As far as I can ascertain from archival research, Gelindo was the only openly political activist in the Veneto market gardener community.[569] Living in the city may have made it more possible to engage in political discourse and also exposed him to more surveillance than the pioneers at Lockleys. Others who remained on their land during the war were focused on their livelihoods, more interested in their occupation and family than in political participation. In contrast, the Molfettese fisher community at Port Pirie supported Fascism publicly and initial membership of the local *fascio* was over one hundred. [570] The Deputy Director of Security, South Australia in a report on the *Italia Libera* movement described the average Italian who had lived in the state for a long time as having "a total lack of interest in politics."[571]

The case of Gelindo Rossetto illuminates a trajectory during the war that contrasts with his peers. Belonging to the close group of Adelaide city-based Italians explains his separation from the pioneers who stayed at Lockleys. Gelindo's activism outside the *paese* contrasts with the apolitical occupational focus of the market gardeners. They were united by their role as growers, and primary producers contributing to the food chain for the war effort.

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[569] Narrators do not mention major political involvement within their parents' generation. Giuseppe Rossetto, Gelindo's younger brother, was identified as a market gardener and member of Italian Libera in South Australia in a Security Service report on 21 July 1943. See NAA: D1915, SA20480, 275-276.

[570] O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid*, 147-149 examines the development of Fascism in Port Pirie from 1929 to the late 1930s.

[571] NAA: D1915, SA20480, 50.

Vittorio Marchioro – a foundational family story

Two brothers, Johnny and Romano Marchioro, recounted separately a "foundational family story" about the circumstances of their father Vittorio. [572] Vittorio Marchioro, their pioneer father recounts the reason for his conscription to the Civil Alien Corps which he believes was the result of not being naturalised:

> VM: Oh, yes. I be up in Northern Territory in the war time.
> OH: They put you, took you as Italians... Why?
> VM: I don't know, I got the garden here, got two boys ... because I not have naturalisation, and Italy with the Germans in the war. They sent me up to the Northern Territory.
> OH: How long?
> VM: One year, three months I worked for the government, after I go and work in the mica fields.
>
> (Vittorio Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 12).

Forty years after his experience of conscription, Vittorio remembers the challenge of being thousands of kilometres away from his wife and two young sons to construct an airfield for the war effort. He continues to question why he was conscripted, and his ordeal has been folded into the family story that highlights the precarious situation for Italians during the war years.

[572] On "foundational family stories" in oral history interviews, see Alexander Freund, "A Canadian Family Talks About Oma's Life in Nazi Germany: Three Generational Interviews and Communicative Memory." *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 29 (2009): 2, 25-26. Freund examines strategies that shape understanding of family, memory and family myths in the context of an oral history project based on interactions with three generations about memories of family life in Nazi Germany. He proposes that foundational stories about the same event or theme but may be interpreted differently in different generations. See also John Byng-Hall interviewed by Paul Thompson, "The Power of Family Myths," in *The Myths We Live By, eds.* Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1990), 216-224. Byng-Hall, a child psychiatrist argues that stories can be told down generations and become legends which can be difficult and influence the identity of a family. He suggests that legends can be changed and their power altered through different interpretations.

Figure 101: The Marchioro family, Frogmore Road, 1943.

Angelina holding Romano, Vittorio and Johnny.

Photo by Lina Marchioro.

The two sons had absorbed the family story about their father being conscripted because he had not submitted papers for naturalisation before 1940.[573] However, Vittorio Marchioro had applied for naturalisation in September 1939. In March 1940 he had renounced his Italian nationality and taken the oath of allegiance to King George the Sixth but by July 1940 the Department of Interior in Canberra had reversed the decision "in view of the international situation."[574] Although the Government had prevented his naturalisation despite having completed all stages of the process, Vittorio remembers that he failed to submit papers before the war. The belief that he would not have been called up had he sent in the application before the war has been inscribed in the family

[573] See interviews Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 3; Romano Marchioro OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 1.

[574] NAA: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944-31 Dec 1950; 1946/4/6303, Marchioro Vittorio – born 23 December 1906 – Italian, 1939-1946, 46-53.

story about the experience of the Second World War. Perhaps it was easier for Vittorio to think that he had made a mistake than to accept that he had been one of the few pioneers who had been randomly conscripted at a time when market gardeners were considered essential workers.

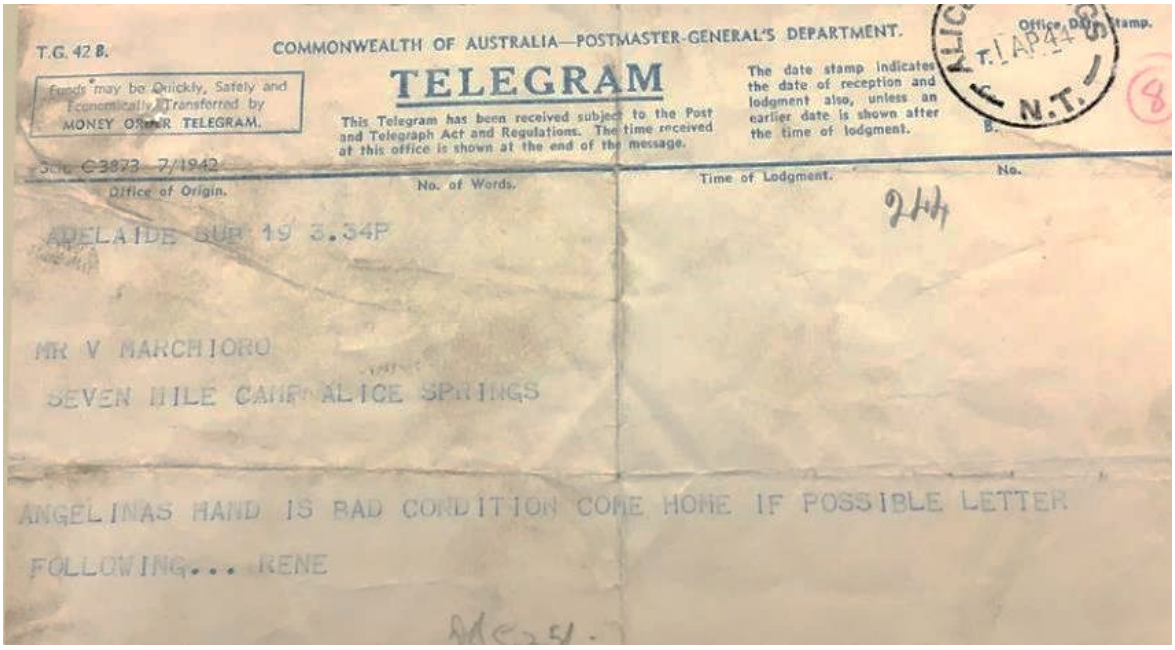
Vittorio was enrolled in late 1942 but not instructed to relocate to Alice Springs for work until January 1944. The strain of an extended period of not knowing whether he would be called up was another challenge faced by Vittorio and other market gardeners who had registered in 1942. For fifteen months they continued planting, cultivating and selling crops without specific information about their fates as conscripts. Johnny reflected on what his mother experienced after his father was called up to serve in in the Northern Territory in January 1944. He understands that the period of Vittorio's absence would have been difficult for his mother which is also a component of the foundational family story:

> The garden, what she could – she had to do it by herself because we were only little. Yes, I don't know how she did it, but she must have got a little bit of help to get rid of when she had to sell her tomatoes and that, to get somebody to pick it up and sell for her.
>
> (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 30).

At the time, Johnny's mother, Angelina, was alone, looking after her sons, a toddler and a baby born at the end of 1942, tending various crops, a milking cow and horse.[575] In March 1944 she became seriously incapacitated by an injury to one hand and she had several advocates, including her Anglo Australian neighbour, Irene Destro, who sent a telegram outlining the situation. See

[575] See Maria Glaros, "'Sometimes a little injustice must be suffered for the public good': How the *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations 1939 (Cth*) affected the lives of German, Italian, Japanese and Australian born women living in Australia during the Second World War" (Ph. D., University of Western Sydney, 2012), 182-224. Glaros examines the impact on the lives of Italian women who were left to manage businesses during the war because of the absence of their husbands caused by internment or conscription to the Civil Constructional Corps/Civil Aliens Corps.

Figure 102.[576] The local police officer requested the release of Vittorio. Such support indicates that the *veneti* were valued more at the local level than on state level. The local police officers knew the community because of the requirement for the pioneers to report regularly to the police station.[577] For example, the local policeman had provided a report for Vittorio's naturalisation application in 1939 stating that "apart from traffic offences, applicant is regarded as a hardworking man and is well respected in the district."[578]


T.G. 42 B.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Funds may be Quickly, Safely and Economically Transferred by MONEY ORDER TELEGRAM.

TELEGRAM

This Telegram has been received subject to the Post and Telegraph Act and Regulations. The time received at this office is shown at the end of the message.

The date stamp indicates the date of reception and lodgment also, unless an earlier date is shown after the time of lodgment.

Office Date Stamp.

Office of Origin. No. of Words. Time of Lodgment. No.

ADELAIDE SUB 19 3.34P

MR V MARCHIORO
SEVEN MILE CAMP ALICE SPRINGS

ANGELINAS HAND IS BAD CONDITION COME HOME IF POSSIBLE LETTER FOLLOWING... RENE

Figure 102: Telegram sent by neighbour, Irene (Rene) Destro to Vittorio Marchioro, April 1944.

It outlines the problem of Angelina's injury and urges Vittorio to return home.

NAA: MP 14/1, NN. Marchioro, Vittorio, 1942-1945.

The requests for Vittorio's release did not influence the State Manager of the Allied Works Council who declared that he was required for "essential" work adding there were no "urgent and

[576] As stated in Chapter 4, Irene McCauley had married Attilio Destro, a Veneto man who had arrived in 1927. Although not market gardeners, they lived on Frogmore Road, neighbours to the Marchioro family, and were part of the *paese*. Irene was godmother to the first-born son in the Marchioro family.

[577] The local police officers also had to investigate the conduct of 'aliens' when they applied to be naturalised and my examination of the police reports before and after the war on the *veneti* indicate that they generally respected the Veneto market gardeners and saw them as "industrious."

[578] NAA: A435, 1946/4/6303, 52.

exceptional circumstances."[579] The Manager overlooked Angelina's situation and his response further indicates the lack of congruence between the policy of retaining market gardeners for feeding the army and the removal of several productive growers, like Vittorio, from the Veneto community at Lockleys.

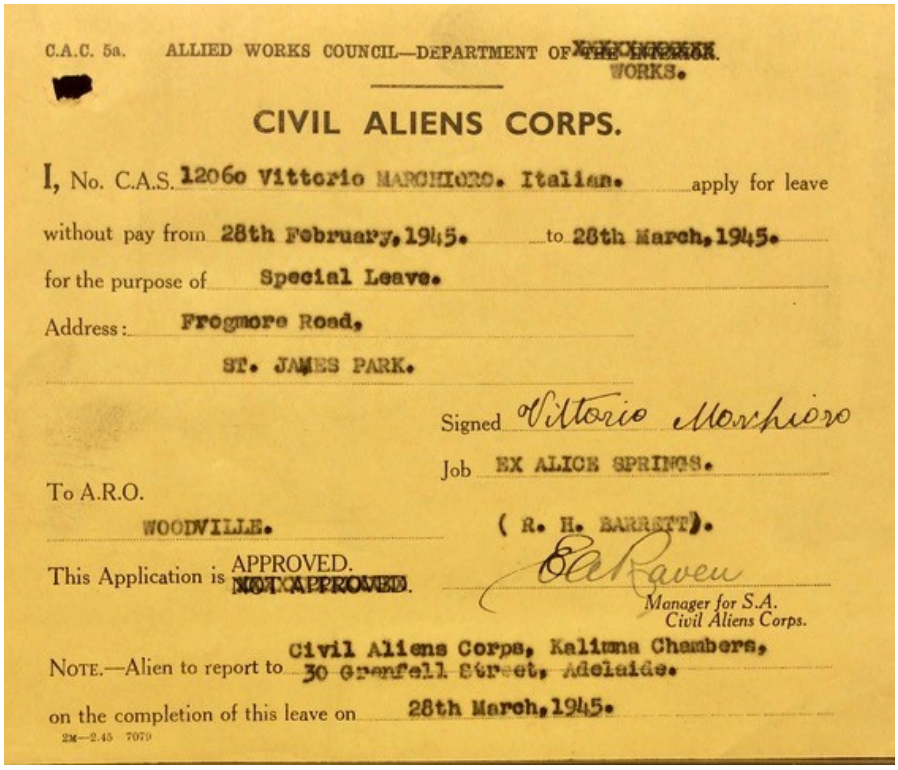
Johnny begins his narrative about the war years with the family story of his father's failed attempt to submit his papers for naturalisation. However, it transforms into an awareness that Angelina could only have coped at the time because of the community assistance in the *paese*. He emphasises her reliance on the other pioneer women when he recalls walking with his mother at night to visit neighbours. Johnny's picture of his mother comforting her small sons and looking forward to spending time with *paesani* evokes a sense of kinship and security within the community in the absence of her husband:

> I can remember Mum going there after tea and talking with the ladies,
> because at that time Dad was in Alice Springs. And on our way walking
> to these houses she'd say: 'The moon'll see Dad in a couple of hours' time',
> she used to tell us, the same moon. So not every night, but we used to walk over, there
> used to be, say, half a kilometre of a night-time.
>
> (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1, 21 July 2008, 4).

The image of Angelina and the children alone at night evokes the migrant narrative of separation of families. Angelina tracks the location of Vittorio and introduces a delayed but shared experience of moonlight which links her and her children to him. Johnny remembers the setting and his mother's words more than sixty years later. While a conscript, Vittorio also faced the terminal illness and death of his brother and requested leave so that he could support Francesco and his family who also were working a market garden at the time.

[579] NAA: MP14/1, NN (Marchioro Vittorio), 32.

In Figure 103, the leave pass shows that Vittorio was granted leave without pay to be with his brother who had been very ill. During his leave period, Francesco died on 19 March 1945.



C.A.C. 5a. ALLIED WORKS COUNCIL—DEPARTMENT OF ~~THE INTERIOR~~ WORKS.

CIVIL ALIENS CORPS.

I, No. C.A.S. 12060 Vittorio MARCHIORO. Italian. apply for leave

without pay from 28th February, 1945. to 28th March, 1945.

for the purpose of Special Leave.

Address: Frogmore Road,

ST. JAMES PARK.

Signed Vittorio Marchioro

Job EX ALICE SPRINGS.

To A.R.O.

WOODVILLE.

(R. H. BARRETT).

This Application is APPROVED. ~~NOT APPROVED~~.

Manager for S.A. Civil Aliens Corps.

NOTE.—Alien to report to Civil Aliens Corps, Kalima Chambers, 30 Grenfell Street, Adelaide.

on the completion of this leave on 28th March, 1945.

2M—2.45 7079

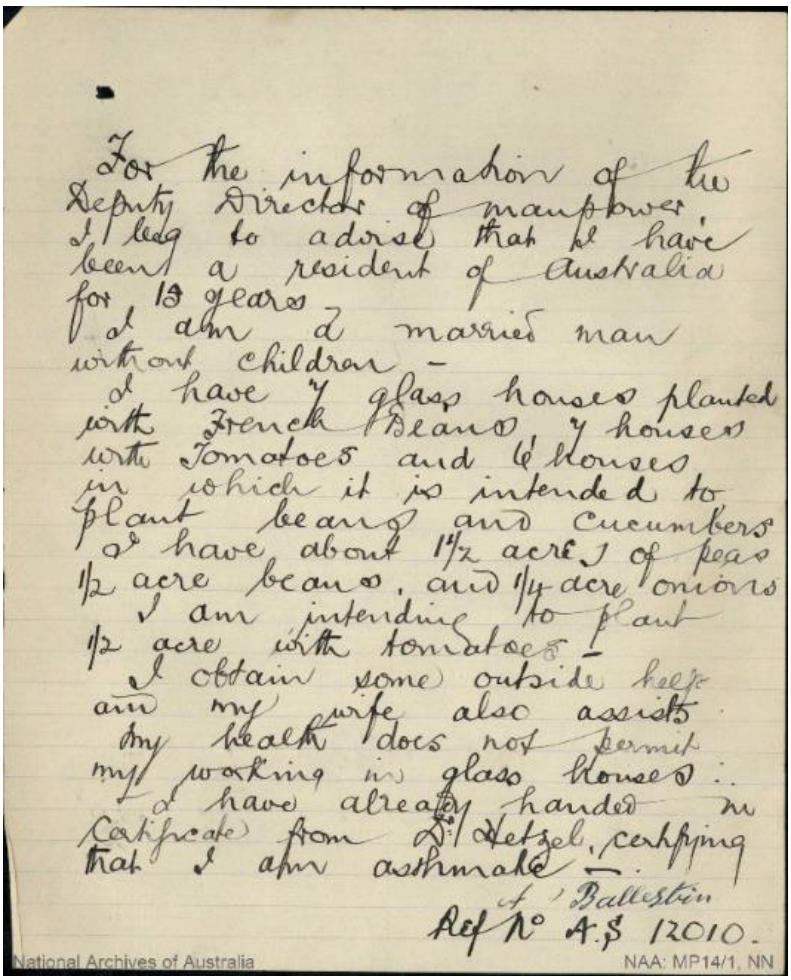
Figure 103: Vittorio Marchioro's leave pass approved by the Civil Aliens Corps.

NAA: MP14/1, NN, Marchioro Vittorio, 1942-1945.

Between policy and enactment in the Civil Aliens Corps

The separation from family and market gardens motivated cousins, Antonio Ballestrin and Giuseppe Ballestrin, to make repeated attempts to evade periods of conscription. Like the other market gardeners who refused to obey travel instructions or who persisted to apply for leave, they believed in their rights to live with their wives and children and work their market gardens in the *paese* at Lockleys. In Figure 104 below, Antonio outlines in a letter to the Deputy Director of Manpower, the extent of his role as grower with seven glasshouses and several crops, his reliance on assistance from his wife and outside help and issues relating to his health.[580]

[580] NAA: MP 14/1, NN, [Ballestrin Antonio Bembenato (sic)], 28.



For the information of the
Deputy Director of manpower,
I beg to advise that I have
been a resident of Australia
for 13 years.
I am a married man
without children –
I have 7 glass houses planted
with French Beans, 7 houses
with Tomatoes and 6 houses
in which it is intended to
plant beans and cucumbers
I have about 1½ acre of peas
½ acre beans, and ¼ acre onions
I am intending to plant
½ acre with tomatoes –
I obtain some outside help
and my wife also assists.
My health does not permit
my working in glass houses.
I have already handed in
Certificate from Dr. Hetzel, certifying
that I am asthmatic –.
Yours
A. Ballestrin
Ref No A.S 12010.

National Archives of Australia NAA: MP14/1, NN

Figure 104: Letter signed by Antonio Ballestrin about his conscription to the Civil Aliens Corps, 1942.

NAA: MP 14/1, NN. Ballestrin, Antonio Bembenato, 1942-1944, 29.

After various attempts to avoid service which ultimately formed the basis of a prosecution case, Antonio's lawyer produced medical evidence that quashed the charges. His service was deferred, and he remained on his market garden.[581]

The second example of a pioneer's attempt to escape conscription involves Giuseppe Ballestrin who served in five different remote locations in the Northern Territory and South Australia during eighteen months of service. Like his cousin, he pursued different strategies to return to his extensive market garden which was being managed by his wife who was also caring for two young children. After several attempts to be discharged citing medical reasons, the Civil Aliens Corps

[581] NAA: MP 14/1, NN, [Ballestrin Antonio, Bembenato, (sic)], 3-5.

medical officer reported that Giuseppe was “an unmitigated liar …[making] the most flagrant attempt to evade service that I have encountered. He is most emphatically fit for any work.”[582] Giuseppe was undeterred, and his resourcefulness enabled him to engage advocates such as doctors, lawyers and a state parliamentarian: all steps along the way to his final release in June 1945 when he returned to his market garden. Giuseppe’s shrewdness was admired in his extended family. The daughter of a cousin, Narciso, who was also conscripted, recalls her father telling her about the experience of the Civil Aliens Corps and her uncle’s determination to return home. She begins by referring to her father and then focuses on the actions of her uncle Giuseppe:

> I remember he used to talk about his adventures, and he would say that a lot of the men did funny things when they were up there just to get home. Ah, like for instance, one of my uncles [Giuseppe] used to throw acid in his eyes so he could come home. --- Because he did not want to stay along the line - - - and be away from family. And I remember Dad's Mum [who died from cancer in 1945] … and he was away. And to get home, although it wasn't *his* Mum, to get home, this other uncle, that's what he did, so he could come home. To attend the funeral.
>
> (Lina Campagnaro nee Ballestrin, OH 872/28, 13 March 2014, 1).

[582] NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1; NN, [Ballestrin Guiseppe,(sic) CAS 12011, 1942 – 1945], 57-58.

Figure 105: Giuseppe Ballestrin, Adelaide, 1943/1944.

Photo supplied by Joanne Camozzato, Giuseppe's granddaughter.

The examples of the market gardeners who served with the Civil Aliens Corps demonstrate their aspirations to stay with their families, work the land and earn a livelihood on their market gardens like their peers at Lockleys. The men demonstrated their agency and motivation to extricate themselves from their conscription and return home to work and live in the company of the community at Lockleys resuming their *sistemazione*.[583] The differentiation between the pioneers who served in the Civil Aliens Corps and the majority who remained on their market gardens does not seem to have caused bitterness later.[584] If anything, the experience of the war as enemy aliens seems to have drawn the Veneto market gardener community into itself and reinforced the bonds that identified them as *paesani* at Lockleys, the home where they saw their future as settlers in Australia. The pioneers were bonded by the shared suffering in the war years and the care for those families who were left without husbands and fathers because of conscription.

[583] In the absence of first-hand information about what arrangements were made after their release, I have made the presumption that the former conscripts returned to growing vegetables for the armed services.

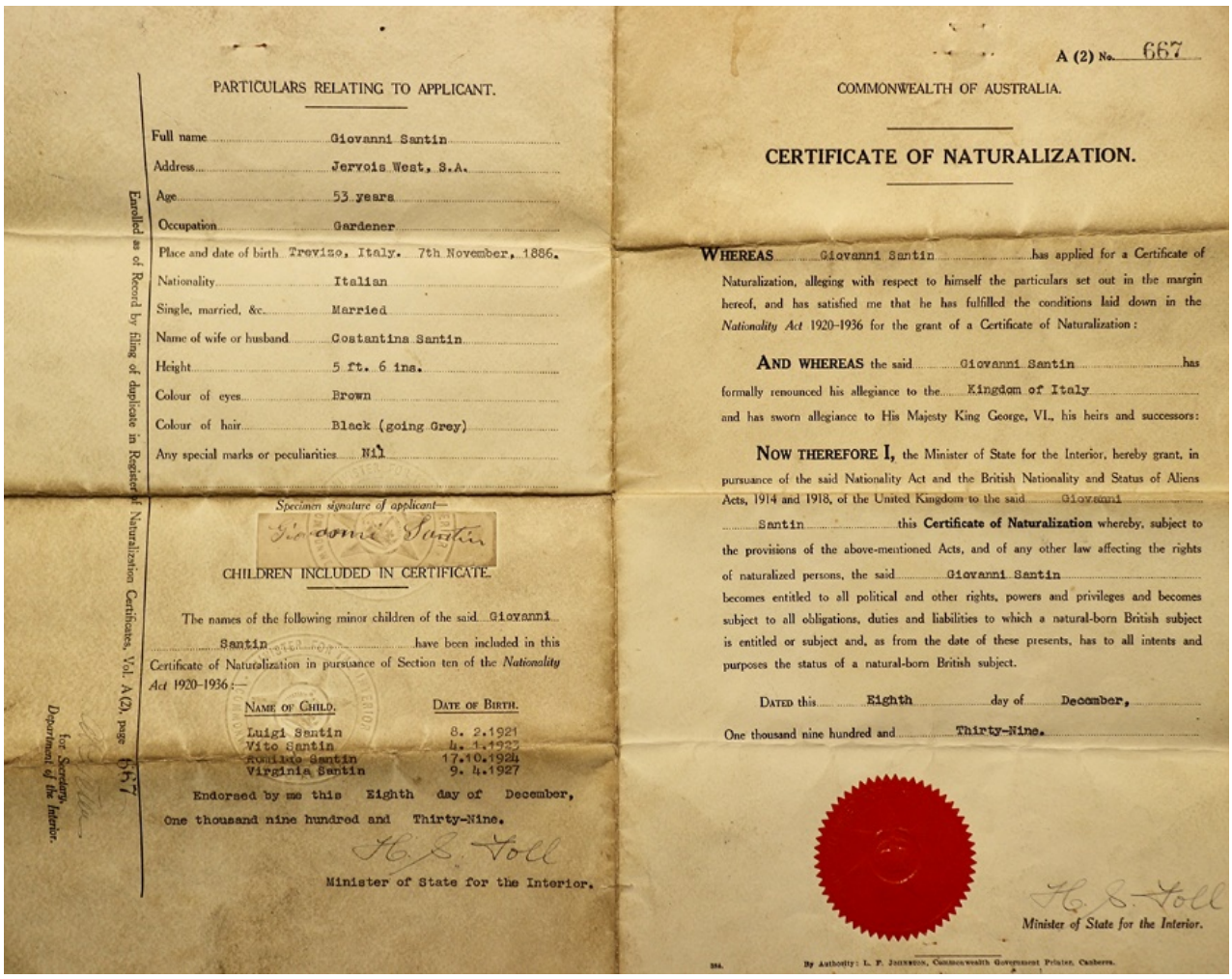
[584] In his interview, Vittorio Marchioro does not convey any negative reflections or contrast his experience with those who were not called up to serve in the Civil Aliens Corps. However, this cannot be tested as a general response to the circumstances during the war in the absence of other first-generation accounts.

Naturalisation during the war

As stated previously, the majority of the *veneti* at Lockleys were already naturalised by 1939, a demonstration of their intentions to remain in Australia permanently or at least for a considerable time. During the war, attempts made by some Veneto market gardeners to become naturalised alternated between applications, rejections and new applications. Even before the war, Investigation Branch correspondence pointed to Government suspicion of the motivation of Italians becoming naturalised. For example, an intelligence officer singled out Italian fishers who applied for naturalisation in large numbers and made judgements about the intentions of the Italian population. Fishers were required to be naturalised before registering for fishing licences and the Investigation Branch reported that "there is little else to cause an alien to seek naturalisation."[585]

While a history of minor criminal charges did not prohibit granting naturalisation, investigations into character, questions about loyalty to Britain and intention to remain in Australia were criteria used against an enemy alien in approval processes. Giovanni Santin and his family were naturalised in December 1939, three months after the beginning of the Second World War but six months before Italy joined the axis powers.

[585] NAA: Investigation Branch, South Australia; D1915, *Investigation case files, single number series with 'SA' (South Australia) prefix*, 01 Jan 1910-31Dec 1987; SA870, Functions of Investigation Branch [includes statistics and monthly returns; annual returns; annual reports], 1931-1956, 376.



PARTICULARS RELATING TO APPLICANT.

Full name: Giovanni Santin
Address: Jervois West, S.A.
Age: 53 years
Occupation: Gardener
Place and date of birth: Treviso, Italy. 7th November, 1886.
Nationality: Italian
Single, married, &c.: Married
Name of wife or husband: Costantina Santin
Height: 5 ft. 6 ins.
Colour of eyes: Brown
Colour of hair: Black (going Grey)
Any special marks or peculiarities: Nil

Enrolled as of Record by filing of duplicate in Register of Naturalization Certificates, Vol. A(2), page 667
for Secretary, Department of the Interior.

Specimen signature of applicant—
Giovanni Santin

CHILDREN INCLUDED IN CERTIFICATE.

The names of the following minor children of the said Giovanni Santin have been included in this Certificate of Naturalization in pursuance of Section ten of the *Nationality Act* 1920–1936:—

NAME OF CHILD.	DATE OF BIRTH.
Luigi Santin	8. 2.1921
Vito Santin	4. 1.1923
Romilio Santin	17.10.1924
Virginia Santin	9. 4.1927

Endorsed by me this Eighth day of December, One thousand nine hundred and Thirty-Nine.

H. S. Foll
Minister of State for the Interior.

A (2) No. 667

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

CERTIFICATE OF NATURALIZATION.

WHEREAS Giovanni Santin has applied for a Certificate of Naturalization, alleging with respect to himself the particulars set out in the margin hereof, and has satisfied me that he has fulfilled the conditions laid down in the *Nationality Act* 1920–1936 for the grant of a Certificate of Naturalization:

AND WHEREAS the said Giovanni Santin has formally renounced his allegiance to the Kingdom of Italy and has sworn allegiance to His Majesty King George, VI., his heirs and successors:

NOW THEREFORE I, the Minister of State for the Interior, hereby grant, in pursuance of the said Nationality Act and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts, 1914 and 1918, of the United Kingdom to the said Giovanni Santin this **Certificate of Naturalization** whereby, subject to the provisions of the above-mentioned Acts, and of any other law affecting the rights of naturalized persons, the said Giovanni Santin becomes entitled to all political and other rights, powers and privileges and becomes subject to all obligations, duties and liabilities to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject and, as from the date of these presents, has to all intents and purposes the status of a natural-born British subject.

DATED this Eighth day of December, One thousand nine hundred and Thirty-Nine.

H. S. Foll
Minister of State for the Interior.

By Authority: L. F. Johnston, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra.

Figure 106: Certificate of Naturalization - Giovanni Santin, 8 December 1939.

Document supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

Italians who applied for naturalisation during the war were subject to further scrutiny because of uncertainty about whether enemy aliens should have rights to acquire the status of British naturalised subjects, and the processes for enemy aliens were suspended. Further, some Veneto market gardeners had presumed their status as naturalised British subjects would protect them. One narrator summarises the situation and makes the point that ethnic origin subsumed the benefits of naturalisation:

> People were in upheaval of all sorts, but that applied to both Italians who were naturalised or not naturalised, they were picking them out like that.
>
> (Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 25 May 2011, 62).

Naturalisation became a prerequisite for entering into leasing or purchasing land. Unless the Veneto market gardeners already owned land they were not guaranteed their livelihood on the land because of *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations (Cth)* which came into effect in July 1940.[586] Under these regulations enemy aliens were prevented from signing leases for more than five years, and purchase of land required the approval of the Attorney General.[587] Market gardeners were prevented from planning their future beyond five years and for the Veneto market gardeners, land was security: family livelihood and accommodation, and the *paese*.

Motivation for the pioneers to become naturalised was related to their attachment to their land and reflected their origins as *contadini*. However, their desire to settle and own land aroused the suspicion of authorities. The suspicion resulted in lapses in naturalisation processes for six market gardeners who had first applied before 1940.[588] The market gardeners knew the significance of naturalisation for their future: the purchase of land and continuity of livelihood were contingent on the *veneti* becoming naturalised.[589]

Antonio Ballestrin fulfilled all security checks for his naturalisation and took the oath of allegiance in March of 1940. Four months later he was informed that the Minister had withheld his certificate of naturalisation because of "the international situation."[590] His application was not successful until

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[586] It was not possible to confirm how the pioneers were affected by the regulations relating to leases. None of the pioneer families were evicted during the war which suggests that there was acceptance of their presence as long-time lessees.

[587] The *National Security (Land Transfer) Regulations 1940* under the *National Security Act 1939-1940* applied to "a naturalized person of enemy origin or to a subject of a country in enemy occupation".

[588] The seventh man, Angelo Rossetto, had returned to Italy in 1932 and because of family circumstances, his application to return to Australia in 1939 had not been completed and he was unable to return again because of the war years. He eventually remigrated with his wife and three children in 1948 and was naturalised in 1955.

[589] However, it was not guaranteed that naturalisation would facilitate ownership of land as was the case for Gelindo Rossetto in 1942. This matter was discussed in Chapter 2.

[590] NAA: Department of Immigration, Central Office, A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944 – 31 Dec 1950; 1945/4/6540, Ballestrin Antonio Benvenuto – born 21 September 1902 – Italian, 1939-1946, 34.

1945. In three other cases, men applied three separate times before finally becoming naturalised after the war. In a show of resourcefulness and evidence of their serious intentions, pioneers were able to use the State administrative structures. They sought assistance from lawyers and members of parliament to further their applications after they had been rejected or delayed.[591] In one case, Pietro Berno gained the support of Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration, who instructed the Department to grant naturalisation to Pietro in July 1946.[592] Although their identity as market gardeners was strengthened because of their role to produce food for the war effort, the circumstances of the war destabilised the *veneti* at Lockleys. They became marginalised through restrictions of everyday freedoms, conscription of some members of the community and at the policy level, as enemy aliens, they were prevented from becoming citizens.

Outsider status during the war

By the middle of 1943, the Veneto pioneer families had negotiated three years of living as enemy aliens in the Anglo Australian community. The *veneti* adapted to the enforced constraints of daily life including restricted movement and regular reporting at the local police station. However, their presence on the market gardens was valued because of their role as primary producers during the war. After some men had compulsorily registered for the Allied Works Council in October 1942, they continued their work on their market gardens while they waited to be called up and removed to remote locations.

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[591] National Archives of Australia: Prime Minister's Department, A1608, *Correspondence files, multiple number series with variable alphabetical prefix and general prefix 'SC' (fourth system) [Main correspondence files series of the agency]* 01 Jan 1939 – 31 Dec 1947; C19/1/1, Naturalization of enemy aliens, 1940-1946, 7. As late as July 1946, the Returned Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Imperial League had written to Prime Minister Chifley urging the government to deport "ex-enemy aliens and internees and naturalised subjects of enemy origin" suspected of disloyalty or found guilty of dissident activities.

[592] NAA: Department of Immigration, Central Office, A435, *Class 4 correspondence files relating to naturalisation*, 01 Jan 1944 – 31 Dec 1950; 1946/4/510. Vittorio Pietro Berno – born 18 July 1909 – Italian, 1939-1946. In the case of the delays in the naturalisation processes for the Berno brothers, it is likely that the security investigations about their alleged role in dummying in the purchase of land in 1942 mitigated against their application. See Chapter 2.

Apart from being the subjects of surveillance by the state, Italian market gardeners were also scrutinised and resented by Anglo Australian farmers, as examined in the discussion of Gelindo Rossetto's attempts to buy land at Lockleys in Chapter 2. The experience of the war translated at times to localised conflict and distress that could be orchestrated by Anglo Australians when "hysteria, near panic and denunciation played their part, for it is well known that the first casualty in war is Truth."[593] In the case of Giosue Zoanetti, a market gardener, well known to the *veneti*, the hostility had fatal consequences.

In 1927, Giosue had arrived from *Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol*, adjoining the Veneto region. The Zoanetti family was known to the Veneto pioneer at Lockleys at that time because of the small numbers of Italians and the common occupation as market gardeners. Giosue lived with his wife and daughter on a market garden in a neighbouring suburb to the *veneti* on about eight acres of land, close to the settlement of the Bulgarian community. They had leased the land in 1941-1942 from landlord, Walter Reid, who, however, was unhappy about the lack of access to water on his part of the property. In June 1943, Reid was sufficiently convinced about his rights to water that he took Giosue to court to confirm what he alleged was a verbal agreement about certain conditions to allow his access as landlord to the bore on land leased by Giosue and his family.

When the court dismissed his claim, Reid took two further actions against the Italian lessee. The first was to report his concerns to the Civil Aliens Corps which had conscripted Zoanetti in 1942.[594] In Figure 107, a hand-written record of an interview with the military official shows that Reid listed grievances against Zoanetti. Reid accused him of mismanagement of land and animals and claimed that Zoanetti did not understand how to work the soil, that he did not know how to water appropriately because he flooded rather than saturated vegetables and tied animals to trees.

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[593] See Lamidey, *Aliens Control in Australia*, 3. See also Christine Winter, "Removing Danger: The Making of 'dangerous internees' in Australia," in *Home Fronts: Britain and the Empire at War, 1939- 45*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2017), 206-223.

[594] Zoanetti had not yet served with the Civil Aliens Corps by the time that Reid reported him in May 1943. NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia,* 03 May 1942 – by 16 Feb 1945; NN, Zoanetti, Giosue, 1942 – 1943.

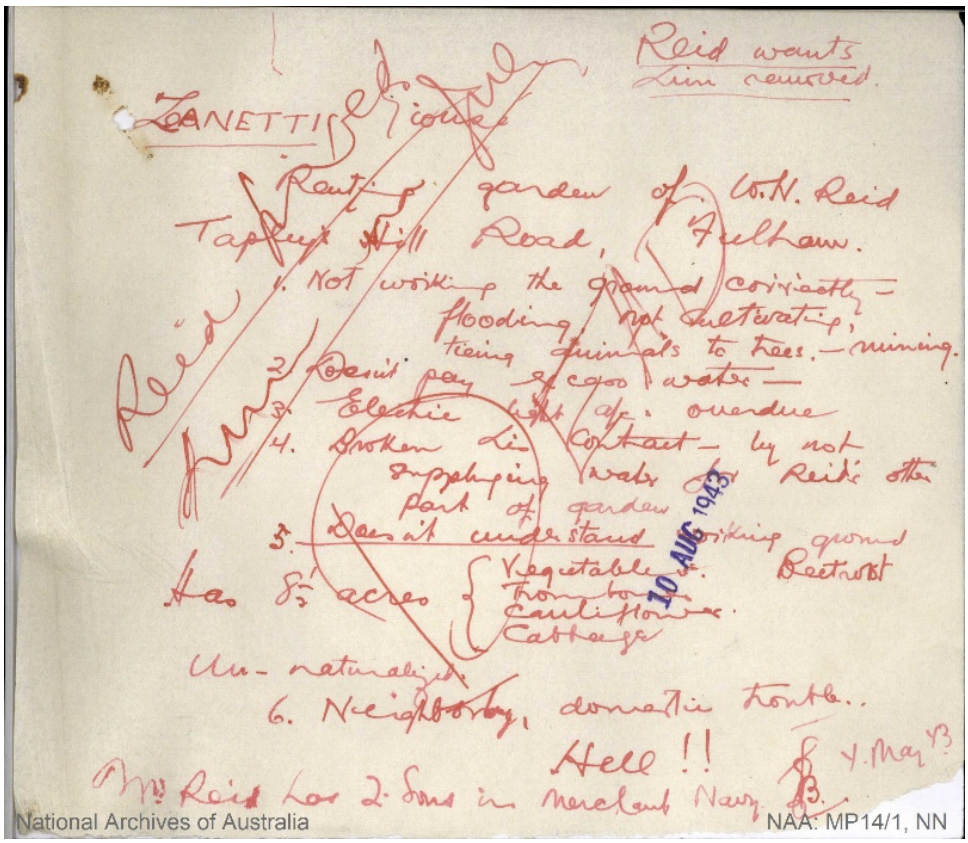

Figure 107: Record of interview with Walter Reid, 4 May 1943.

Reid was interviewed by an officer of the administration of the Civil Alien Corps.

NAA: 14/1, NN. Zoanetti, Giosue.

Reid's complaints reflected contemporary differences between Italian and Anglo Australian farming methods. For example, work practices of the Italian and Bulgarian market gardeners had been a subject of concern in the South Australian growers' association.[595] Barrie West referred to this in his interview.

Zoanetti had adapted practices he knew from his experience as a *contadino* in northern Italy over the sixteen years he had been working land near Adelaide.[596] Reid added that there was "domestic trouble" in the Zoanetti household. Although Walter Reid assumed his adverse report would have

[595] Barrie West, OH 872/22, 15 September 2012, 12, confirms that Italian and Bulgarian market gardeners were not interested in joining the association.

[596] Giosue had worked land in the Adelaide hills for an extended period and relocated to Fulham and leased eight acres from Reid in 1941-1942. See interview with Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti OH 872/3, 3 October 2008, 2-3.

an influence on Giosue Zoanetti's case, a note on Giosue's file for the Civil Aliens Corps indicates his exemption on medical grounds. In any case, the Civil Aliens Corps had no jurisdiction to act on Reid's report which is reflected in the word, "Hell!!" at the bottom of the page. [597]

Through the actions of Reid, Zoanetti was drawn into a public conflict at a time when many Italians did not want to be visible because of possible discrimination or injustice.[598] Apart from access to water rights, Reid's report to the military authority extended to other matters that reflected wider hostility to enemy aliens. He strategically used other issues to further his cause by adding further complaints about Zoanetti; he was not naturalised, did not pay excess water and owed electricity bills. Reid also declared that two of his sons served in the Merchant Navy. Clearly, he saw this detail as evidence of the loyalty of his family in the war effort while he directed his antagonism to Zoanetti, an Italian enemy.

Unsuccessful in the courts, Reid took matters into his own hands. On 17 July 1943, Zoanetti was murdered by Reid who suicided shortly after.[599] Zoanetti had borrowed a horse from one of the Veneto market gardeners and as he neared his home, Reid shot and killed him, and Reid's body was found later in his garden. The impact of the murder was felt deeply in the community at Lockleys and remembered by second-generation narrators in personal conversations rather than in interviews.[600] Until today the murder has remained a traumatic event that does not fit easily into personal and community narratives.

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[597] From the file, NAA: Allied Works Council, South Australian Office; MP 14/1, *Personal files for members of the CAC [Civil Alien Corps] enlisted in South Australia*, 03 May 1942-by 16 Feb 1945; NN, Zoanetti, Giosue, 1942-1943, it is not clear if any action was taken. The military officer, who would not have had authority to act on the information, was apparently uncertain how to respond to Reid's report as demonstrated by his writing "hell!" in front of his signature on the file note.

[598] Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 141-147, provides accounts of Italians in the Lismore area in New South Wales whose experience as outsiders during the war years made them keep out of sight as much as possible because of fear of abuse or internment as some had been interned.

[599] See *Mail* (Adelaide), Saturday 17 July, 1943, 3.

[600] It seemed that the incident continued to be difficult to talk about sixty-five years later. Even Giosue's daughter, Mary, did not specify the cause of her father's death but discussed the situation in later

At the time the implications of the situation were serious for Italians because of their precarious status during the war. Although it was not possible to take a murder charge to court, Zoanetti's widow, Metilde, did have the benefit of legal assistance to challenge a legal decision that the Public Trustee, the executor of Reid's estate, would not have to pay full compensation. In addition, the ruling had dismissed Metilde's right to an additional reparation because of personal suffering resulting from her husband's murder. The case progressed from the Supreme Court of South Australia to the High Court in Melbourne which indicates that Metilde received considerable support from the law firm that took her case. [601] She was unable to speak English and public opinion would have backed the case against her given the hostility to Italians at the time. However, Metilde's appeal was successful.

The security service office in South Australia was aware of Zoanetti's murder. This became clear about a week later when Mussolini was overthrown on 25 July 1943 and an officer reported on the reactions of the largest groups of Italians in Adelaide. A contact noted that the 'Little Italy' market gardeners at Lockleys "have been very quiet since Zoanette (sic) was murdered."[602] The community was shocked and distressed about the violence of Zoanetti's death. His wife and daughter were incorporated into the Veneto fold at Lockleys. A market gardener allocated some land for six glasshouses and another man in the *paese* lent them a temporary iron house which was erected on the property. The community assisted the widow and her daughter to sell their

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conversations with me. See interview with Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti, OH 872/3 3 October 2008. Other narrators asked me if I knew about the murder and spoke to me about the circumstances outside interviews.

[601] For further information about the successful appeal to High Court ruling on the award of damages granted to Metilde Zoanetti, widow of Giosue Zoanetti including a *solatium*. Metilde had challenged the Public Trustee, executor of Walter Reid's estate on the grounds of personal suffering. See article in *News*, (Adelaide), Thursday 18 October 1945, 3. See also High Court judgment that dismissed the appeal of the Public Trustee which was executor of Reid's will, http://eresources.hcourt.gov.au/getPdf/1/14882/70clr266.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y

[602] Two reports were made on Italian communities in South Australia after Mussolini's fall: on Italians in the west end of the city on 27 July 1943 and on the market gardeners at Lockley on 28 July 1943, eleven days after Zoanetti's murder. See NAA: D1915, SA20480, 238, 239.

vegetables at market. In her interview, Mary does not reveal the circumstances of her father's death but recalls that she and her mother were supported by the community after Giosue's death:

> Most of the people used to live in sheds. Sheds, and they used to split it up and build dividers and sleep in the sheds. Well, there was a friend that lent us his shed that he had because he went overseas, so he said we can use it, and they pulled that shed over where we had the land so we can live in it.
>
> (Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti, OH 872, 3 October 2008, 5-6).

One possible reason that Zoanetti's daughter did not speak about the murder of her father was related to the financial compensation she and her mother received which may have been viewed as improper or inappropriate within the community.

Mary and her mother became neighbours to three Veneto families on land in the Lockleys area.[603] The effects of the murder were surely impressed on other Italian market gardener communities who knew the dependence on water for their livelihoods and who were already subject to discrimination and enmity in their everyday lives.[604] Like internment, this single event resonated with the community, as it reinforced deeper fears about their status in the difficult years of the war. Several scholars who examine the Italian population in Australia during the interwar years argue that the achievement of Italian families on land previously unsuccessfully owned by soldier settlers motivated jealousy and antagonism.[605] For example, in the Riverina area, Italians owned farms

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[603] In 1947, the daughter, Mary, married Albert Tonellato, son of a neighbouring pioneer market gardener family. Mary's mother lived with them until she died in 1995. See Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti's interview, OH 872/3, 7, 11-12.

[604] Mantello, *Now and Then*, 35-36. Mantello explains the vital access to water for the Sicilian market gardeners at Werribee South, reliance on hand irrigation and their experience of a drought in 1939 and the ineffectual efforts to access a bore because of salinity. The Veneto market gardeners did not have the problem of salinity in the water table when they sunk their bores.

[605] For discussion of the resentment of Anglo Australians towards Italians who were successful on the land during the war, see Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 65; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 138, 140. Mantello, *Now and Then*, 43; Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 40-41.

originally allocated to soldier settlers from the First World War who had given up their claims to the land. The Italians, a proportion of whom were *veneti*, successfully managed the properties and were criticised for working seven days a week.[606] This situation was analogous for Sicilian and other Italian farmers in the Werribee South area in Victoria who confronted extensive hostility from returned First World War servicemen in the soldier settlement program.[607]

Baldassar and Pesman make the point that the combined family labour unit was a factor in the success of *veneti* working the land which had been considered unviable especially in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area.[608] Italians who grew food and contributed to the war effort as primary producers for the Army were criticised by the Returned Soldiers League Congress in 1943. They were described as "vultures and birds of prey" and condemned because of practices that seemed inconceivable to Anglo Australians. For example, it was reported that "women [were] harnessed to ploughs".[609] The Returned Soldiers League passed a motion at their 1943 congress to prevent enemy aliens from owning land until thirty years after the war.[610] First World War soldier settlers also successfully campaigned against Italians owning land in Lockleys, as discussed in Chapter 2.[611] The xenophobic mindset percolated at the level of Government, in national organisations and local Anglo Australian communities and further isolated Italian groups like the Veneto market gardeners during the war. Their very presence, let alone their success on the market gardens, generated a mixture of prejudice, hostility, fear of competition and suspicion within the Anglo Australian community even while they produced vegetables for the war effort.

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[606] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 58, notes that Anglo Australians were appalled that Italian women worked so hard alongside their husbands on their farms at Griffith.

[607] Mantello *Now and Then*, 43-44, contends that the soldier settlers carried on a "vendetta" against Italians in the Werribee area.

[608] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 66-67.

[609] *Mail* (Adelaide), Saturday 18 September 1943, page 3.

[610] *Mail* (Adelaide), Saturday 18 September 1943, page 3.

[611] Cecilia, *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, 154-158, examines the role of the Returned and Services League in the Riverina area and argues there was a "tribal mentality" among ex-servicemen who were bitter about what they saw as competition from Italians who had bought farms and become successful.

American soldiers in Lockleys

Two Veneto families encountered American soldiers on their market gardens and the interactions with them differed markedly with the experience of relationships with the ex-servicemen and Government authorities. Some narrators provide insight into the positive interactions with the soldiers who were camped in the Lockleys area during the war.[612] The Marchioro family encountered American soldiers near their home and Lina remembers her father mixing with them:

> I don't know what they were doing though there, while they were there, but they used to come and see Dad at night time, you know, because at night time they were free, and they mixed with the Italians and the … and I remember them coming to see Dad – I remember it was about three or four of them one night – and Dad was giving them like his home-made wine, and maybe Mum cooked a meal of spaghetti I don't know, but I know they had a good time. Dad loved it.
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH872/9, 15 November 2010, 73-74).

Lina remembers the warmth of the hospitality extended to the American soldiers by her parents at a time when it would have been impossible to interact with Australian soldiers in their home. In their interviews, some members of the Zampin family also recalled the respect and openness of the American soldiers which included the exchange of food and small gifts for the children. Italians in other parts of Australia also mixed with American soldiers, and relationships were cordial.[613] At Lockleys, the American soldiers did not harbour negative feelings towards the *veneti* in contrast to

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[612] In the following interviews narrators recall the presence of American soldiers and some interactions with them. See Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH872/9, 5 May 2011, 73-74; Connie Legovich nee Marchioro, OH 872/11, 10 January 2011, 4; Milva Rebuli nee Zampin, OH 872/36 27 March 2016, 10; Bruna Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/39 8 November 2016, 6-7; Roma Bordignon nee Zampin, OH 872/41, 15-16.

[613] See Jenkins, *Power of the Land,* 157-158, cites the friendly presence of American soldiers including some Italian Americans who interacted with Italian farmers in the Lismore area of New South Wales during the war; Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 222, for reference to interactions between Italians in Australia and American soldiers. See also Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 116, 126, who suggests that the presence of Italian American soldiers in North Queensland seemed to ameliorate tensions between local Anglo Australians and Italians in the area.

the hostility from local settler and veteran Anglo Australians who expressed ongoing resentment about the Italian occupation of land and success in market gardening.

The images of pioneers offering hospitality to American soldiers and trusting their friendly interactions with children contrasts with the official interactions with the military and local authorities who controlled aspects of everyday lives of Italians during the war.[614] The positive example of the interaction of the Veneto families with the American soldiers contradicts the national myth of Anglo Australia in the war years which identified Italians as outsiders and a menace to the security of ordinary citizens.[615]

Linking back to Italy

The Italian community in Australia had limited knowledge about the extent of campaigns in Italy, conflicts between Fascists and partisans, or the German occupation from 1943.[616] Communication through letters was prohibited.[617] The Veneto region, where families of the market gardeners resided, was the site of extensive Allied bombing campaigns particularly in 1942 and 1943.[618] In contrast to Borrie who asserts that "sentimental and familial links" of Italians in Queensland were weakened during the war, I argue that families in the Veneto community wanted to maintain the transnational links and yearned for information about the impact of combat on their families and civilian population in Italy. Although there were limited channels of communication, some

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[614] See Baggio, *The Shoe in My Cheese*, 50-52, for memories of American soldiers including Italian Americans in the rural area of Little River, near Werribee, where his family and other Italian farmers lived although he remembers that there was little close interaction which contrasts with the memories of the narrators in this project. He recalls Arthur Calwell, Cabinet Minister, referring to the contribution of Italian soldiers in the US army who had protected Australia from Japanese invasion.

[615] For discussion of the ways that minorities can be excluded in national myths, see Raphael and Thomson, *The Myths We Live By*, 18-19.

[616] Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 151, refers to the lengthy period for mail to arrive from Italy which was censored and was transmitted through the Red Cross.

[617] See Mercurio and Scarino *E' Partimmo= We Left,* 40-44, for an account of the prohibition of letters between Italy and Australia in the war years and its effects on the San Giorgese community in Adelaide.

[618] Centre for the Study of War, State and Society, Bombing, States and Peoples in Western Europe https://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/warstateandsociety/projects/bombing/italy/

households actively pursued news of Italy. For example, Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, a teenager during the war years, recalled her father's strategies to acquire details of the war in Italy because it was not possible to communicate with family for several years:

> Dad had his ears glued to the little tiny radio, listened to the shortwave, heard the Italian news about Mussolini and, and then they'd buy the paper and Dad wanted me to read the paper to him and I couldn't understand what these – (laughs) were about the war. And he'd say: 'Oh, you're in Grade 3 … and you don't, can't understand.' I used to get upset because I couldn't explain the war situation.
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 15).

Lina affirms the determination of her father to gain access to news of the Italian warfront and wryly emphasises the limits of her abilities. Later in the interview she recalls that her father listened to the news in English and *via* shortwave to the Italian news early in the morning.[619] She reflects on her father's motivation; "Well, I think it's only natural, I mean they came from Italy, I think you never forget your homeland, do you?" (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 67). The concept of "home" for the pioneers became even more ambiguous during the war. Their memory of family and loyalty for their place of birth and home was harmed by knowledge of military offensives and lack of information about the safety of their families. At the same time, their goal of achieving *sistemazione* and remaining on the land they leased at Lockleys was under threat because of their status as enemy aliens.[620]

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[619] The Marchioro family was reported to the Security Service in 1941 because of owning a short-wave radio. See NAA: Investigation Branch, South Australia; D1915, *Investigation case files, single number series with 'SA' (South Australia) prefix*, 01 Jan 1910-31 Dec 1987, SA2892, Marchioro Francesco – application for naturalization, 1931-1949.

[620] Shelley Mallett, "Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature," *The Sociological Review* 52, no. 1*, (*2004): 69-70, examines the relationship between the remembered, idealised and actual home and argues that the concept of home and belonging is "provisional" and constructed in response to changing circumstances.

Maintaining *sistemazione*

Although they had earned a reputation for being reliable primary producers, the Veneto market gardeners, like other Italian communities, were not acknowledged as full and trustworthy members of the Australian community and their status as outsiders worsened during the war years.[621] The pioneers had established their market gardens at Lockleys and during the war this was the space they identified as home. The place provided security for daily interactions that reflected their identity as *veneti* and as *contadini* who had adapted work on the land to the needs of the Australian market and army. Inside the group, the Veneto market gardeners had built "micro-structures" that strengthened the community and were applied in response to the tragedy in the Zoanetti family.[622] The pioneers continued to work their land, raise families and fortified the bonds that gave assurance about their decision to live in Australia even in a time of crisis and persecution. After the war, the pioneers maintained the processes of *sistemazione* in the *paese* at Lockleys with a new direction.

The war years disrupted the security of the *paese* and reduced ties with family in Italy. While they had received hostility in Australia, the pioneer families had also participated in the war effort as primary producers and most families benefitted from contracts with the army which guaranteed their income. Post-war, the economic base of the pioneer market gardeners expanded as the population grew through migration.[623] The pioneers also recommenced contact with family and friends in their home of origin. It was important for the market gardeners who had been cut off from communication with Italy to renew interactions with their *paesani* in the Veneto region. These links often led to a new role for the pioneers to support the post-war wave of migrations and offer opportunities for young people whose lives had been upended by the years of war in villages in the

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[621] For accounts of communities of Italians during the war, see Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 66; Jenkins, *Power of the Land*, 139-141; Mantello, *Now and Then*, 40-42.

[622] Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 23. The authors acknowledge the self-reliance of migrant groups who found support within their community particularly in the first years after settlement.

[623] Paul Sendziuk and Robert Foster, *A History of South Australia* (Melbourne, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 153. The authors state that South Australia received the highest proportional increase in population through migration between 1947 and 1954.

Veneto region. Unlike the independent arrivals of the pioneers in the 1920s, a post-Second World War chain migration brought large numbers of single men, and some families, from the home villages of the pioneers.

Price argues that the first generation of southern Europeans had mixed feelings about accepting post-war migrants into their communities. [624] The tensions in the *paese* at Lockleys were manifest in the relatively smooth settlement experienced by the newcomers who did not have to endure the uncertainties experienced by those who had migrated between the wars. For all the unease about the differences in the two generations, Price asserts that the first generation supported the new arrivals. Some narrators identified similar tensions in the Veneto market gardener community and one of the pioneers accentuates what he saw as a simpler path to economic success of the post-war migrants:

> Before the war the gardens, work and work and no money too. Start after the war, start better, price got better and go up … ... All different now than before. Now, everybody got a car, before nobody got a car, nothing, take a horse and trolley to market ... The people … coming after the war, come here, started work, making money quick.
>
> (Vittorio Marchioro, OH 872/12, 13 March 1984, 14, 15, 18).

Vittorio reflects on the differences in the trajectories to *sistemazione* which, for the pioneers, included the challenges of the Depression and the war years. While he acknowledges the economic growth after the war which created improvements in demand and supply of vegetables, Vittorio's observations suggest resentment about the relative ease with which the post-war Italians obtained employment and purchased houses and cars within a few years of arrival. They achieved *sistemazione* much more quickly than it had been for those who arrived in the late 1920s and established themselves as market gardeners in a difficult economic and political period.

[624] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 190-199, 286-289.

After enduring the crisis of the Second World War, a new stage in *sistemazione* occurred in the *paese* as post-war social and economic forces and local circumstances transformed the development of the family market garden community. The pioneers incorporated the new migrants as they began to reap the benefits of their hard work, frugality and the security of the community after the uncertainty of the war. At the same time, more adjustments were occurring in the *paese* at Lockleys. The 1.5 generation was making progress with marriage and the processes of *sistemazione* and second-generation sons and daughters were beginning to make their own paths. This transformation between the experience of the generations is examined in the next chapter.

Chapter six: Pathways – 1.5 and second generation

There wasn't a lot that went on with the market gardens. Well, the Santins … the Tonellatos, none of their boys carried on with the market gardens. They got too much money for the land [laughs] so they had it sewn up. So, it was only Johnny and Frankie, you say, in that group were the only ones … Bruno never, he was an engineer so he never, oh, he used to grow a few tomatoes but Bruno's brothers went into the market garden but they ended up giving it away. So, out of the group of that time, not a lot of the boys carried on with the market gardens … No, they all went different ways, different directions.

(Romano Marchioro interviewed by Madeleine Regan, Adelaide, 11 June 2012, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/20, 12-13).

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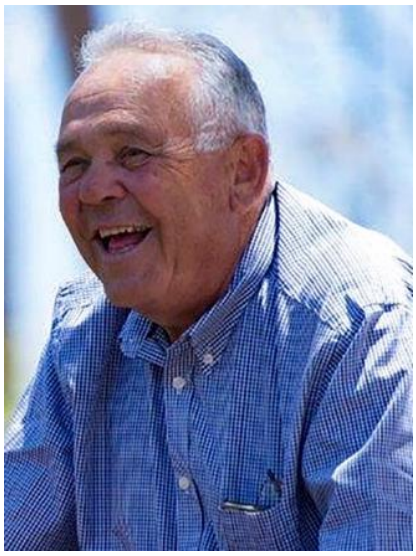

Figure 108: Romano Marchioro, 2015.

Photo supplied by Mirjana Marchioro.

In his assessment of second-generation sons within the Veneto community at Lockleys, Romano Marchioro confirms that few worked as self-employed market gardeners like their parents. Romano names sons in three pioneer market gardener families who were born in Australia and chose other occupations. He identifies what was a complication for the second-generation, and particularly for the sons, who chose not to follow their parents' occupation.[625] The majority of the second-generation did not become market gardeners and withdrew from the family enterprise which disrupted the *contadino* tradition of working land.[626] As discussed in Chapter 2, land in Lockleys had become a valuable commodity and Romano refers to sons in two pioneer families who benefitted from the sale of their market gardens as the value of land increased. Within the Veneto community of market gardener families there had been different reasons for selling the land.[627] Some families, like the Tonellato and Santin who had large landholdings, became wealthy through the sale of their land when it was subdivided for housing. However, because Romano's family had just three acres, his parents did not make a large profit and his comments are an indication of differential wealth within the market gardener community.

Romano cites his brother, Johnny, and friend Frankie Ballestrin, as second-generation representatives who maintained the occupation of their parents as market gardeners. In contrast, all but one of the 1.5 generation sons had worked beside their parents, adapted the *contadino* way of life, bought market gardens with their wives and achieved their own form of *sistemazione.*[628]

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[625] Romano identifies the Santin and Tonellato families in which sons had arrived as children. Some sons in in the second generation, worked with their parents for a period but did not have an extended working life in the market gardens.

[626] Bridget Rachel Carlson. "Immigrant Placemaking in Colonial Australia: The Italian Speaking Settlers of Daylesford" (Ph. D., Victoria University, 1997), 443, argues that in the peasant tradition, the family and its occupation was protected down the generations. Second-generation sons and daughters were expected to acquire the skills of their parents which, for sons, meant they took over the family property while daughters were prepared for marriage, running the household and raising children.

[627] The various reasons for selling the land included the urbanisation of Lockleys, concern about use of chemicals on market gardens and land use regulations, smaller land holdings becoming marginal, movement from small-scale family market gardens and competition in increasingly extensive commercial operations.

[628] Lino Tonellato moved away from Lockleys after an injury which prevented him from working glasshouses and with his wife, established a poultry farm north of Adelaide.

Romano's profile of the market gardener families illustrates changes in families who migrated as *contadini*, worked in market gardens at Lockleys and shifted in the second generation into new occupational choices.[629] Borrie argues that children of Italian parents who migrated before the war were more likely to move towards a "more 'normal' occupational distribution."[630] The second generation participation in employment reflected the range from white collar positions to trades and manufacturing work.

While previous chapters emphasise the narrative of the pioneer generation, in this chapter I argue that the pioneers, 1.5 generation and second-generation understood the meaning of land in different ways.[631] As *contadini*, the pioneers who saw attachment to land as a way of life, embodied this heritage. In the early years, the first-generation men and women relied on the collaboration of children in the 1.5 generation for the success of the family business. The 1.5 generation members were more than just workers within the family, they worked the land as market gardeners as an inherited way of life that they shaped and pursued even as they became independent of their parents. [632] In contrast, the majority of the second generation was not tied to the same traditions and sought other means of earning a livelihood away from the land, mostly as wage earners. Whereas Lampugnani and Holton claim that the second-generation Italians in post-

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[629] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 193-196. In his analysis of Veneto farmers at Griffith, New South Wales, Price documents changes that occurred between the 1930s and 1960s and states that a quarter of the men were employed outside family farms in contrast to the previous generation when less than ten per cent were in occupations other than the family farm. Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 146, argues that within two generations of Italians who had migrated to San Francisco in the 1920s, families "made the transition from an agrarian environment to an urban-industrial one."

[630] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 152, suggests that Italians in northern Queensland where second-generation Italians acquired skills and experience more aligned to their Anglo Australian peers.

[631] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 65, acknowledge the significance of land for the *veneti* and refer to the "the centuries-old peasant desire to acquire land." See also Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 141-142 and Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia,* 131-132, for the argument related to the need for Italians to maintain independence and own land.

[632] See Sarah James, *Farming on the Fringe,* Chapter 5, for discussion of "translocated tradition" of the migrant heritage of market gardening as family tradition brought from the country of origin, an occupation also valued as a way of life.

war family businesses saw education as a means to improve their social mobility, the majority of sons and daughters in the Veneto market gardener families generally did not attend school beyond compulsory years. They entered employment as wage earners with assured income and fewer risks than if they were business owners.[633] The second generation had seen their parents subject to the demands of self-employment, long hours of physical work, reliance on seasonal and market uncertainties, and the management of production, labour and sales in operating market gardens.

This study differs from other examinations of migrant family businesses in Australia that analyse the development of substantial family enterprises or dynasties.[634] The family market gardens of the pioneers and the 1.5 generation never reached the status of a dynasty. The study analyses market gardens and also identifies the significance of the role of the 1.5 generation separating it from other studies of migrant family businesses which delineate first and second generations as the

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[633] Rosario Lampugnani and Robert Holton, "Ethnic Business in South Australia: A Sociological Profile of the Italian Business Community," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (1992): 5.

[634] On migrant family businesses in Australia see Nonja Peters, "Generations of Immigrants, Employment and Entrepreneurship in Australia 1890-2000," AEMI (Associated European Migration Institutions) 2013; Nonja Peters, "Mixed Embeddedness: Does it Really Explain Immigrant Enterprise in Western Australia?" *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 8, no.1/2 (2002): 32-53; for a study of Italian, Greek and Dutch intergenerational family businesses although these examples are far more entrepreneurial and extensive than family market gardens; Bruce Pascoe, *Open for Business* 19-29 for the story of a Veneto family who commenced farming in south Queensland in the 1930s and built a dynasty; Laura Hougaz, *Entrepreneurs in Family Business Dynasties: Stories of Italian-Australian Family Businesses over 100 Years* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2015) examines seven successful Italian Australian entrepreneurs through three generations in Victoria; Collins, "Cappuccino Capitalism," 73-84, examines the issues in Italian migrant small family businesses in Australia particularly in the post-war period; Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 2018: 41, 43-44 refers to the contribution of Italians to small business economy in Australia and significance of independence and self-employment. Studies that analyse South Australian Italian businesses include Rosario Lampugnani, "The Impact of South Australian Italians on the Economy: Italian Businesses," in *The First Conference on the Impact of Italians in South Australia*, ed. Desmond O'Connor and Antonio Comin (Adelaide: Flinders University, 1993), 67-77; See also Sara King and Desmond O'Connor, "Building Blocks of Settlement: Italians in the Riverland, South Australia." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 11, no. 2 (2006): 24-29, for a study of a rural community of Italian Australian business owners in South Australia and Sara King, "Agriculture in South Australia," examines the extensive Italian contribution to agricultural enterprises in South Australia.

principal actors. [635] By examining the 1.5 generation it is possible to evaluate the links between the *contadino* tradition and new occupational opportunities that were taken up within families by the second generation. In this chapter I argue that the divergence of pathways between the 1.5 and second generations was shaped by economic factors, life cycle of families, numbers of sons and daughters, and wider experience of the second generation outside the Veneto community which led to different trajectories in working lives. An important point to make about the pioneer generation is that prior to establishing the market gardeners none had had previous experience of businesses, although Gelindo Rossetto and Angelo Piovesan were part-shareholders of a mica mine, as noted in Chapter 2.

Connection to land and settlement

The narrators in this study were less focused on factors and decisions about employment and the consequences of the end of the market gardens than they were on the history of the gardens, childhood and family life, working the land and living in the community. This leaves unanswered questions about the emotional impact of the family determination to leave the land and detach from the *contadino* heritage, an area for further investigation.[636] One pioneer couple, Giuseppe and Cesira Ballestrin, stand out because Giuseppe progressed from being a self-employed market gardener to becoming a wage earner at the age of fifty-eight years. Together with his cousin and his wife who jointly owned the land, the couples sold their land to developers and built new houses

[635] A total of thirteen 1.5 generation people in the cohort arrived with their mothers in the 1930s - nine males and four females. Eight men worked as market gardeners into adulthood while the ninth established a poultry farm with his wife after an injury prevented him from working market gardens. One woman married another 1.5 generation and worked with him and his three brothers on the Santin family market garden. Two of the 1.5-generation women were intellectually disabled and worked in limited ways with their parents. The fourth daughter born in Italy worked on the family market garden before marrying a Veneto man outside the market garden community.

[636] James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 124, examines Lebanese Australian and Maltese Australian families who own market gardens in Sydney and reports that they would regret the loss of connection to the land if it were converted to urban development. Of particular interest, (161-163) is the finding that groups would feel the loss of community networks if the market garden land was sold.

on part of their market garden land after subdivision.[637] Many pioneers and 1.5 generation, after retirement, preserved connection to land and heritage by building their houses and gifting blocks to sons and daughters on sections of the property they had bought as market gardens, as discussed in Chapter 2. In this way, the different generations maintained continuity with the physical sites of the market gardens through the *paese* at Lockleys that had sustained the group since the 1930s.[638]

The concentrated settlement of the *veneti*, from eight different *comuni* in Italy, contrasts with the presence of two other ethnic group settlements in South Australia prior to the Second World War. The German community in the Barossa Valley had been established from the 1860s and was drawn together largely by the Lutheran faith.[639] Greek Orthodox migrants in South Australia, another significant ethnic group connected by religious practice, had founded a formal Greek Orthodox Community by 1930.[640] As noted in Chapter 2, the Bulgarian market gardeners in the neighbouring suburb, contributed resources to establish a community centre in 1949, funded partly by market gardeners who donated funds from the sale of their produce. At that time, the Bulgarian community, comprised of fifty-four members, formally adopted a constitution.[641] In contrast, the

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[637] See interviews with daughter, Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872 37, 21 September 2016, 25-26; and son, Lino Ballestrin, OH 872/40, 22 November 2016, 21-22. On reflection after the interviews, I missed the opportunity to investigate the emotional impact of their parents' decision to sell the market gardens.

[638]Huber, From Pasta to Pavlova, 122, refers to the dual concept of community as place and people and explains that the Veneto farmers identified Griffith as their *paese*; a place, and a community of *paesani*.

[639] See Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 167, 172 for statements about the "unifying influence" of the Lutheran faith and "binding force of Lutheranism."

[640] See Michael Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" (Ph.D., University of Adelaide, 1971) for a detailed history of the formation of the Greek Orthodox Community in South Australia, 156-160, 181-182. Michael P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia," in *Greeks in Australia*. ed. Charles A. Price (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975), 30-31, refers to the formation of the Greek Orthodox community in Adelaide in 1930. Tsounis analyses the role of community networks in the settlement patterns of Greek migrants since 1890s. He identifies three levels: the formal communities that served religious practices and teaching children the Greek language; regional groups that maintained the sense of belonging and the third level was the pan-Hellenic groups that offered social gatherings.

[641] Bulgarians' Educational and Friendly Society, Speech of Vice President, John Bennett, in *Jubilee edition to commemorate fifty years*, 37.

paese at Lockleys formed and operated as a sub-group of a wider community of *veneti* in South Australia. The market gardeners participated in social events with the larger group; however, they identified as a *paese*, a self-contained neighbourhood that adapted their experience of their home villages without relying on formal structures or a community centre.

Place of origin and place of livelihood

I maintain that the meaning of land and livelihood transformed between the years of establishment in the 1930s to the late 1970s when most market gardens had been sold. The significance of land had modified between the pioneer, 1.5 and the second generations in the Veneto market gardener community. Both the pioneer and the 1.5 generations valued connection to land because they knew the tradition of inheritance through the patriarchal line of ownership and subsistence in a *contadino* family in the Veneto region. These two generations also preserved emotional attachment to family and the *paese* they had left in the Veneto. In Australia the meaning of attachment to land and tradition changed in the family networks at Lockleys because land provided income and prosperity and cultivation was not the only occupational or lifestyle choice for the second generation.[642] In addition, the monetary value of land brought changes in the lives of the Veneto families and created conditions for financial security and other opportunities beyond the market gardens which enabled pioneers to gift land to children and travel after retirement.

I return again to the concept of "emplacement" that Ricatti uses to describe the processes of settlement in, and adaptation of, Italian migrants to their new environment.[643] I propose that the Veneto pioneers' attachment to land was twofold: it was an inherited desire and it was a physical

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[642] Changes in the values and experience of the second generation in Italian family businesses in Australia have been documented by Jock Collins in "Cappuccino Capitalism," 73-84; 1992; Lampugnani and Holton, "Ethnic Business in South Australia," 18; Bruce Pascoe, *Open for Business*, 19-29; Laura Hougaz, *Entrepreneurs in Family Business Dynasties,* Chapter 9 for examination of the role of the second generation. However, these examples generally focus on family enterprises on a scale far larger than the Veneto family market gardeners.

[643] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia,* 3, 4, 35-37, describes the idea of emplacement as part of a migrant's imperative to find an environment in which to settle and live in the new country.

yearning to put down roots and establish a secure presence for the family within the community of *paesani*. When the pioneers began their leases at Lockleys in the 1930s, they did not know that the value of land would increase dramatically and bring them prosperity. However, after selling their properties and retaining house blocks, the pioneers did not move away or seek upward mobility in a more prestigious suburb, a characteristic identified in post-war Italian migrants.[644]

Figure 109: View of the Berno land, pasture block, Valetta Road, mid-late 1950s.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

Land: livelihood, change and commodity in Lockleys

In families who lived in the Veneto region land was not a commodity to buy or sell, and inheritance traditions restricted ownership. However, at Lockleys within thirty years, the pioneers and 1.5 generation progressed from being lessees, to owners and later, vendors of land. The pioneers saw land ownership as the apex of self-sufficiency and status, a belief maintained by the 1.5 generation who also became proprietors and contributed to the stability of the community of Veneto market

[644] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*,35-40, argues that expanding employment opportunities created upward social mobility for post-war Italian migrants who aspired to earn sufficient income to focus on *sistemazione* which often meant they could buy a better home and provide a future for their children.

gardeners at Lockleys until the 1970s.[645] However, the significance of working as market gardeners changed because increased demand for urban land enabled them to become wealthy as they sold what had been the core of their *contadino* existence. In addition, changes in the market for growing fresh produce began to limit the profitability of small-scale family holdings. Transformations occurred when it became more viable to grow vegetables on a much larger scale than was possible on the family market garden and new technology increased the capacity for growers. Other external factors changed the pattern of growing for market when supermarket chains contracted market gardeners to grow single crops. Previously market gardener families grew a variety of vegetables that they knew could be sold at market or to merchants.[646]

The case study of the Santin family illustrates the ways in which intergenerational perceptions of the land changed from its meaning for *contadini* to its value as a commodity. Giovanni Santin arrived in 1927 and worked for a farmer for several years learning about land use in Australia. He continued this work after his wife and four children joined him in 1935. As discussed in Chapter 2, the family moved to Adelaide and leased a market garden from another Veneto for ten years before buying a property of twelve acres adjacent to other *paesani* in the Lockleys area. At that time, in 1950, Giovanni was sixty-five years old and contributed funds for the purchase which enabled his three sons to be among the first in the 1.5 generation to own land.[647] The brothers

[645] There were three exceptions in the 1.5 generation cohort who worked initially in the market gardens as adults. Lino Tonellato who established a poultry farm, has already been discussed and the two Rebuli brothers in the 1.5 generation worked the gardens for a period after their father died. They then owned and ran a local grocery business close to the Lockleys market gardeners and later, one worked for wages.
[646] See Sara King, "Agriculture in South Australia," 225, for a statement about the changes in the market gardening business which required larger landholdings in order to compete in producing vegetables for global markets. King, 320-329, argues that the second generation differed from their parents in terms of values and also in their response to changes in the industry which demanded investment in larger landholdings and equipment to compete in primary production.
[647] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 83, makes the point that although daughters were loved, *contadino* parents put more effort into setting up their sons who were more likely to provide continuous labour. Virginia Santin had worked for her parents on the family market gardens until she married Oscar Matttiazzo and they bought a grocery shop where they worked together for about ten years.

became business partners and paid an income to their wives who worked full-time on the market gardens.

The pioneers, the Santin parents, were involved in the market gardens in small ways and contributed to the family business by caring for grandchildren and maintaining domestic matters like caring for the chickens. Costantina also cooked meals for the families. This arrangement, addressed in Chapter 3, enabled the three sons and their wives to work full-time in the market garden. The intergenerational arrangements were reminiscent of *contadino* households in Italy. Had the Santin family remained in the Veneto region, the brothers could never have contemplated being joint proprietors or relied on the full-time work of wives on the land.[648]

Figure 110: Costantina Santin and grandson, Allan, Frogmore Road, c 1962.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

By 1960, changes in land use in the location of the Veneto market gardens began to affect the Santin family operations.[649] Subdivision for housing in the western suburbs like the Lockleys area was increasing because of its closeness to the city of Adelaide. New regulations for use of land in

[648] The Santin wives were not partners but received what might have been considered as a wage. See interview with Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 September 2013, 14.

[649] In Helen Mattiazzo, "Development of a Market Garden in an Urban Area and its Implications," Year 12 Geography Project, 1973, the author provides extensive information about the Santin family land transactions. See also Marsden, *A History of Woodville*, 299, for detail about subdivision.

suburban Adelaide also modified practices associated with market gardening.[650] At this time, the Santin brothers purchased thirty-three acres of land at Bolivar. Acquiring cheaper land further away from the urban area was a natural progression for small-scale farmers who required additional acreage to expand business operations beyond their suburban holding.[651] The Santin families continued to work the land at Lockleys at the same time as they developed the property at Bolivar without having to move from Lockleys. [652] While it was a sign of prosperity to have two properties, it was possible to expand because second-generation sons in two Santin families worked full-time in the business at Bolivar until the late 1980s, early 1990s.[653]

Figure 111: Dean Santin, cultivating artichokes on the family land at Bolivar, 1985.

Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

[650] James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 2016, examines the problem of competing interests of small-scale migrant farmers and urban development in peri-urban Sydney and argues for retention of land for market gardens owned and diverse use of land which was never a consideration in the 1960s in Adelaide when vast areas of urban market gardens in the western and eastern suburbs were subdivided for housing.

[651] As noted in Chapter 2, a total of ten Veneto families (including members of six pioneer families) bought land to grow vegetables in the Bolivar area in the late 1950s in response to changes in use of land in the Lockleys area.

[652] See Derek L. Smith, "Market Gardening at Adelaide's Urban Fringe," *Economic Geography* 42, no. 1 (1966): 33-35, for discussion of trends of market gardeners who moved from urban Adelaide to take up cheaper land north of the city. Smith argues that the market gardens in the Lockleys area were inevitably going to disappear in the 1960s because of rising land values and the increasing population which required additional supply of vegetables that would need to be cultivated in larger quantities on cheaper land.

[653] See interview with Diana Panzzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 December 2013, 42.

The purchase of land at Bolivar was also a re-creation of the Veneto market gardener *paese* at Lockleys. When families decided to acquire additional land, they chose to purchase near each other at Bolivar. The ties within the community endured after subdivision of the market gardens when the pioneer generation became prosperous and chose to remain at Lockleys. Their need was for the anchor of community in the area that had been their secure place of settlement rather than to build grand houses in more prestigious suburbs or a "status-oriented emplacement."[654]

After a failed attempt to subdivide the Lockleys land themselves in 1961, the Santin families sold to a developer in 1973 allocating themselves substantial house blocks on the former market garden property. The Santin case study illustrates the continuity of the family business from the pioneers to sons and their wives, and grandsons.[655] The tradition of working land which had passed down three generations ended when the land at Bolivar was compulsorily acquired by the local government for urban development in the 1980s. Increasing urbanisation displaced the Santin family twice, a disruption documented bitterly by family members interviewed for the project. [656] The Santin family unit – from the first involvement of pioneers, Giovanni and Costantina, to the 1.5 generation or their three sons and daughters-in-laws to the two grandsons in the second generation – had been an example of a family business that reflected "multigenerational continuity." [657] That was until the 1.5 generation chose not to re-establish the business and the two

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[654] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 38-39.

[655] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,*193, cites the German settlement in the Barossa in South Australia as an example of inherited occupation on the land although he emphasises that this kind of settlement was a more prevalent practice in old rural settlements prior to mechanisation and improved modes of transport when sons had other options.

[656] See interviews with members of the Santin family who describe the processes involved in the sale of land; Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 17 April 2013, 32-33, 36; and Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 December 2013, 42-44. In his interview, Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 30 January 2016, 53-54, outlines arrangements in the Santin families.

[657] See Constance Lever-Tracy et al., *Asian Entrepreneurs in Australia: Ethnic Small Business in the Chinese and Indian Communities of Brisbane and Sydney* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991),44. Chapter 5 examines family resources and although the researchers state that there were no examples of "multi-generational" entities in their study, an extensive range of family members including older parents were involved in the family businesses.

second-generation sons earned livelihoods in other employment independently of the family. Changes to land use were one factor outside the control of the Santin family whereas previously, like other Veneto market gardeners, they were able to regulate the factors that determined the family business.

The forces that precipitated the end of the family market gardens included changes in the value of land, the complexity of mixed use of land and additional regulations as subdivision increased in the western suburbs. In addition, the second-generation had re-evaluated market gardening as an occupation and in the 1970s both the pioneer and 1.5 generations were ageing or had died. Although some market gardeners chose to sell up and move to cheaper land north of Adelaide, the *veneti* did not take the option to leave the stability of the *paese* at Lockleys.

Land and mobility and the community at Lockleys

The pioneers are a special case considered against studies of other migrant groups by scholars of Italian migration study which examine "upward mobility" in families and successive generations who expand the boundaries of family through new status in employment and residential location.[658] I argue that there were three kinds of mobility for the pioneers: financial, employment and social/residential which reflect progressive stages in the processes of the settlement of migrants. While the pioneers had required financial mobility to move from their first work as labourers to the

[658] See for example studies of Italian migrants in Australia; Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 37-41, discusses the capacity of Italian migrants for mobility in Australia in employment and income and for adapting to new circumstances; Constance Lever-Tracey et al. quoted in Lampugnani and Holton, "Ethnic Business in South Australia," 15, emphasises the move from labourer to independence and self-employment through "upward mobility." Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Citizens*, 23-26, 60-62, refer to the tradition for the *veneti* of mobility for employment and the need to be self-employed as part of the strategy for economic wellbeing. See studies of Italians in the United States: Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 134-161. Cinel discusses difference between three generations of nine groups of Italians between mid-nineteenth century and the Second World War; di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 96-128, critiques models of mobility and examines the relationship between mobility and kinship; Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, analyses occupational and residential mobility of Italians in Buenos Aires, New York, San Francisco, Sao Paulo, and Toronto between 1870 and 1914 and concludes that they developed strategies related to migrants' skills, resources and attitudes that enabled them to adjust to their host societies.

stability of self-employment in market gardens with their wives, their aspiration to own land and belong to a *paese* kept them together at Lockleys even after families had become financially successful. Following the example and aspirations of the pioneers, the 1.5 generation continued to work and live on their own market gardens in the area.[659]

While they gained wealth that would have enabled them to relocate to more prestigious suburbs, the first and the 1.5 generations wished to maintain the close connections of the *paese* at Lockleys. The second generation, as in many instances of migrant communities, marked the real point of change and mobility in the Veneto market gardener families through their access to education and selection of occupations.[660] However, the proportion of second generation who continue to live in the area that was previously the Lockleys market garden area strengthens the argument that they did not pursue social and economic mobility to more prestigious suburbs.[661]

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[659] As addressed earlier this was with one exception, Lino Tonellato who was unable to work a market garden after an injury. He and his wife remained established a poultry farm north of Adelaide.

[660] See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 193-196, who argues that the change in direction for the second generation was related to education and higher status occupations which commonly resulted in moving to new residences and/or other suburbs with more prestige.

[661] Thirteen of twenty-three second-generation narrators lived in the market garden area at the time of interviews. One woman who was a resident in aged care accommodation, had lived in the area and two Rossetto siblings had never lived in the Lockleys area although their parents had a market garden there until the 1940s.

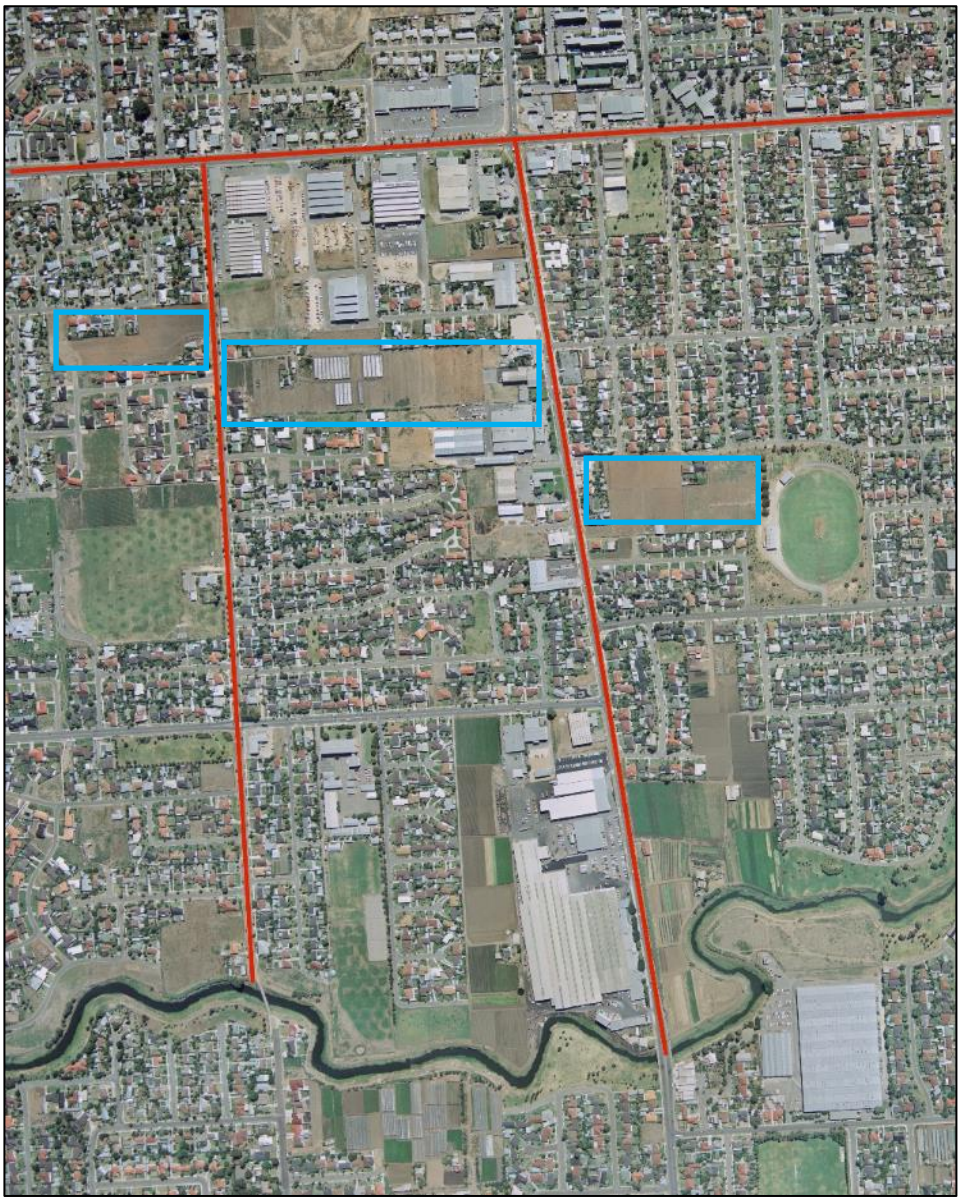

Figure 112: Aerial photo of the market gardens area, 1979.

Note: the last three areas of market gardens owned by the veneti *indicated by boxes.*

The landholdings from left to right were owned by the Santin, Tonellato and Ballestrin families.

Photo, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

First generation: custodians

The identity that the pioneer market gardeners brought with them to Australia, their heritage as custodians of land and their occupation in the Veneto region, underscored their aspirations through

the Depression and led them to become leaseholders in the Lockleys area. [662] Availability of land from the 1930s in the Lockleys area created opportunities for the pioneers and generated the conditions for a *contadino* to declare: “I buy this piece of ground here.” (Vittorio Marchioro OH 12, 13 March 1984, 11).

Figure 113: Vittorio Marchioro, Lockleys, c 1950.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

The transformation of the role of *contadino* involved progression through three stages. First, the pioneers had had the experience of being traditional tenant-custodians in the feudal land system in Italy. Second, at Lockleys they were lessee-custodians improving the land and cultivating market gardens. Third, they became owner-custodians in that location. They carried the ideal of custodian from the Veneto region although, as documented in Chapter 1, the pioneers were itinerant

[662] Similar patterns of Italian-inherited family occupational traditions are evident in the studies of the Molfettese fisher cohort in Port Pirie. Bromley, *The Italians of Port Pirie*, 42-43, found that the Molfettese fishers who settled before the Second World War assumed that their sons would follow their fathers’ occupation. Corrieri, *Italians of Port Pirie*, 50-58 outlines the history of the Molfettese fisher families in Port Pirie from the early twentieth century and notes that fishing “was an inherited occupation that has been part of Molfetta for hundreds of years” (54).

labourers for several years before it was possible to lease land. It took more than twenty years after arrival for individual pioneer families to become land owners in Australia. The land became a resource, a source of income and the foundation of a new identity as market gardeners.

When Giuseppe Ballestrin sold the family market gardens and went to work as a gardener at a local council for wages, he continued to plant vegetables using the same methods as he had previously. His daughter, Norma, recalls how he worked his backyard and compares his approach to preparing the ground with her own practices which she infers do not reflect the practices of the pioneers:

> In the back garden. Dad had a beautiful garden. I mean, he treated that back garden as a market garden. He'd dig the earth two or three times before you planted anything in that, you know. He'd put the manure in and dig it in, not like us and just plant things here and expect them to grow.
>
> (Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin, OH 872/37, 21 September 2016, 26).

"Like his father …"

The customary expectation for sons to follow fathers in the *contadino* working life was a feature of the pre-Australian family order.[663] In their interviews, Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro convey satisfaction that their first son, born in Australia, continued the tradition of working the land. Asked what work their sons undertook after finishing school, Angelina, reflects on the employment pathway that led their son, Johnny, back to the family market garden.

Vittorio qualifies the occupation his son chose and chuckles proudly:

[663] The peasant tradition was based on the principle that sons inherited the family property. Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture," In *Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings*, ed. Teodor Shanin (Middlesex: Penguin, 1973), 281, argues that the father's authority and power in the archetypal peasant family made children dependent on the father for economic and intellectual life and the family was regulated by cooperation between generations.

AM: The first [son], he worked for somebody in their shop, bring all the things to their house. And after he come back, go to the work like his father.
He worked in the garden.
OH: Did he become a gardener too?
VM: Yeah, [laughs] he become a gardener too.

(Vittorio Marchioro OH 12, 13 March 1984, 14).

Figure 114: Johnny Marchioro, on his market garden, Bolivar, 1975.

Photo by Eleonora Marchioro.

Angelina declares that their son had “come back” to work on the land emphasising the value of the occupation within his family. Vittorio’s laughter and repetition of the phrase, “become a gardener”, indicate a mixture of feelings: satisfaction, fulfilment and a sense that owning and working a market garden was an honourable vocation. The sentiments highlight the value of the market gardens for the first generation whose goal of achieving their own *sistemazione* and prosperity for the family in Australia also included ownership of land and continuity of the market garden in the next generation.

1.5 generation: from witness to market gardener

The children who had arrived with their respective mothers in the 1930s had witnessed the customs of inheritance of land ownership and labour in the Veneto *contadino* family.[664] Sons in the 1.5 generation served their 'apprenticeship' learning about the occupation of market gardener in the 1930s when they also attended minimal years of school. The *contadino* parents, who themselves had little education, considered schooling an extravagance and in their experience, education was only to the age of compulsion.[665] Children's labour was essential on the Lockleys market gardens and the 1.5 generation was an especially valuable resource when there were several sons and daughters.[666] At Lockleys, the *contadino* patriarchal power structure was not replicated in its entirety because wives and daughters worked with husbands and fathers; sons and fathers could work as peers.

Within the small bounded community of the Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys the 1.5 generation had worked closely with their parents until they began marrying from the mid-1940s. Generally, they leased land for their own market gardens close to their parents or used sections for their glasshouses. After the war, circumstances permitted the *veneti* to buy their properties, as noted in Chapter 2. Sons who had initially laboured for their parents were able to become landowners at the same time as their parents purchased land at Lockleys.

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[664] Six of the ten 1.5 generation narrators developed their own career pathways outside market gardening because they were not from market gardener families although aunts, uncles and cousins were market gardeners and the narrators visited them at Lockleys frequently.

[665] Andrew F. Rolle, *The American Italians: Their History and Culture* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., 1972), 117, argues that in the Italian peasant tradition parents withdrew their children from education at compulsory school age so they could begin contributing to the family economy through wages.

[666] Of the three families with children in the 1.5 generation, the Rebuli's had two sons and a daughter, Santin, three sons and a daughter, Tonellato, four sons and a daughter. The youngest child in this cohort of families was seven and the eldest were young adolescents when they arrived in the 1930s and were able to assist in the market gardens.

The experience of the Tonellato family presents evidence of the adaptations made by another pioneer family in the matter of land acquisition. In 1935, five Tonellato children and their mother were reunited with father and husband, Secondo, who had arrived in Adelaide eight years earlier. Two Tonellato brothers, interviewed in their eighties, provide details about their family labour unit on the market gardens. [667] When his wife and children joined him, Secondo was forty-two years old, growing vegetables that were cultivated in the open including cauliflowers, cabbages and potatoes on six acres. He worked the land initially with another Veneto pioneer, Angelo Piovesan, who lived on an adjoining property. The five Tonellato children, aged from eight to thirteen years on arrival, contributed to the family livelihood until the age of compulsion at school.

The two eldest sons worked for wages for a short time and returned to assist their father growing vegetables for the Army, an arrangement examined in Chapter 5.[668] Albert's statement: "We were always in with Dad," emphasises Secondo Tonellato's strategy to work with his sons. Their assistance was essential when he responded to market demand and began growing tomatoes in glasshouses, a more labour-intensive enterprise than cultivating 'outside' crops. Initially the full family labour unit of seven, including the wife and daughter, contributed and increased the productive capacity of the market gardens, an example of the *contadino* family triangle of family, land and physical work.[669]

In their approach to managing market gardens as a family business, Secondo and Elisabetta factored in the principle of setting up their sons and valued the steps towards *sistemazione*. In 1949, Secondo became a tenant-in-common with his youngest sons, Lino and Orlando, who were

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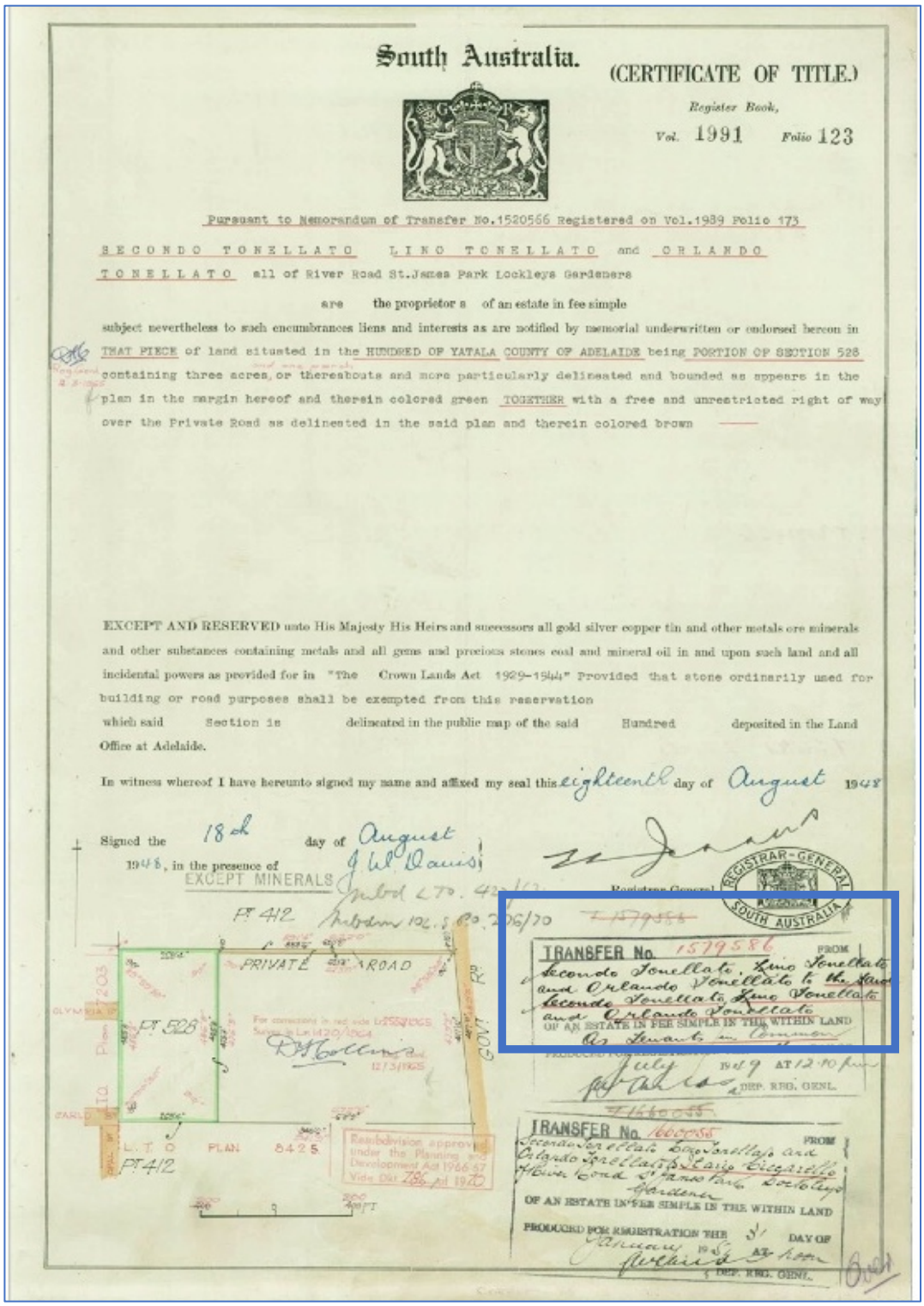
[667] Ellie Vasta, "The Second Generation," 156, makes the point that there is little research into the experience of pre-war Italo Australian youth but there are interviews with ten members of the 1.5 generation in this project.

[668] See interviews with Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 6-7; and Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010, 18-19, for more details about arrangements for growing vegetables for the Army during the war, as discussed in Chapter 5.

[669] These values have been noted previously as attributable to Pascoe, "Place and Community," 92-93.

in their early twenties, a change to the original title made in the previous year, as illustrated in Figure 115 below.



South Australia. (CERTIFICATE OF TITLE.)

Register Book, Vol. 1991 Folio 123

Pursuant to Memorandum of Transfer No.1520566 Registered on Vol.1939 Folio 173

SECONDO TONELLATO LINO TONELLATO and ORLANDO TONELLATO all of River Road St.James Park Lockleys Gardeners

are the proprietors of an estate in fee simple

subject nevertheless to such encumbrances liens and interests as are notified by memorial underwritten or endorsed hereon in THAT PIECE of land situated in the HUNDRED OF YATALA COUNTY OF ADELAIDE being PORTION OF SECTION 528 containing three acres, or thereabouts and more particularly delineated and bounded as appears in the plan in the margin hereof and therein colored green TOGETHER with a free and unrestricted right of way over the Private Road as delineated in the said plan and therein colored brown

EXCEPT AND RESERVED unto His Majesty His Heirs and successors all gold silver copper tin and other metals ore minerals and other substances containing metals and all gems and precious stones coal and mineral oil in and upon such land and all incidental powers as provided for in "The Crown Lands Act 1929-1944" Provided that stone ordinarily used for building or road purposes shall be exempted from this reservation

which said Section is delineated in the public map of the said Hundred deposited in the Land Office at Adelaide.

In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my seal this eighteenth day of August 1948

Signed the 18th day of August 1948, in the presence of

EXCEPT MINERALS

Registrar-General

REGISTRAR-GENERAL SOUTH AUSTRALIA

TRANSFER No. 1579586 FROM Secondo Tonellato, Lino Tonellato and Orlando Tonellato to the same Secondo Tonellato, Lino Tonellato and Orlando Tonellato OF AN ESTATE IN FEE SIMPLE IN THE WITHIN LAND As tenants in common

July 1949 AT 12.10 pm

DEP. REG. GENL.

TRANSFER No. 1660055 FROM Secondo Tonellato, Lino Tonellato and Orlando Tonellato to Lino Tonellato River Road St James Park Lockleys Gardener OF AN ESTATE IN FEE SIMPLE IN THE WITHIN LAND

PRODUCED FOR REGISTRATION THE 31 DAY OF January 1951 AT 10am

DEP. REG. GENL.

Figure 115: Land Title Certificate - Secondo Tonellato and sons, Lino and Orlando, 18 August 1948.

The title was amended to 'tenants-in-common' on 4 July 1949, as indicated by the blue box.

Certificate of Title, Vol: 1991, Folio 123.

The advantage of being a tenant-in-common was that each owner had a separate interest in the property, and it was a way to reduce financial risk. The intergenerational business partnerships illustrate the capacity of the Veneto families to adapt to new circumstances of land and work, and intra-family control in Australia.[670] Within three years, Secondo Tonellato and his two sons sold the land and bought ten acres, more than doubling the size of their previous property.[671]

As they came of age, the sons took earnings from the family market gardens and bought glasshouses which enabled them to set themselves up as tomato growers and initiated their own *sistemazione*. When the two youngest Tonellato sons married, they were already well resourced in terms of infrastructure and their parents provided land.

Figure 116: Tonellato truck, Frogmore Road c 1946.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

Lino explains the strategy of buying glasshouses, confirming that the family had entered the market as small-scale primary producers with capacity for expansion through the sons' labour:

[670] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 208-209, emphasises the difference between the patriarchal system of inheritance in *contadino* families in the Veneto region and the arrangements of the Veneto families at Griffith. Sons worked with fathers on the land at Griffith in a relationship that was more like a "partnership" than the strict lineal structure.

[671] Certificate of Title, Volume 1991, Folio 123.

> That's when we grew up and then we saved, all of us saved a bit of money and we started buying half a dozen at a time … we bought them mostly second-hand, people had them, they sold out … the new ones were too dear.
>
> (Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10,16 July 2010, 8).

The *veneti* were able to fill the niche left by Anglo Australian growers, and families like the Tonellato took opportunities to expand production as they bought second-hand glasshouses.[672] Clearly, *paesani* informed each other about local circumstances and the context of market gardening in Adelaide. The sales of glasshouses also suggest that the pioneers were replacing other market gardeners and transforming the profile of growers who had been almost entirely Anglo Australian until the 1930s.

Marriage, land and *sistemazione* in the 1.5 generation

From the mid-1940s the 1.5 generation were marrying and pursuing *sistemazione* through setting up their own nuclear family households as exemplified in the Tonellato family. In 1945, daughter, Rosina, married Lui Santin and began a thirty-year stint in the Santin family market garden business. By 1947, the two eldest Tonellato sons had married, and with their wives, established market gardens close to the family household. This arrangement recreated the physical and social proximity of the *paese* in the Veneto region.

Land ownership assumed a new significance because of opportunities to develop intergenerational business arrangements. In their commitment to supporting their sons in the family occupation as market gardeners Secondo and Elisabetta Tonellato did not observe inheritance or hierarchical structures that underpinned occupation of land and management of household labour in the

[672] It is not clear why Anglo Australians sold glasshouses. Reasons could include that they were surplus to the requirements or that they had left the market garden business. The *veneti* were participants in the commercial world of market gardeners and able to gain information about availability of resources that were fundamental to their work.

Veneto region. First-generation migrants aspire to facilitate better lives for their children.[673] The Veneto families were no exception as Albert Tonellato refers to his mother's views about the consequences of migration for her children: "She was so happy, she said: 'At least I've seen my kids doing something for themselves.'" (Albert Tonellato, OH 872/4, 3 October 2008, 20). Elisabetta Tonellato had known the challenges for large families in the Veneto region because of patriarchal and hierarchical structures and the limited amount of land available in one family. In Australia, Elisabetta observed success in all her children's lives, including for her daughter who married into a market gardening family. The members of the 1.5 generation were close to the *contadino* experience of their parents who brought the "living peasant economy" to Australia.[674]

The availability of the 1.5 generation to work with their parents enabled the family to progress beyond subsistence and adapt to the market in Australia as commercial growers. All five children in the Tonellato family began married life working with their spouses on the land within walking distance of their parents' home. At Lockleys, the *veneti* could lease, buy and sell land as independent members of families, determine their choice of crops and were not obliged to give half of their produce to *padroni* and they could participate in the daily life of the *paese*.

Second generation: to wage earners

The occupational profiles of the 1.5 generation and the second generation diverge although both cohorts were children of Veneto pioneers. Sons and daughters born in Australia did not have access to the memory of the working traditions and significance of land in the Veneto region. James suggests some sons and daughters in market gardener families in Sydney value working land as "an innate heritage passed down through the generations."[675] However, James

[673] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 159, argue that first-generation Veneto migrants endured the challenges of settlement in order to see that their children were able to achieve *sistemazione* through marriage, owning a home and raising their own family.

[674] J. G. Holmes, "The Influence of Foreign Settlers in the Development of Australia," *The Australian Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1938): 23.

[675] James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 123.

acknowledges that this view is not shared by all second-generation members in Sydney market gardener families who regard working on the land as another occupation rather than a heritage.[676]

The distinction between “occupation” and “heritage” explains the trend of the second-generation Lockleys *veneti* to move into other occupations. Children born in Australia formed their identity partly through their parents and the Veneto community, and exposure to external influences. These include influences such as schooling, social life with peers, radio programmes, and involvement in sport which were sometimes in tension with family culture and led to the pursuit of life beyond the market gardens.[677] As a result, the second-generation women and men moved into the range of employment that more closely reflected the spread of occupations in the wider Australian working population.

[676] See James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 119-120.

[677] In interviews there is evidence that young second-generation Veneto Australians had much wider contact social life and significantly more contact with Anglo Australian groups than was possible for the 1.5 generation. However, the Veneto second generation sons were more likely to attend dances organised by the Anglo Australian establishments while the young women mostly attended dances hosted by the Catholic Church that catered for young male migrants who had arrived after the war. This explains the incidence of four of second-generation sons marrying Anglo Australian women while a high proportion of daughters of pioneers married young newly arrived Veneto migrants. Of fifteen second-generation women narrators, ten married Veneto men and three married Italians from other regions and two married eastern Europeans. No second-generation women married were Anglo Australians.

Figure 117: Albert Tonellato with his children, Raymond and Linda, River Road, 1950-1951.

Albert was a 1.5 generation and Raymond helped in the market garden as he grew up. He became an accountant.

Photo supplied by Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti.

In contrast to the pioneer and 1.5 generations whose lives were almost entirely conducted within the Veneto market gardener community, the second generation had more links outside the family, participated more fully in Anglo Australian culture and therefore had access to more alternatives in their level of education, occupation, social life, marriage partners and place of residence.[678] Although education was available to the second generation, most sons left after compulsory school-leaving age which suggests that the Veneto families did not see education as a means of

[678] Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 118-119, argues second-generation Italians in Queensland interacted more frequently with Anglo Australians in leisure activities, particularly in sport, than their parents did. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 262-272, examines the range of influences on the second generation from education to inter-marriage and argues that these experiences created opportunities for assimilation that were not available to the first generation between the wars.

gaining “upward mobility”.[679] However, as Vasta argues, post-war Italian migrants were intent on providing their children with better educational and occupational opportunities. [680]

Although the majority of the second generation did not follow the occupation of their parents, I argue that they remained bonded to the community through speaking dialect, maintaining food customs and retaining strong social connections through attending religious rites of passage, selecting godparents from within the community and participating in inter-generational community celebrations, described in Chapter 4. The second-generation members created a new way of being members of the *paese* with their peers, sons and daughters in other families in the wider Veneto community and beyond. The interactions, particularly of sons, outside the family and the *paese* increased their dislocation from the occupation as market gardener.[681]

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[679] Lampugnani and Holton, “Ethnic Business in South Australia,” 6, refer to education as a means of acquiring mobility and more secure employment for second generation migrants who perceived their parents as being trapped in their business.

[680] Ellie Vasta, “The Second Generation,” 160-162, argues that although there were still some inequalities in occupations, data from the 1986 Census demonstrated a definite upward mobility in the second generation.

[681] King, “Agriculture in South Australia,” 315-333, analyses the issues related to second generation Italians continuing in family-owned primary production businesses. King supports the argument that the wider choices of education and employment account for the decrease in the proportion of the second-generation maintaining family farms and primary enterprises. She also adds that technology changed the scale of production and the expansion from small family holdings to large-scale production and presented new opportunities for large-scale farming.

Figure 118: Group of young Veneto relatives and friends, Adelaide, early 1950s.

A mix of 1.5 and second-generation young people.

Photo supplied by Maria Rosa Tormena.

Many second-generation narrators acknowledge the value of their parents' occupation as "… a family tradition and a connection to the land."[682] Apart from the pioneer couple who acknowledged the pride in their son continuing with the occupation of market gardener, it is not possible to know how other parents in the community felt about the end of the life on the land in families.[683] The occupational pathways for the second generation were varied.[684] Only two of twenty-five sons in the second generation worked and owned market gardens until retirement. In comparison, in a study of Italian families who owned agricultural businesses in South Australia, findings showed that just over a third of the second generation remained working in that industry.[685] Several sons in Veneto families worked for finite periods in family market gardens before taking up other occupations. Three sons completed secondary education and two of those became public servants

[682] James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 124.

[683] Price 196, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 194-195, refers to the negative reaction of some parents when sons became wage earners and moved away from the family business as farmers.

[684] See Appendix 4: Overview of occupations of 1.5 and second generation. Daughters and sons in the Veneto market gardener families entered diverse areas of employment.

[685] See King, "Agriculture in South Australia," 316.

and the third, an accountant. Others worked in trades, construction work and small business such as retail and a trucking company.

The thirty-four daughters in the second generation also took different occupational pathways mostly after completing compulsory years of schooling. The second-generation women's participation in the workforce outside the family before marriage was a clear departure from *contadino* family culture.[686] Although a few pioneer women had worked in domestic service in Italy, the contractual arrangements were made through their fathers. Whereas in Adelaide daughters as young as fourteen years, as was the case of Norma Ballestrin, were selecting their own employment after leaving school.

Daughters in two families, Noemi Zalunardo and Sandra Zampin, worked full-time in the market gardens with their respective fathers until they married; an unusual post-school occupational path for young women in the 1960s. The occupations of other second-generation women reflected a wider distribution including nursing, office administration, retail and factory work. In one family, three daughters worked in professions after completing tertiary education and in another, a daughter became a public servant.

[686] The usual trajectory for daughters in *contadino* families after receiving minimal education was preparation for marriage. Diana Glenn refers to this practice in her study of Campanian women from *contadino* backgrounds where daughters were trained for marriage and regulated by the father-in-law when she moved to her husband's family household. See Diana Glenn, "Writing Campanian Lives*,"* 158.

Figure 119: L-R: Noemi, Renato and Eugenio Zalunardo and Amalia Bernardi, Grange Road, c 1964.

Tomatoes picked and ready for grading before being taken to market.

Photo supplied by Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo.

Although the majority of the second generation did not work the land, they profited from the sale of their parents' asset as urban development occurred. The practice of parents gifting house blocks to their children corresponds with the finding made by James about migrant market gardeners who consider their farm as way of providing material support to their children rather than transmitting inheritance of the property and passing on the occupation as market gardeners.[687] At Lockleys, the Veneto families did not follow inheritance patterns or the practice in many migrant families where the business entity was passed to the next generation.

The limits of succession in the second generation

The model of "succession" is identified as a significant element in studying migrant family businesses. Built on the principle that the children learn about the family business from childhood, succession creates the conditions for developing the enterprise which in some cases, become "dynasties".[688] However, the Veneto market gardener families did not follow this model. The market

[687] See James, *Farming on the Fringe*, 135.

[688] See Hougaz, *Entrepreneurs in Family Business Dynasties*, 17-19, who argues that the culture of the family business established by the first generation has significance for "succession" in Italian family

gardens, as business entities, did not survive into successive generations apart from the partnership between a father and two sons which ended when the sons married and established their own market gardens as outlined in the Tonellato family case study. Despite intensive efforts to develop the land, build a livelihood and family business in the first and 1.5 generations, the second generation was not attracted to this form of intensive labour. The benefits of self-employment were not strong incentives for the second generation in market gardener families.[689]

Two exceptions enable a more complex picture of the second-generation sons who worked to retirement as market gardeners. However, in these cases the succession model in migrant family businesses is not definitive. Frankie Ballestrin was twenty-eight years old when his father died, and he took over management of the family market garden. As market gardens in the area were sub-divided, Frankie and his mother bought property at Bolivar north of the city of Adelaide and worked glasshouses together.[690] After he married, Frankie and his wife, Maria established a new venture in broad-acre production of potatoes for a large food company.[691] Rather than succession, Frankie, his mother and later, his wife, adapted the market garden business and met new commercial demands of the market in the 1970s.

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businesses which, in her study, were enterprises with large numbers of employees. However, she emphasises that small family businesses often do not last longer than five to ten years. Philip J. Perricone, John R. Earle, and Ian M. Taplin, "Patterns of Succession and Continuity in Family-Owned Businesses: Study of an Ethnic Community. "*Family Business Review* 14, no. 2 (2001): 105-21, examine patterns of succession in a case-study of twenty-nine established ethnic family businesses in Ybor City in Tampa Florida which were managed over several generations through patrilineal structures built on the concept of the ethnic heritage of the family. The authors argue that businesses are successful when subsequent generations adapt and bring new skills and capacity.

[689] Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 107, cites the example of sons in cane farms in North Queensland who set up small businesses in regional towns after family farms were subdivided and the income was not adequate for second-generation families. He notes that the second generation turned to other occupations or had to move away from their parents if they wanted to remain farmers.

[690] Bolivar was the area where several other Veneto market gardeners bought land in the last 1950s and early 1960s.

[691] See Smith, “Market Gardening”, 33, for an overview of the transition from intensive family market gardens to broad-acre production of vegetables in the Adelaide Plains area in the 1960s.

A snapshot of the Marchioro family illustrates enterprise across two generations as an example of "continuity."[692] As discussed previously in this chapter, Johnny had "come back" to work with his parents on the market garden after a short time employed delivering groceries. He did not take an income although his parents contributed to the purchase of the eight glasshouses as a step towards Johnny developing his own market garden, an example of the continuity of family occupation. Unlike some pioneers who expected full-time commitment of sons (and daughters in two families), Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro encouraged their son, Johnny, to pursue his amateur Australian Rules football career and gave him time to attend practice twice a week and play matches on Saturdays.[693]

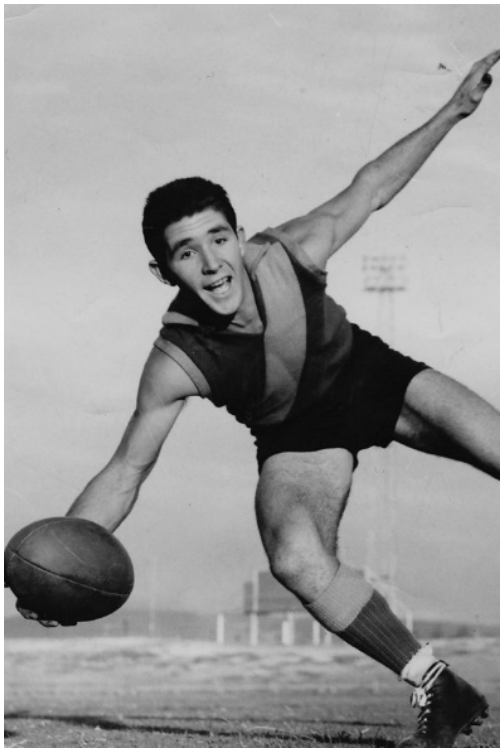

Figure 120: Johnny Marchioro, 1959.

Johnny played Rover for the West Torrens football club and received several awards.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

[692] Perricone, Earle and Taplin, *Patterns of Succession:* 113, 118-119. The authors note the role of familism and heritage in nurturing continuity as families negotiate succession practices in their small businesses.

[693] Even fathers in Anglo Australian market gardener families, imposed high expectations on sons to complete long hours in the market gardens which reduced time for social activities. See interview with Rae Ballantyne, OH 872 21, 25 August, 2012, 18-20.

While it might have been possible to develop a two-generation partnership with his parents after he married Eleonora Ottanelli in 1965, the young couple decided against it. They saw a challenge in dividing income and establishing themselves while they lived and worked with his parents.[694] Eleonora and Johnny chose the alternative of working five acres his father had bought at Bolivar, north of Adelaide where other *veneti* had moved in the 1960s. His parents contributed two glasshouses to the ones Johnny had already acquired and with Eleonora, began a forty-year partnership as market gardeners growing tomatoes and other vegetables. In a twist of the *contadino* tradition, Johnny's parents helped their son and daughter-in-law in the market garden once a week for about twenty years which is further evidence of "continuity" of family interaction in the business of market gardens. Johnny's testimony, "I don't find any regrets working the land," (Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1,21 July 2008, 9), illuminates his consciousness of family heritage and commitment to the tradition and also the occupation of market gardener.[695]

The second generation: a mixed occupational profile

The occupational profile of the rest of the second-generation cohort of the *veneti* is diverse and reflects more closely the contemporary range of employment of Anglo Australians than was the case for the first or the 1.5 generation *veneti*. For example, children were born into pioneer and 1.5 generation families over four decades from 1927 to the early 1960s, a long period of social, economic and political change.[696] External influences had an impact on the second generation and included fluctuations in the economy from the Depression to post war boom, subdivision of market garden land in urban areas, the rise in the age of compulsory schooling to fifteen years, and occupational choices available to the second generation. The following examples illustrate differences in participation of members in three second-generation market gardener families.

[694] Personal communication with Johnny and Eleonora Marchioro, 2 May 2020.

[695] See interview with Johnny Marchioro, OH 872/1,21 July 2008, 9.

[696] For information about the period between the late 1920s to the 1960s in South Australia, see Sendziuk and Foster, *A History of South Australia*, Chapter 8.

When Angelo Piovesan died suddenly in 1949, his sons, Nillo, Dino and Bruno, were school students. Their paternal uncle relocated from a mica mine in the Northern Territory to assist their mother and sons with growing and selling vegetables. Bruno reflects on the consequences of his father's death. He emphasises the reliance on family as the only solution to survive the loss of the head of the family in a market garden business:

> It would have been pretty hard on my mother, it would have been tough with 11, 12 and 13-year-olds on her own and that was it. No real help from the government in those years, you had to work all the time and that was it.
>
> (Bruno Piovesan, 4 October 2008, OH 872/5, 4).

Figure 121: Piovesan brothers, Adelaide, c 1945-46.

L-R: Nillo, Bruno, Dino.

Photo supplied by the family.

After leaving school the eldest son, Nillo, brought income into the family through working in a grocery shop owned by a member of the Veneto community. Although the middle son had imagined a different life, Dino's destiny was to take over the market gardens. He recalls his experience after his father's death:

> He died in March of 1949, and I knew that at the end of that year I would have had to stay home with my Uncle, who came to look after the market garden, and that was my life essentially cut out for me there, from that point on. I always wanted to be a motor mechanic, and naturally if Dad still had have been around, he may have steered me towards taking over the garden, but I always wanted to be a motor mechanic, but that never eventuated … From schoolboy to worker, yes, virtually overnight when I left school, that was it, full-time home in the garden.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 25 September 2011, 31).

Dino's ambivalence is tempered with the knowledge that had his father not died, there may still have been a moral imperative for him to work in the market garden. Although he had the support of his uncle, Dino speaks with emotion about taking responsibility for the family market gardens at a young age:

> I cannot remember other young ones like myself, for example, having lost their father and having to take over the business of market gardening, I was on my own in that respect.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 25 September 2011, 36).

Dino's mother handled the finances related to the market gardens and the arrangements continued even after Dino married. He explains that he respected the practice although it limited his ability to manage a future:

> There was no such thing as a wage … Mum never said: 'This is your wage for the week.' No, there was never a mention of a wage. It was just that if we needed money or I needed money: 'Mum, can I have a pound or two, I'm going to the dance?' … And we knew that we had to respect it, okay? … Well, the situation eventually then was that because I had a wife and eventually a child that yes, I needed just that little bit more money and somehow, I came to an agreement with Mum to allow me just that little bit more.
>
> (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 25 September 2011, 36).

Like several other *veneti*, Dino and his older brother bought land at Bolivar, north of Adelaide, to establish market gardens after the subdivision of the inner suburbs in the 1960s. While there was some success, the business only lasted four or five years before the brothers agreed: "It would have been easier to go and earn a wage, from there." (Dino Piovesan, 25 September 2011, 38). The decision to sell the market garden, forced by financial problems, was a departure from the working lives of pioneer and the 1-5 generations who persisted in gaining a livelihood from the land as self-employed family business owners. However, the two Piovesan brothers took different occupational pathways: Nillo became a policeman and Dino took several unskilled jobs before he became a self-employed driving instructor, a job he had for twenty-four years.

The third brother, Bruno, made an easy decision to turn his back on the garden:

> I didn't want to work in the garden. No, no, no. I had had enough of shifting glasshouses. And I remember going to work there at fifteen and sixteen and have to get up early, and we used to have to hand-dig the glasshouses because we had to dig them properly … And the hand-digging, that wasn't easy, and I did that a couple of times and then I felt a bit sick at going to work after that and I said: 'Look, I'm not digging glasshouse anymore, that's it.' [laughs].
>
> (Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5, 4 October 2008, 11).

Bruno's repetition of "no" reflects the clarity of his choice for a future that disconnected him from the market gardens. Unlike the pioneer and 1.5 generations whose only livelihood was the market

garden, Bruno's apprenticeship and work as a tool maker enabled him to establish his own backyard business. He designed and constructed tools and agricultural equipment such as reversible ploughs. He developed his business, based on his knowledge of small-scale farming at Lockleys and sold ploughs to market gardeners and an overseas market.[697] Bruno adapted the mentality of independence and hard work and used his connection to land as a son of pioneer market gardeners.

Figure 122: Romildo Santin, ploughing land on Frogmore Road, c 1967.

Romildo uses the reverse plough designed by Bruno Piovesan.

Photo supplied by Bruno Piovesan.

The tradition of growing vegetables continued for the second generation even if they were not market gardeners. They made gardens in their free time transforming their parents' occupation and livelihood into their leisure activity and pastime. Both Piovesan brothers I interviewed spoke about their experience in older age of growing vegetables in their backyards which linked them to their origins as sons of market gardeners. Bruno owned a warehouse in an industrial suburb with land large enough to accommodate a small vineyard where he grew grapes and made wine, a tradition

[697] See interview for details of his manufacturing business, Bruno Piovesan, OH 872/5, 4 October 2008, 16 – 18.

that had been handed down in his family and in the Veneto community. Bruno grew an extensive vegetable garden and also made oil using his olive trees on the property. Interviewed in his mid-seventies, Dino spoke proudly of continuing the tradition of growing his own vegetables for more than forty-five years, “ever since I left the garden.” (Dino Piovesan 25 September 2011, 47). The tradition of working the land for consumption has carried on in the second generation through growing vegetables for themselves in their retirement and sharing them with *paesani*.

Gender was an important factor in the kind of work undertaken by sons and daughters. Although the Veneto families relied mainly on adult sons to carry the labour in the business, daughters also participated in the market garden livelihood. While it was rare, the two instances where young women chose to work full-time with their fathers illustrate the flexibility of parents to support the choice of daughters to contribute to the family income on the market garden.

As noted in Chapter 3, Sandra, the seventh daughter in the Zampin family, refused to go to high school, choosing instead to work full-time in the market garden. At fourteen years, she managed the tomato crop for six months while her parents travelled to Italy:

> While he was away, I had to string them and I knew how to prune and tie so
> there was nine glasshouses [laughs] and while he was away, I did all that
> … it was hard work. It was something that was hard but I enjoyed it …
> I got courage working home.
>
> (Sandra Semola, OH 872/44, 27 April 2017, 18).

Sandra’s laughter expresses joy and pride as she recalls tending tomatoes in nine glasshouses. [698] Her statement about “courage” identifies her development as a young person working the land and reflects the tradition of her *contadino* family. Although an unusual occupation for a young woman

[698] Sandra’s work in the glasshouses involved the ongoing care of approximately five and half thousand tomato plants prior to picking and selling at market (Personal communication with Johnny Marchioro, 1 May 2020).

and particularly in the *contadino* tradition, Sandra worked in the garden until she married. Although Sandra continued to provide some assistance in the market garden after her marriage, there was no option of being a business partner with her father because in the Veneto tradition, the husband determined the woman's role in the household and the community.[699]

Figure 123: Wedding day, Arturo Semola and Sandra Zampin, 1966.

Photo supplied by Sandra Semola nee Zampin.

In contrast to women who, at marriage, left their father's household, men had the opportunity to remain connected to the father professionally as an adult and assume a quasi-partner role.[700] For example, Adrian Tonellato, a second-generation son born in 1948, accepted that he would join his parents and work full-time in the market garden. He had watched his grandfather, parents, uncles and aunts who had worked and lived on market gardens and when he left school at the end of second year high school, it was his trajectory: "All I know, I stayed with Dad, he wanted me to work with him." (Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 30 January 2016, 46). Adrian worked twenty glasshouses and outside vegetables with his parents and later, on the family land north of the city. When he

[699] In the case of the Veneto pioneers, although some families transformed *contadino* traditions of inter-generational relationships, daughters were more compliant and socialised within the community to a greater extent than sons, as already noted earlier in this chapter.

[700] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavolva*, 209, outlines the innovation in the Veneto families on farms at Griffith where Veneto sons and fathers worked together as partners.

finished working with his parents, he was the last member of the second generation to work on land on Frogmore Road.

Figure 124: Tonellato family, Frogmore Road, 1962.

Back: Italia and Lui, Front: Luciana and Adrian.

Photo supplied by the family.

As a young man, Adrian‘s social life conflicted with the demands of labour on the market gardens. Adrian recalls the problem of meeting his father’s work expectations:

> I was scared of my father. He picked me up one time, I won't tell you what he said to me but he picked me up by the scruff of the neck and threw me under the bed. Sometimes we used to work seven days a week when it was time for the potatoes … Yeah, we never knew about weekends, never. I never knew about weekends. I always used to argue with Dad because I wanted to go out on Sundays.
>
> (Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 30 January 2016, 47).

Adrian's repetition of "never knew about weekends" provides a point of reflection about what he saw as his lack of freedom and indicates the "cultural ambivalence" identified in studies of the second-generation Italians.[701] Adrian contrasted his circumstances with peers who earned wages as apprentices in trades and did not have to complete extensive hours required for seasonal cycles in a market garden. At thirty years, Adrian asserted his independence and refused to work the market gardens because of his concern about his mother's allergy to chemicals used in glasshouses. Although his father wanted to continue working, Adrian argued against risking his mothers' health, a complex intra-family problem which was resolved when his parents subdivided the land. The parents retained several house blocks, two of which were gifted to Adrian and their daughter. Adrian was subsidised in a partnership with his brother-in-law to grow broad acre crops of potatoes on leased land for a few years which was like an extension of working the family market gardens. He pursued other occupations before he began a successful trucking enterprise that he has maintained even after turning seventy years.

Land, labour and crops – and the second generation

Competing factors made it difficult for sons and daughters to take up their parents' occupation and preserve the family business. While the pioneers valued the tradition of working the land, land as an asset exceeded the human resources and infrastructure required to make a market garden viable in the 1960s and 1970s. The pioneers were ageing and beginning to retire; the use of land was changing in the Lockleys area and the market in Adelaide for fresh produce was transforming. Other developments that impacted on families included availability of land, labour and profitability of crops that contrasted with conditions experienced by the previous two generations. A study in the mid-1960s identified these economic factors and trends in regions of Adelaide and concluded

[701] Ellie Vasta, "The Second Generation," 155-156, explains that there were challenges for the second-generation Italians growing up in households with different values from those they experienced in the Anglo Australian environment in which they were educated and in engagement with peers from families who were outside the Veneto community.

that family market gardens were "doomed to extinction."[702] This ultimately included the properties at Lockleys farmed by the *veneti*, the last of which were sold in the early 1980s.

Figure 125: View of the West family's celery farm on Valetta Road, 1965-1966.

The Berno house is featured on the left, and behind, the new high school, which opened in 1965.

Photo by Rae Ballantyne.

The second generation faced challenges of the market, urbanisation and family circumstances and were exposed to a range of occupational choices.[703] While a number of factors contributed to the end of the market gardens for most Veneto families, the demise is consistent with studies of family businesses which show that only a third continue into the second generation.[704]

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[702] See Smith, *"Market Gardening,"* 26-28, for details about changes such as subdivision and increase in rates and taxes on inner suburban land that affected small urban market gardeners and the trend to purchase large holdings of cheaper land north of Adelaide.

[703] In personal communication, 13 March 2020, Jimmy Ballestrin told me that he did not join his parents in the market garden because they only had three acres and it would not have been enough land to provide a living for two families. Buying land in the north of Adelaide was not an option.

[704] Perricone et al., "Patterns of Succession," 108, cite studies that found the relatively modest proportion of family businesses that endure into the second generation.

Romano Marchioro's observations about the monetary value of the market garden land at the beginning of this chapter explains to some degree why the second generation did not follow their parents' occupation. His reference to two families who were the last of the *veneti* to sell land in the Lockleys area in early 1980s reflects the transformations in the meaning of land through three generations. The pioneer frame of reference was the *contadino* model and patriarchal aspiration for economic interdependence of family on the land. The pioneers adapted practices and their ownership of land gave continuity of family identity and heritage which carried over to the 1.5 generation who also owned their market gardens. However, the pioneers and the 1.5 generation also recognised the signs of transition which meant that selling rather than working land could bring prosperity. The wealth created by subdivision gave them a new understanding of land as an asset that could be used to provide for their families.

The members of the second generation who grew up on the market gardens at Lockleys acknowledged the presence of the family on land without the memory of its meaning as heritage. Independence and self-reliance on the land which had been valorised by the pioneer generation was replaced by a different value of work. The majority of the second generation turned away from the hard, physical labour and long hours of work on the land. They entered working lives that gave them regular wages and a division between home and occupation, private and public domains and mobility from agrarian labour to employment with varied socio-economic status.

The transformation of the *contadino* heritage and attachment to land that occurred between the three generations demonstrated the realisation of *sistemazione* in the pioneer families at Lockleys. The pioneers had completed the imperative for emplacement and laid foundations for their families on the land they owned. The 1.5 generation served their apprenticeship with their parents before they also became independent business owners of market gardens. The second generation did not feel constrained by heritage and it was even possible to cross boundaries including gender roles which enabled daughters to take different paths. The line of succession in the market gardens was broken when nearly all of the second generation chose other occupations.

The pioneers remained on the land that had been their market gardens even after the subdivision of land and the majority of the 1.5 generation also built new homes on their properties. The relatively high incidence of the second generation who continue to reside in the area that was previously the market gardens indicates the enduring attachment to the land and community, the *paese*. Awareness of the different roles of the older generation/s is evident in the nostalgia of the 1.5 and second generation for the *contadino* tradition as they recall growing up on the market gardens. In retirement, they record their commitment to Veneto traditions like cultivating a vegetable garden and sharing produce, maintaining and transmitting food culture such as the annual customs of producing salami, making wine or baking traditional pastries in their families or observing Easter and Christmas rituals.

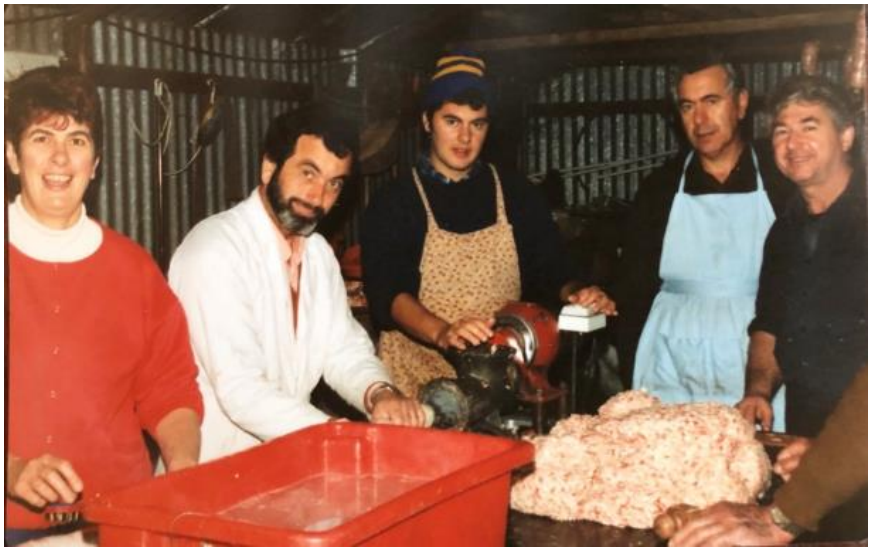

Figure 126: Members of Giuseppe and Cesira Ballestrin's family making salami, 1980s.

Photo supplied by Joanne Camozzato.

While the lives of second-generation men and women developed in directions that contrasted with the pioneer aspirations, narrators recreate cultural traditions of the *paese* and revisit the market gardens through their memories. In a similar way to the documentation of local histories, the record of the history of a migrant community like the Veneto market gardeners demonstrates the fundamental themes of place, belonging and the formation of identity.[705]

[705] See Frank Bongiorno and Erik Eklund, "The Problem of Belonging," 41.

Commitment to family through intergenerational relationships and the strength of the *paese*, both as place and a community, and identity, remain strong links in the memories of the 1.5 and second-generation narrators and others closely associated with the market gardeners at Lockleys. The connections, particularly to the relational *paese,* rather than to the physical place of the market gardens, are examined in the following chapter.

Chapter seven: Transforming the *paese*

They were all very close to each other. They came from Caselle which is close to Riese so they probably felt that they were almost like, how we say *paesani*, which means from the same country [town] and they probably helped each other and that was fairly common, like I can remember the other Italians coming to our place --- if a certain job had to be done or when they were doing refurbishing or whatever was needed maybe, in the shed. I can remember many people coming. And probably Dad and Uncle did the same for them. And that's why they helped each other. Surely being able to live close to each other was one way of keeping contact, of whenever needed. I would have said there was probably you know, mutual support, lending or whatever, borrowing money or whatever it was … --- it was a stage when they were very well settled families, okay. There were young people arriving, I can remember them because we used to have young people.

(Remo Berno interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 27 June 2017, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia, OH 872/46, 12).

Click here to listen

Figure 127: Berno siblings, Valetta Road, early 1960s. L-R: Diana, Remo, Roberto.

Photo supplied by the family.

Remo Berno was born in Adelaide in 1953 in a pioneer market gardener family and returned to live in Italy with his parents when he was eighteen years old. However, he remembers the Veneto families and identifies the geographic and relational space of the market gardens at Lockleys. Despite the five decades since his family left, Remo has maintained transnational connections with relatives and *paesani* in Adelaide. His memory of the market gardens and the role of the *paese* create a vivid image of the community that developed from the pioneers to the 1.5 generation and maintained an identity in the second generation.

Remo remembers a settled community that operated through the proximity of families able to assist with physical tasks associated with the market gardens. He refers to the close interactions and networks that included other forms of reciprocity such as financial and social support within the community.[706] Remo's explanation of the organisation and history of the community illustrates the strength of oral history for narrators to remember the past and find subjective meaning in speaking about it from the present.[707] Remo claims a sense of identity and belonging to the Veneto market gardeners' *paese* that once existed in Lockleys.

In this Chapter I examine the changing identity of the *paese* and transformations that occurred in the period from the years of settlement to the disappearance of the market gardens, and to the enduring connections between *paesani*. First, I argue that there was a change in the meaning of

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[706] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 88-89, argues the "invisible networks" in the Gippsland area derived from the shared identity of being from the Veneto region and assisted in the settlement of *veneti*. American historian, di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 132-134, differentiates between two types of communities: one is the community that is the result of everyday interactions and "groupness or *Gemeinschaft*" as opposed to the use of "ethnic community" as a label to describe idealised groups of migrants. Hein De Haas, Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World,* sixth ed. (London: Red Globe Press, 2020), 65-66, discuss the social and economic networks that migrants establish to ease the processes of settlement and which they communicate to their kin in the country of origin and result in chain migration. Harzig, Hoerder, and Gabaccia, *What is Migration History?* 80, refer to migrants establishing transnational networks that are invisible and operate outside formal immigration policies.

[707] Alessandro Portelli, "Living Voices," 245-247.

the *contadino* way of life and the *paese* established in the 1930s by the pioneers. Second, I explore the links between attachment to place; the Veneto villages from which the pioneers emigrated and their *paese* at Lockleys. I consider the readjustment of identity after the sale of the market gardens, incorporation of the second wave of Veneto migrants, new opportunities for pioneer families to interact with pan Italian associations and, later, Veneto organisations beyond their community. I also trace the transnational links between the Veneto pioneer home villages and the community at Lockleys. I argue that although the pioneers had modified *contadino* values and practices on the market gardens, external influences brought substantive change within the community. Despite the dislocation from the physical market gardens, the social network developed by the pioneers has lived on into the second generation.

The 1.5 and second generations acknowledge the continuity of *paesani* relationships that stretch back to the formation of the *paese* at Lockleys in the 1930s. The connections between the *paesani* in the 1.5 and second generation have been maintained over many years through informal and formal gatherings in the community of descendants of the pioneers. I argue that new connections have emerged through the Veneto market gardeners' oral history project which has created the opportunity for descendants to document their family history and the life of the community. The 1.5 and second generations have contributed to a relational or virtual *paese* in the form of the dedicated website that archives the memories and history of the Veneto community at Lockleys. Finally, I argue that the collective memories of the Veneto market gardeners contribute to a broader understanding of the history of migrant groups in Australia.[708]

I draw on the work of scholars who focus on the importance of family and social networks in managing the processes of settlement.[709] I also refer to Australian scholars who examine Italian

[708] See discussion of including family memory and identity as a new form of historical study for inserting into national narratives in Katie Barclay and Nena Javette Koefoed, "Family, Memory and Identity,"1-10; Alistair Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," 77-95*;* Alistair Thomson, "The Anzac Legend," in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1990), 73-82.
[709] See, for example, Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 23-27 identify the close support that migrants offer each other as an example of "micro-structures"; Joseph Fitzpatrick, "The Importance of 'Community' in

migration and settlement and emphasise the role of kin and *paesani* in supporting migrants in their adjustments to their new home.[710] In the context of Veneto Australians, I build on the work of Baldassar who explores the construction of identity of a group of *veneti* from the *comune* of San Fior in the Veneto region and ongoing transnational interactions between their place of origin and their Australian home in Perth, from the 1920s. Baldassar examines the processes of migration that continue beyond the first generation.[711] This chapter sets out an original contribution to the study of migration through an examination of a multi-generational community which established itself on the market gardens during the interwar years and is sustained today as a virtual transnational *paese.* Through three generations families have retained cultural traditions and preserved memories of the community.

The process of migration for the pioneers was not a single voyage from the Veneto region to Adelaide; it incorporated inter-generational links that stretched through time and distance to create a transnational community.[712] While the pioneer market gardeners established the market gardens, they maintained connections with family in the Veneto region, an attachment passed down to the 1.5 generation and now maintained by many in the second generation. Most narrators have

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the Process of Immigrant Assimilation," *International Migration Review* 1, no. 1(1996): 5-16. Fitzpatrick writes about the significance of the "familiar relationships and interaction" in migrant communities in adjusting to life in a new country; Hein De Haas et al., *The Age of Migration*, argue in Chapter 3, "Theories of Migration," that migrants negotiate migration and settlement by maintaining connections with kin and friends in the country of origin which is an initiative that begins with chain migration and creates networks in the place of settlement.

[710] See for example, Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*,110-115, attributes formation of supportive Southern European communities to chain migration; Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, 58, argues that initiatives taken by Italian migrants to form communities separately from Anglo Australia were for "defence and survival"; Baldassar and Gabaccia, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 3, refer to the "deeply felt emotional solidarities" of migrant communities that were similar to the closeness of family ties.

[711] Loretta Baldassar, *Visits Home.* See, the Introduction and Chapters 8 and 10.

[712] See Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 332-338, for discussion of the experience of migration that extends beyond the movement from one country to another and she argues that the identity of Italians in Australia is modulated by the return visits to their place of origin; Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians,* 184, who refer to Veneto migrants who feel the strength of community in both the Veneto region and in Australia. See also Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 1-15. He discusses transnational histories, identities and networks of Italian migrants who maintain familial and *paesani* links.

nurtured transnational links and claim both Australian and Italian identities. The high incidence of narrators citing their Veneto/a identity reflects an abiding connection to the place of family origin and the significance of forebears.[713] For example, Romano Marchioro declares:

> I'd class myself as an Italian. Yeah, well, what can you say? They say: 'Where are you from?' I say: 'I was born here but my parents are Italian, that's what I am, Italian.' … We were brought up speaking Italian and you never lose that, you never forget that, and you never forget if you've been there, you never forget your cousins your aunties, and your uncles. Surely, why not? You're Italian, you're Italian.
>
> (Romano Marchioro, OH 872/20, 11 June 2012, 19).

Romano's reiteration of the word, "Italian" reflects his deep attachment to his parents and his extended family in the Veneto whom he had visited twice. Several relatives had also visited his parents in Adelaide which strengthened the transnational ties in the Marchioro families and closeness with aunts, uncles and cousins. Romano's repetition of "you never forget" also indicates the importance of memory in migrant families and the preservation of relationships despite the separation of generations and distance.

In Figure 128, Romano's auntie Angelina is pictured in the market garden at Bolivar with Romano's brother, Johnny. She visited the family in Adelaide three times. Romano's links to his relatives illustrates his position as a second-generation Australian with living bonds to his parents' history and his relatives in Malo, Italy, although his father had left there nearly a century ago.

[713] In interviews I used a combination of questions to ask about identity. In their responses some narrators referred to their Italian identity and others specified their Veneto/a identity, and several described an 'Australian' identity that incorporated their Italian heritage.

Figure 128: Angelina Marchioro and Johnny Marchioro, cutting lettuce, Bolivar, 1976.

Photo by Eleonora Marchioro.

Interpreting the *paese*

The distinctive feature of the settlement of the Veneto market gardeners, discussed in previous chapters, was the development of a *paese* as an intra-regional community of *veneti* in the interwar years rather than a group formed through chain migration and continuous stream of family members or village compatriots. I argue that the meaning of the term, *paese,* has transformed over three generations of the Veneto market gardener families. Over time, the transnational ties forged by the pioneers were strengthened in the 1.5 generation, and by the second generation through correspondence, telephone and face-to-face communications. Today there is an additional dimension of the social network experienced through Internet communications.[714] The website has also enabled descendants to participate in a virtual *paese.*

As discussed previously, the pioneer Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys created a settlement that at first recreated the *contadino* existence. They lived close to each other, worked the land and

[714] Several narrators, particularly in Italy, spoke about their use of WhatsApp to make regular contact with relatives and *paesani* in Australia. An eighty-six-year-old 1.5 generation woman in Adelaide told me in 2020 that she spoke every week with *paesani* in the Veneto region.

interacted daily in an intergenerational community within a defined area that became their *paese*.[715] The image of the *paese* is an element in the foundation story of the Veneto market gardener community reflected in the memories of the first, 1.5 and second-generation narrators. Their accounts offer individual memories and a shared collective memory.[716] The two representatives of the pioneer generation interviewed in 1984 referred to the enduring support of the early community which Angelina Marchioro expresses as: "all the time, stick together."[717] The companionship of *paesani*, close neighbours from the same cultural origins, and everyday interactions on their market gardens ameliorated the challenges of settlement.[718]

Figure 129: Group of Veneto pioneer families, Morialta Falls, Adelaide, early 1950s.

Photo supplied by Johnny Marchioro.

[715] Hein De Haas et al., *The Age of Migration,* 304-305, argue that migrants choose to form close communities as a resource to support each other and maintain language and customs. It is both a social and economic decision that can lead to the establishment of ethnic businesses and cultural organisations in a place of settlement. The economic dimension of the *paese* did not develop at Lockleys.

[716] See Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between History and Memory," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2008): 50-52.

[717] Interview with Angelina Marchioro and Vittorio Marchioro, OH 12, 13 March 1984, 15.

[718] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 51-53 contends that the community of *veneti* who settled in the Gippsland area between the wars, was a positive factor in managing the challenges of early settlement. Unlike the Veneto market gardeners, the Gippsland group was brought together through chain migration and lived in scattered locations, some working on the land and some working for wages.

In migration studies, two main units of analysis, the physical location of settlement and the formation of the community, are often used to examine the lives of migrant groups.[719] At times the concepts overlap and they can be discussed simultaneously to understand processes of settlement.[720] Although they are similar, when the concepts are separated, it is possible to identify various aspects of culture that the *veneti* maintained and the adaptations they made to inhabit and shape their network of relationships and physical place of settlement. The families were attached to the *paese* in two ways: to the physical, the market gardens, and the relational, through the community. The networks of *paesani* and relationships between families provided the social structures. Both attachments were emotional but were also practical and created opportunities for *sistemazione* and defined the Veneto market gardener identity at Lockleys.[721]

Having stated that I will examine place and community separately, I affirm that there is a term used in the context of Italian migration that encompasses both meanings. *Campanilismo* is a place-based concept used to describe both the physical locality and the community because of the

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[719] For scholars who focus on the spatial dimension of community, see Paul J. Campisi, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Italian Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 53, no. 6 (1948): 443-449, in an early study of southern Italian migrant families in the United States referred to the creation of an "Italian neighbourhood" as an important first location for families; John Stuart MacDonald and Leatrice MacDonald, "Chain Migration Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1964): 90-91, cite chain migration as the reason for southern Italians developing 'Little Italies' and also "chain occupations" in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Donna Gabaccia, "Global Geography of 'Little Italy': Italian Neighbourhoods in Comparative Perspective," *Modern Italy* 11, no. 1 (2006): 9-24 refers to "clusters", often named as 'Little Italies' in Italian diasporas; Monica Boyd, "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration, 638-670, discusses the role of "personal networks" and "ethnic enclaves" that support the processes of settlement. See also Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 23-27. The authors refer to the "micro-structures" that migrants develop as they undertake processes of settlement.

[720] An example I use later in the chapter brings together the experience of place and community when a 1.5 generation recalls the feelings of leaving his grandfather behind when he migrated in the 1930s with his mother and siblings and joined his father.

[721] Steven High examines what happens when a group loses a physical place and in what ways oral history can assist to assuage the emotional attachment can be remembered in "Mapping Memories of Displacement: Oral History, Memoryscapes, and Mobile Methodologies," in *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History,* ed. Shelley Trower (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 218-219.

emotional attachment an Italian has to his or her home village through the bell tower or *campanile* that dominated the sight line in a *paese*.[722] At Lockleys, instead of a *piazza* or other form of centre recognised as a gathering place, the glasshouses might be considered a proxy for the bell tower that dominated the sight lines for the market gardener families. Similarly, the pioneers may have considered some packing sheds as the *piazza* in a reconstruction of a meeting place that was also their work site on the market gardens. The *campanile* is a personal and a communal reference point especially for the first generation (and some in the 1.5 generation) who retain a memory of their life in their home village before their migration and settlement in another country.

Baldassar's explanation of *campanilismo* as "spatial self-identity" offers an image of the affective element in defining oneself in terms of the home village or place of origin.[723] The point of reference for some narrators, even in the second generation, is underscored by the sense of *campanilismo*, or the place that was their parents' home village.[724] The Veneto group created an exclusive sense of *campanilismo* and *paese* at Lockleys since they did not share the single focus of having originated from the same village, parish or *comune*. I argue that narrators adapted the concept of

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[722] See Rudolph M. Bell, *Fate and Honor, Family and Village: Demographic and Cultural Change in Rural Italy since 1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 172-177, for discussion of the Italian peasant sense of attachment to the village as the cultural signifier of the birth place; Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 185-208, for discussion of the concept and closeness between Italian people who come from the same village or local government area and ways in which it features in the lives of *veneti* who have settled in Australia and differences between the generations. Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Italian Population of Carlton," 328, 396, discusses *campanilismo* in the context of marriages in the community and defines the concept as "Italian clannishness". See also scholars who examine the concept in American Italian migrant groups: Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco*, 220-221, argues that feelings of *campanilismo* can exert more influence on identifying with the village in preference to regional allegiance and states that it created divisions in the study of groups of Sicilian fishermen; di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 22, 93-94, 168, emphasises that *campanilismo* can result in control and exclusion in migrant communities.

[723] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 323.

[724] In a conversation with a second-generation woman, Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo, whose parents were 1.5 generation from different *paesi* in the Veneto region told me that if someone dies in Adelaide who migrated from Bigolino, the village where her father was born, everyone in the community who is able, attends the funeral. The strong sense of connection because of the shared origins in the Vento region assumes more significance than friendship.

campanilismo to the circumstances of Lockleys. They remember the strings of glasshouses as a collective point of reference, the place that united the pioneer families through work; they recall the packing sheds that were transformed as community spaces for celebrations.

In the preparatory meeting before their oral history interviews, narrators often referred to the geography of Lockleys as a *paese*. They recreated spatial details of Lockleys; some sketched maps or we consulted aerial photos of the area from different time periods. In remembering the area, they referred to "Frogmore Road", "Valetta Road," "River Road," "Hartley Road," "the river", or "the *vagòn"*.[725] Others communicated a feeling for the locality through evoking mental maps of the market gardens and stories to ground their images of the past.[726] A second-generation narrator explained her memory of the area where her family farmed on Frogmore Road:

> Frogmore Road's been closed for quite a few months and like yesterday … I had to go the back streets and I was saying: 'Oh, this is where the house was, Oh, this is where the tank was. Oh, I'm running over, going over where the well was.' [laughs] … I was going down Santin Avenue and I was picturing the glasshouse and the tanks because the road was right on the edge of the property, and now there's houses and along here. [indicating the map] I can still see it.[727]
>
> (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 December, 2013, 52).

Diana's reference to Santin Avenue, which was closed temporarily for road works in 2013, indicates the recognition given to several of the major pioneer families in the area by the local council that named streets after the Santin, Piovesan, Tonellato and Ballestrin families. The streets indicate the location of the family market gardens prior to subdivision.[728] See Figure 130.

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[725] The *vagòn* was the train carriage that had housed the Tonellato family on Frogmore Road. It had been a striking feature of the landscape for thirty years until it was burned down in the 1960s

[726] See Trower, *Place, Writing and Voice in Oral History,* 10-11, for discussion of the role of oral history in assisting people to recall and describe places of significance that no longer exist.

[727] Santin Avenue was named after the Santin family sold their land and it was subdivided.

[728] It is likely that the market gardener families nominated the street names when the land was sub-divided, and the local government approved them.

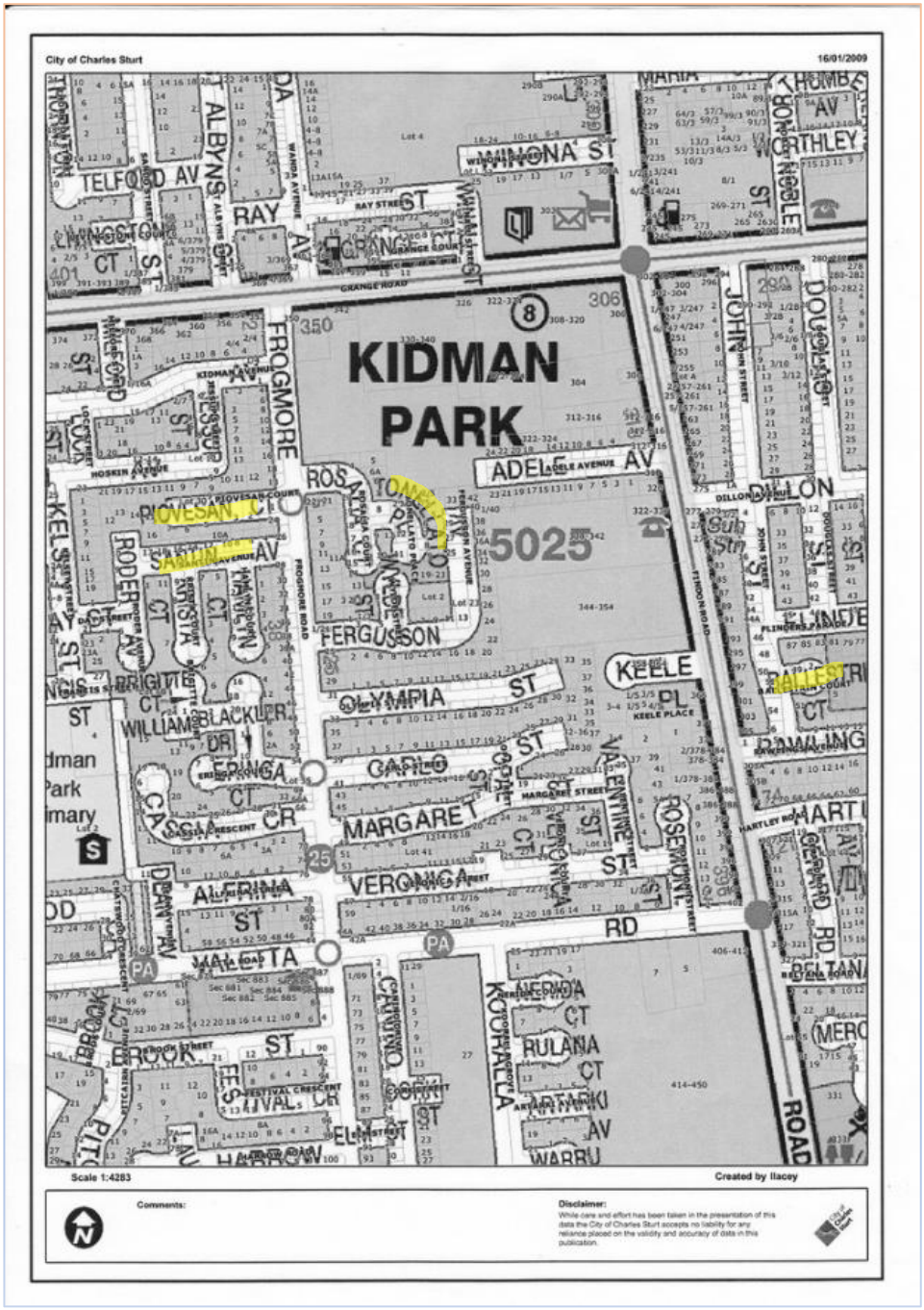

Figure 130: Street map with names of Veneto market gardens, c 2014.

Family names highlighted are: Santin, Piovesan, Tonellato, Ballestrin.

Road map, City of Charles Sturt, reproduced with permission.

While the Veneto pioneers at Lockleys created a *paese* based on their experience and memory of their respective home villages in the Veneto region, the 1.5 and second-generation narrators express nostalgia for the place that no longer exists. The nostalgia experienced by the narrators relates to the loss of what they remember as an idealised place associated with security, order and

companionship of *paesani*, a memory of a warm secure place of home.[729] This nostalgic image of an intimate connection to family, home and place reflects: "a sense of belonging … recourse to a past … of an apparently comforting bounded enclosure."[730]

Massey maintains that the identity of a place is characterised by specific interactions and actions undertaken by those who live there and which separate the residents from "the outside."[731] I argue that the narrators' affection for both place and community is a memory of the *paese* created by the pioneers as a defined place separate from the Anglo Australian world that existed in a particular period of time. Although other non-Veneto market gardener families (Italians and Anglo Australians) lived and worked in the same geographical location at the time, the Veneto community saw itself as contained and separate.[732]

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[729] On the subject of nostalgia see Michael Janover, "Nostalgias," *Critical Horizons* 1, no.1 (2000): 113-133, for discussion of memory and imagination; For nostalgia and the experience of Italian migrants see Robert Orsi, "The Fault of Memory: 'Southern Italy' in the Imagination of Immigrants and the Lives of Their Children in Italian Harlem, 1920-1945," *Journal of Family History* 15, no. 2 (1990): 133-147; and Anne-Marie Fortier, "Re-Membering Places," 41-64, argues that the need of a contemporary Italian community in London to own its heritage is demonstrated through nostalgia and the ways it represents an historical community who inhabited a particular area of London as a Little Italy from late 19th century. See Selma Leydesdorff, "The Screen of Nostalgia: Oral History and the Ordeal of Working-Class Jews in Amsterdam*," International Journal of Oral History*, June (1986): 109-115 for discussion of "romantic nostalgia" and the link between past and present for a Jewish community in Amsterdam; Barbara Shircliffe, "'We Got the Best of That World': A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Segregation," *The Oral History Review* 28, no. 2 (2001): 59-84 for examination of identity and meaning through understanding the role of nostalgia in a black community's memory of segregated schools. See also Peter Read, *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.

[730] Doreen Massey, "A Place Called Home," *New Formations*, 17 (Summer 1992): 12.

[731] Massey argues that the idea of a specific, secure and comforting bounded place is a counterpoint to the world that exists outside that place. See "A Place Called Home," 12-13.

[732] A Napoletano market gardener family, the Recchi, moved to the Lockleys area in the late 1930s and were incorporated into the Veneto community as neighbours and friends. The son and daughter in the family were interviewed for the project and refer to their acceptance as equals in the Veneto community. See interviews with Mel Recchi, OH 872/31, and Aida Valentini nee Recchi, OH 872/38.

At Lockleys, the community became a place of support and comfort especially for the pioneers in the first decade of settlement, as highlighted in Chapter 4. Some narrators, in their eighties at the time of their interviews, express attachment to the community and acknowledge the primary group formed by their parents in the 1930s. In their adult lives, many have continued to share this bond with their "peer group society."[733] As they recall the activities and the interactions that defined the market gardens, narrators acknowledge the *paesani* relationships and customs that were adapted by the pioneers and have been maintained within the Veneto community.

The excerpt from Milva Rebuli's interview confirms the closeness in response to a question about families at Lockleys:

> Oh, the Ballestrin's --- Tonellato's, Rosalia Piovesan, --- Marena Zalunardo ... everyone around --- you know, Valetta Road and that, they were all friends, Santin's, the Santin's were godparents to one of my sisters and Marchioro's, all of them, they more-or-less got on really well. Johnny's parents were godparents to one of my sisters.
>
> (Milva Rebuli nee Zampin, OH 872/36, 27 March 2016, 8).

Community: family and friends

The *veneti* formed a distinct community of migrants that needs to be acknowledged as more than the "metaphorical" reference to the term 'community' which is often used to describe groups of migrants without differentiating between regional groups.[734] At Lockleys the group developed a distinctive coupled identity as *veneti* and as market gardeners. Their daily interactions through

[733] Several narrators spoke of ongoing close friendships with members of pioneer families or close peers using Gan's description of the primary group in his study of Italian families in the community in Boston – see Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, 36-41.

[734] For discussion of the concept of community, see di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, 131-135. di Leonardo refers to "the metaphorical use of community" which contrasts with a specific community; a small enough group who lives close enough to interact daily over time.

shared language, heritage and occupation created familiarity within a secluded community and evolved on the margins of Anglo Australian society in three successive generations.[735]

Customs like "fi*ó*," (or "fii*ó"*) or visiting *paesani* at night after the working day, referred to in Chapter 4, were transposed from the *paese* in the Veneto region. In 1947 Mary Zoanetti, a 1.5 generation woman whose parents originated from another northern region of Italy, married Albert Tonellato, a 1.5 generation man whose parents were Veneto market gardeners.[736] She recalls the proximity of market gardeners in the area of Lockleys and suggests that the closeness facilitated opportunities for social lives in the pioneer generation and extended to the choice of marriage partners in the next generation within the community.

Mary refers to the physical and social connections between pioneer families on the land at Lockleys:

> It was a community that we were all close together … it was all connected …
> There was Ballestrin, Zalunardo, Piovesan, Laio and Tonellato.
> We were all not far from one another … people were very helpful then
> with one another.
>
> (Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti, OH 872/3, 3 October 2008: 7).

[735] Mantello, "Their Words … My Words … Our Words," 26, refers to the *paesani* customs which created a close community of Sicilian market gardeners at Werribee between the wars and resulted in a "village insularity."

[736] The background to the presence of Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti and her mother in the Veneto market gardener community is discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 131: Albert Tonellato and Mary Zoanetti, Adelaide, c 1947.

Photo supplied by Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti.

Mary identifies Veneto neighbours on adjoining farms and the presence of *paesani* who could offer support and assistance*,* an element also reflected in Remo Berno's second-generation account of the market gardener community at the beginning of this chapter. Mary's description of the pioneers - physically close, available to assist each other, and comfortable in everyday social interactions - creates an image of intimacy, a context for understanding the necessity for community particularly in the first years at Lockleys.[737] Mary's reference to "then", intimates the nostalgic way that she assesses the past, a comparison with the absence of the people who were *paesani.* Mary communicates the loss resulting from the dispersal of families and compares the community in the past to her life at the time of the interview.

[737] Narrator, Armida Mattiazzo nee Biasetto, a post-World War II Veneto migrant and relative of a market gardener, recalled the lives of the pioneers and emphasised the necessity and impulse to form strong relationships as *paesani* because they did not have their families to turn to in Australia (private conversation 30 May 2020.)

In her study of Italians in Britain, sociologist Ann-Marie Fortier argues that the concept of family takes on significance in the experience of migration as "the privileged site and frame of memory within Italian émigré culture."[738] Narrators frequently use the term, "family" as a metaphor to describe the community at Lockleys. For example, Milva Rebuli nee Zampin states "You know it was just … a great big family." (OH 872/36, 27 March 2016, 8). Another narrator whose parents were market gardeners from another Italian region recalls how her family were considered part of the Veneto community; "We got on as one family with all the neighbours that we had around." (Aida Valentini nee Recchi, OH 872/38, 28 September 2016, 16). In another example, Dino Piovesan provides the context for his family and the Tonellato family who lived on neighbouring properties: "We all got on well because it was just one happy family living next door to one another." (Dino Piovesan, OH 872/17, 23 September 2011, 4).

The attribution of "family" is even more emphatic when Christine Zampin reflects on the way her Irish Australian mother was included and respected in the *paese* at Lockleys: "It was really important to her to feel, to feel wanted and belonging to this family of *veneti*." (Christine Zampin, OH 872/42, 26 September 2017, 26). The Veneto community had valued Amelia Zampin as one its members in contrast to her own family who ostracised her because she had married an Italian.

The narrators use the image to idealise the family as a primary group where every member is respected and feels a sense of belonging.[739] The narrators' view of the archetypal family is a group where members learn behaviour and interact with love, respect and provide reciprocal care.[740] The

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[738] Fortier, *Migrant Belongings*, 97-98. Fortier explains that the family has symbolic status in narratives of migration and the intergenerational responsibilities for preservation of culture although (4-5) she also critiques the symbolic representation of the Italian family because it does not analyse gender and ethnicity in the formation of migrant identity.

[739] Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2002), 166-167, argues that the family is the foundation or model for the memory (and forgetting) of other "memory communities" including ethnic, class and generational.

[740] Luisa Passerini, "Mythobiography in Oral History," in *The Myths We Live By*, eds., Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London; Routledge, 1990) 55-60, discusses ways that archetypes can be examined and

narrators also idealise the family within the context of the *paese* in the period up to the 1950s. Their nostalgia supports an interpretation of the *paese* at Lockleys as a kind of utopian community in the stories told by the narrators. The pioneers handed down the designation of the *paese* at Lockleys as family to the 1.5 and second-generation children. Without their own extended family relationships and networks that they had left behind in the households in the Veneto region, the pioneers "internalised" and expanded the image of family because they were open to modifying what they inherited. [741] They formed nuclear families and accepted intermarriage and the presence of single men in the community.

The representation of the community as family embodied affection, care and connection which characterise relationships within the community of the descendants of the pioneers today. The inter-connected relationships within the market garden community are reflected in the photo at Figure 132. The photo shows three pioneer families; the Zampin, Berno and Tonellato families present at the baptism of Peter Zampin in 1953.

Figure 132: Three pioneer families - baptism of Peter Zampin, Flinders Park, 1953.
Back - L-R: Gino and Irma Berno (godparents), Silvano Zampin holding Peter,
Elisabetta and Secondo Tonellato (godparents). Front: Christina and Virginia Zampin.
Photo supplied by the Zampin family.

interpreted in oral history interviews and argues that myths can be interpreted using the present as the starting point rather than the past.

[741] For discussion of the invention and significance of myths in autobiographical narrative and oral history and myth in the stories of everyday living, see Samuel and Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, 11-21.

Changes occurred with the arrival of post Second World War migrants from the Veneto region. Some pioneers sponsored the 'new Australians' who were *paesani*; mostly young single young men who were supported with work and accommodation for a specific period.[742] The sponsoring arrangements reflected an adoption of the chain migration model that had enabled southern Europeans to migrate to Australia before the Second World War. Some pioneer families guaranteed accommodation and employment for two years under conditions set by the Government. In some cases, the pioneers' response to the new arrivals almost replicates the *padrone* relationship. For example, several families erected basic accommodation units on their properties and rented out rooms to young men who either worked on the market gardens or were employed in factories in Adelaide's western suburbs. [743] The Santin families employed young men on their market gardens at busy times and sometimes arrangements were an in-kind exchange, vegetables for labour.[744]

Adrian Tonellato recalls the role of the Berno brothers who sponsored and supported young men from their home village when they migrated:

> Berno's, you know, they were from Riese there, and … everybody used to, say, have an address: 'Go and see Robert [Adrian refers to Pietro's son instead of Pietro]

---

[742] The Commonwealth Government required sponsors to take responsibility for the migrant and for their behaviour for a period and ensure that he/she would not be a burden to the state or other organisations. See NAA: Department of Immigration, South Australia Branch, D401*, Correspondence files, multiple number series with 'SA' prefix*, 01 Nov 1946 – 01 Jan 1949; SA1948/3/535, Ballestrin Giuseppe – application for admission of relative or friend to Australia – Tieppo Celso Fortunato, Ballestrin, Ida Maddalena, 1948 – 1953, 34-35 for information about responsibilities of sponsors.

[743] Some pioneer and 1.5-generation families built basic accommodation units such as corrugated iron sheds on their market gardens and rented out spaces to the new arrivals. See interview with Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 19 November 2017, 15-18, who talks about several of the Veneto market gardeners who built sheds to house new migrants after the war and made income from the accommodation. See also interview with Irene Zampin, OH 872/45, 23 June 2017, 5-6, for details about her parents' accommodation on the property of the Berno property after her mother arrived from Italy in 1951.

[744] Diana Panazzolo nee Santin recalls that young *veneti* worked regularly after their shift at the nearby Holden factory. They were paid with produce and her father and uncles gave the young men bottles of whisky at Christmas. See Diana Panzzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 September 2013, 9.

> or Albert.' When they left from Italy: 'Go and see them and they'll find you a place.' Because young lads, you know, they didn't know their way around, couldn't speak two words of English.
>
> (Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 19 November 2015, 18).

The market gardeners extended the social boundaries of their *paese* to Veneto migrants who arrived after the Second World War and the older Italians had to resolve what it meant to 'belong' to the *paese* at Lockleys.

There were limits to the inclusion of others, at least for one pioneer who held Sunday afternoon beer gatherings for men in his packing shed.[745] Isidoro Ballestrin hosted the events and guests contributed to the cost of the keg and in Figure 133, a group of men and a child is photographed at one of those occasions.

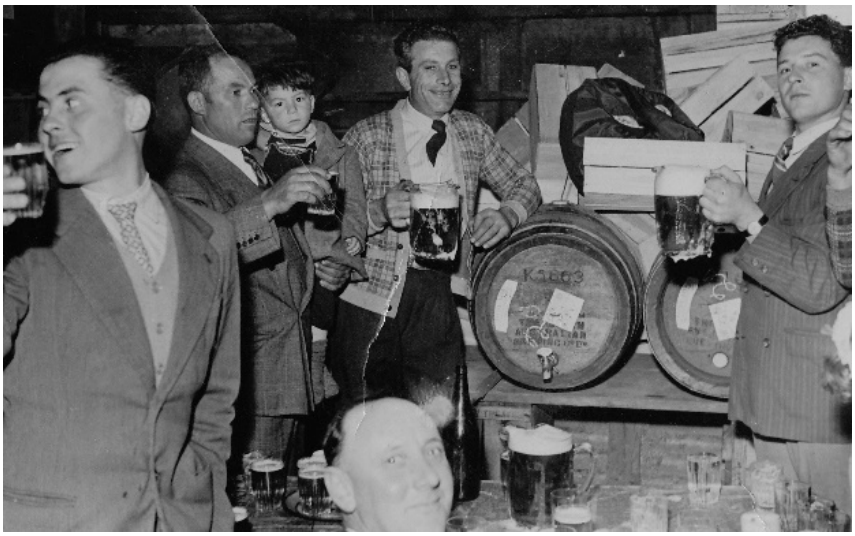

Figure 133: Veneto men and child. Packing shed event, Lockleys, c 1952.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

At some point, when numbers increased and exceeded Isidoro's tolerance, he terminated the occasions. His son Frankie explains the situation*:*

[745] De Haas et al., *The Age of Migration*, 70, argue that closely bonded migrant communities may exclude others who are outside the group.

> When Dad was doing it, it was just basic, old friends who were here in those early years. And of course, then he dropped it after a while, when it got too big and they started getting people, strangers – although they were Italians, but they weren't of the group that was here years ago. When it got too big, they decided to drop that, otherwise it would have been a circus then, wouldn't it? It wouldn't have been a friendly gathering anymore.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 5 January 2009: 39).

Frankie emphasises that his father's original aim was for the market gardeners to share precious leisure time. He indicates support for his father's decision with his reference to the possibility of the event becoming "a circus" with men who were not known to the community. Other Veneto families within the community began hosting social occasions for men. As discussed in Chapter 4, two families in the market gardener community hosted *bocce* near their packing sheds.

Figure 134: Group of Veneto men - Santin market garden, Frogmore Road, 1962.

Note: pine half cases used to pack tomatoes behind the men who are waiting their turn for bocce.

Photo by Oscar Mattiazzo.

The community also accommodated new transnational connections with in-laws from the Veneto region when second generation daughters married new migrants in the 1960s.[746] Although there were changes resulting from the wave of migrants, the pioneer families maintained their identity as market gardeners through their attachment to place and work on the land and the familiarity with each other. However, the boundaries began to expand with the arrival and settlement of the younger generation of *veneti*. Figure 135 depicts a group of the post-war members of the Veneto community at Lockleys.

Figure 135: Young Veneto men who had arrived post World War II, Valetta Road, 1951.

Photo supplied by Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella.

Identity of place

Between the wars the Veneto market gardener community maintained two geographical reference points that preserved their identity and gave them a sense of belonging. The connection to their place of origin in the Veneto region was emotional and nostalgic while the location of the market gardens at Lockleys was a site with social and economic significance, and of *sistemazione*. The 1.5 generation narrators remember both places whereas the second generation identify the second point of reference, the market gardens, as the site of foundation of the family in Australia and

[746] As stated in Chapter 6, ten of fifteen second generation women interviewed for the project married young men who had emigrated from the Veneto region in the 1950s.

where children in three families had close contact with grandparents who were born in Italy.[747] The connection between the two ideas of place and community is evident in the narrators' accounts of the history of their family as Veneto migrants. Those who had visited relatives in the Veneto region had developed a deeper sense of belonging to the ancestral *paese.* They experienced transnational kin relationships by living in the family household and discovered more about the family history in the Veneto region and it was an opportunity for "transformation of identity."[748]

Attachment to the ancestral *paese*

The 1.5 and second generations attribute meaning and a sense of belonging to the *paese* where their parents and ancestors were born in the Veneto region. However, there are differences in the way they consider the attachment because of the wide age range particularly in the second-generation cohort.[749] The 1.5 generation narrators trace their direct attachment to the Veneto since that cohort had a memory of family and culture associated with the *paese* in which they were born and spent the first years of childhood.[750] There are examples of narrators who associate the attachment of place with the relatives they loved and left behind. For example, Lino Tonellato, born in 1926, recalls the emotional wrench when, at nine years old with his mother and siblings, he left the village and his relatives (place and community) to join his father in Adelaide:

> LT: We were all happy about it but at the same time you don't like to leave your great-grandfather … I still remember him, the great-grand … my mother's father. He had to be home by himself.
> OH: It must have been hard for your mother to leave him?

---

[747] The Santin and Tonellato narrators speak of their grandparents. Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/ 27, 1-4, 23, 34-35; Adrian Tonellato, OH 872/35, 3-5, 7, 26-27, 35-38; Sandra Conci nee Santin, OH 872/ 47, 3-8, 12-15, 22-23.

[748] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, devotes Chapter 8 to the analysis of the second generation and their visits to San Fior to meet their relatives which the second generation describe as "return" visits although they are born in Australia. Such is the identification with Italy that the second generation claim a new consciousness of their San Fior identity and heritage as a result of their first visit. See especially pages 287-288.

[749] As noted previously, some of the eldest in the second generation who were born in Adelaide from 1927 identify more closely with the 1.5 generation while the youngest narrator was born in Adelaide in 1950s.

[750] Of the ten 1.5 narrators, only one was younger than eight years old when they arrived in Adelaide.

LT: Oh, it was very hard.

(Lino Tonellato, OH 872/10, 16 July 2010: 15).

Figure 136: Tonellato family in front of the vagòn, the day after the family reunited, December 1935. The family lived in the vagòn *on Frogmore Road until 1954 when it was transformed into rental accommodation for newly arrived migrants. Photo supplied by the Tonellato family.*

Lino's recollection of the prospect of being reunited with his father who had migrated eight years earlier and reframing family life in Adelaide contrasts with his sense of loss. He uses the term "great-grandfather" for his grandfather and conveys an experience of migration from a child's perspective balanced between the hurt of losing the relationship with his grandfather and the embrace of a new life. In his interview as an elderly man, Lino's memories are now part of the family history he embodies in his own role as a great-grandfather. Lino communicates three emotional images of disrupted family relations in his narrative of migration: his sense of loss, the loneliness of his grandfather and his mother's sadness about leaving an elderly parent. Lino conveys an intergenerational perspective of male emotions in the separation from the intimacy of close relatives.

The second generation imagined the *paese* and relatives in the Veneto region through the lens of their parents who maintained links to their place of origin. The children of pioneers acknowledge in their interviews the language and *contadino* customs their parents preserved in their *sistemazione* that created a distinctive "self-definition".[751] For example, Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, born in 1945, reflects on working life in the family household in the Veneto region and compares it to the experience of the market gardeners at Lockleys:

> … six days a week was hard work and seven days … most of them would have a few hours off. That was more-or-less in them when they were young. And they would go to church or something when they were back in Italy and come back, have their little sleep in the afternoon and probably go and play bowls in the afternoon if they were in Italy or just catch up with their mates or something and that was always that atmosphere here, as well. I suppose some didn't, but those that I knew done that.
>
> (Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, OH 872/43, 15 March 2017, 33).

Virginia uses the male perspective to describe the working life of market gardeners at Lockleys and cites the *contadino* work ethic in the Veneto region. She emphasises the domination of work, allocation of time to religious observance, and some leisure activity which included a *siesta* on non-working days. She identifies the weekly routine in the lives of men like her father who continued to work a small number of glasshouses after selling his market garden land.

[751] De Haas et al., *The Age of Migration*, 76-77, refer to the concept of "self-definition" of a migrant group who maintains a strong identity based on common cultural, social and religious attributes transported from their home of origin. The narrators communicate this sense of the distinctive presence of the Veneto market gardeners as migrant settlers at Lockleys.

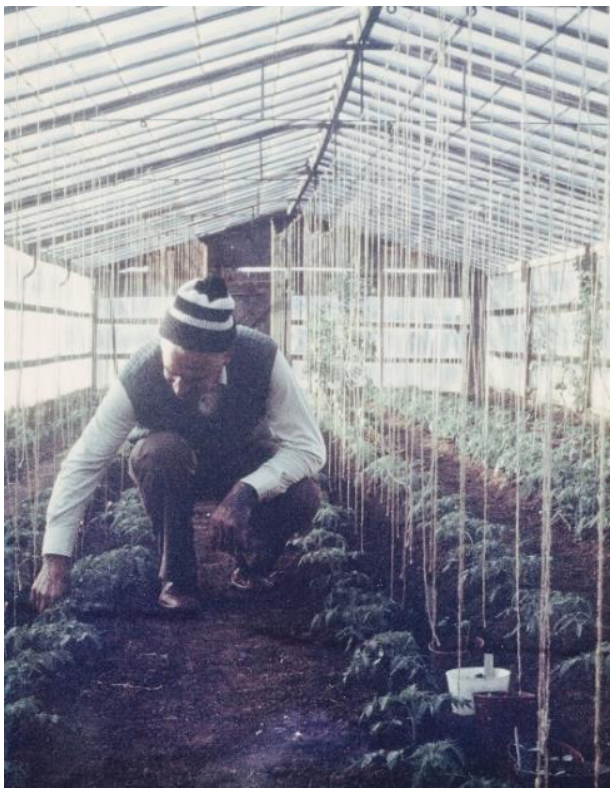

Figure 137: Silvano Zampin, Findon, late 1970s.

Photo supplied by Christine Zampin.

Links to origins: visits to the *paese*

Initially the pioneers maintained connections with their families in the Veneto region through letters, remittances and parcels they sent 'home'. Later, links were made through intermediaries who made the visit home to their village. The people who returned to Italy visited both their own relatives and relatives of the market gardeners and other people in the wider Veneto community in Adelaide, reporting back when they returned to Lockleys.[752] In the following excerpt, Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, a second-generation woman who married a post Second World War Veneto, explains how her father preserved connections with relatives:

> Well, --- in those days there was a lot of immigrants out here as well and a lot of times, they would bring him a letter and he would have the latest news, of course. And then, other than that, he would write himself, letters

[752] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 3, 5, refers to the return visit of the first generation to their birthplace as "a secular pilgrimage" and emphasises that the visit is an aspect of the settlement processes experienced by Italian migrants.

> and that would take, those days, about a month to arrive there. But, in the meantime, perhaps someone had went to Italy and they came back and they said: 'I've been to see your family. They look good. And your mother, this, or your father, that.' Or: 'They had a good harvest this year.'
>
> (Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, OH 872/43, 15 March 2017, 17).

Virginia's reference to "out here" indicates the close association between "here" as in Adelaide, and "there" as the village of Riese Pio X, the place of her father's origin.[753] She captures the intimate transnational connections in families separated by distance and time.[754] As Virginia indicates, when members of the community at Lockleys visited the Veneto region, they took on conduit roles between *paesani* in both places.

Figure 138: Silvano Zampin's mother and his wife Amelia, Riese Pio X, 1965.

Silvano and Amelia bought the car in Italy and shipped it back to Adelaide after their six-month trip.

Photo supplied by the Zampin family.

[753] The use of "out here" is similar to the term associated with British migrants who migrated to Australia and inferred that Australia was the lesser country, the colony, which was subordinate to Britain. Or perhaps "out here" signifies distance and difference rather than merit.

[754] Baldassar, Pyke and Ben-Moshe, *The Italian Diaspora in Australia,* 32, refer to the mixed emotions of migrants and their connection to Italy and discuss the motivation of Italian migrants in Australia to maintain links to their *paese* because they were members of "transnational households." They describe the visits to Italy as the "myth of return" although the pull to the homeland sometimes competed with Australia for the achievement of settlement or *sistemazione*.

Another second-generation narrator explained her father's active role in strengthening links between veneti in Adelaide and their families in the Veneto region. Romildo Santin was a 1.5 generation member who had returned to Caselle di Altivole to get married in 1950. In 1962, Romildo and his wife, Clara, with their two children made their first return visit to Italy where they stayed with Clara's parents for several months. Before they left, Romildo had gone to families in the market gardens with his tape recorder and invited people to record a message for their parents in the Veneto. [755]

> I remember Dad going over on the ship, bought a movie camera, and what he did, he went around to every family who had children here, you know, all their parents and took photos of every family. And when he came back here, he showed them … Oh, and we travelled and found all these people. Going over, we took, you remember the old tape? The old, before the cassette, a tape recorder, we took. And he'd called people over to come and send their regards and their love to their mother, you know, so they could hear their voice … then Dad would take the film and brought it back here … Because you know, it was 1962, and you think fifty years ago, they didn't have all these things and the phone, it was very rare.
>
> (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 18 October 2013, 21).

Diana uses the word, "photos" but means to say that her father filmed the relatives with his Super8 camera. [756] Countless scenes of relatives, groups at meals, a wedding and contadino gardens convey the care and affection within families, which at times, is self-conscious because of the media. Diana conveys pride in her father's ingenuity to connect the transnational families through the intimacy of voice and moving images.

[755] Romildo Santin also facilitated connections between other *veneti* in Adelaide who were not market gardeners and their families in the Veneto region.

[756] In 2018, Diana showed me Romildo's film of the inter-generational families when he visited them in Italy. We watched over two and a half hours of different family gatherings in the Veneto region.

Visits to Italy by the second generation

The experience of travelling to Italy, meeting close relatives and being present in the large family households enabled second-generation narrators to understand their origins.[757] It was a significant contrast for children who grew up in nuclear families at Lockleys. They experienced *contadino* life in the intergenerational family household when they stayed with their *nonni* or *zii* for extended periods of time.[758]

Figure 139: Three generations of Marchioro relatives, Malo 1975.

Johnny and four aunts (his father's sisters) and his children on the first visit to meet relatives.

Photo by Eleonora Marchioro.

[757] Baldassar, *Visits Home*, 286-291, examines the visit of the second generation as adults as a "rite of passage." For children born in Australia, the visit is an initiation in the processes of connecting with relatives and the ancestral family household.

[758] Emanuela Sala and Loretta Baldassar, "Leaving Family to Return to Family: Roots Migration among Second-Generation Italian-Australians," *ETHOS* 45, no. 3 (2017): 387, address the issue of second-generation Italian Australians visiting their parents' home villages in Italy and describe it as "a return." They argue that the family ties experienced by the second generation are the result of "the transnational imaginary" and shared idealisation of the ancestral home. One of the guests who wrote a blog for the website used the idea of return to describe her sense of connection to the Veneto village from where her mother migrated. See Elena Rebuli, "Returning Home," Veneto Market Gardeners Website, 10 June, 2019, https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/returning-home/

Diana Panazzolo nee Santin whose father was the conduit between the two communities of *veneti* in 1962 remembers precise details of the first visit to her parents' village when she was eleven years old. Ten years later, Diana's parents invited her to accompany them with her siblings to celebrate the 60th wedding anniversary of her maternal grandparents. When her parents offered to pay her ticket, Diana did not hesitate to go for three months even though she was engaged to be married at the time. The attachment to her *nonni* and other relatives in her parents' village outweighed her need to be with her fiancé at a time when young women would normally have focused on planning their wedding. Diana has made two further visits to spend time with her relatives; the most recent trip in 2019 included her whole family: husband, children, their spouses and her grandchildren.[759]

Lockleys: a second place of origin

Narrators ascribe a second meaning of place when they refer to the location of the market gardens. Lockleys became a place that signified Veneto Australian identity and other *veneti* who lived in the city or elsewhere also identified the location of market gardens and the community of *paesani*.[760] At Lockleys, on the market gardens, the community developed a "place consciousness" that has endured in the three generations.[761]

Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, whose parents and uncle and aunt jointly managed a market garden on Frogmore Road in the 1930s and 1940s, affirms that the *veneti* were an identifiable migrant group who worked and lived within the perimeters of the Lockleys *paese*:

[759] See interview with Diana Panazzolo nee Santin, OH 872/27, 13 September 2013, 20-21.

[760] The non-geographic designation of Lockleys, addressed in Chapter 1, reflects initiatives by migrants to create a sense of belonging by assigning their own names to places as noted by Pascoe, "Place and Community," 94-95.

[761] Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities," 593-594. Shopes argues that a community can share a memory of place that includes reference points that have particular significance for the members and reflect a common understanding of local geography and culture.

> That's where most of the Italians went, anyhow, from that Veneto region, they went to Lockleys … Frogmore Road, we called it Lockleys, Frogmore Road.
>
> (Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro, OH 872/9, 9 June 2010, 3).

Lina's reference to the location, "Frogmore Road", is also a geographic marker, understood by the community because over time, the market gardens of six Veneto families were located there.

One 1.5 generation narrator, although not a market gardener, married and lived on Frogmore Road and when I asked her about the benefits of living there Maria summed up her feelings:

> Well, to me this is like a home, a second home. That's all. I would not shift from here to go anywhere else. No way. No.
>
> (Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella, OH 872/30 23 April 2014: 18).

Figure 140: Mazzarolo family, Frogmore Road, mid 1960s.

Photo supplied by Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella.

It is not clear whether Maria refers to her first home in Caselle di Altivole or the house she lived in with her market gardener parents and brothers on the other side of the river. However, she

declares affection for Frogmore Road where she has lived for many years and as a neighbour to other *veneti*. Maria and her husband, aware of its history, purchased the property following the deaths of the Tonellato pioneer couple who had built the house on part of their market garden in the 1960s.[762] Many narrators realise their attachment to place through enduring connections to the market garden area, the *paese,* where they associated the connections to other pioneer families.

Symbolic meaning of place

I argue that the 1.5 and second generation value the significance of the market gardens at Lockleys as "home" even if they do not live there now. The *paese* holds symbolic value. The narrators ascribe the meaning through their memories of family, the domestic and work activities in the Veneto market gardener households. Although there are now no visible signs of market gardens, narrators use bearings and geographical markers in their interviews to illustrate their attachment to the location of the family home within the *paese* of their childhood. They also describe the exact locations of market gardens in relation to those of other families.

I refer to Fortier's concept of "second place of origin" to examine the way that sons and daughters of first generation migrants ascribe meaning to the place of settlement.[763] The narrators acknowledge Lockleys as the place of arrival for the pioneers and the place where families achieved *sistemazione,* as described in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The market gardens at Lockleys have assumed significance for second-generation narrators because they grew up there with the landscape, work, and community. They respect their parents for using their knowledge as *contadini* to establish a way of life on the land at Lockleys and their capacity for "orientation and emplacement."[764]

[762] The property had been built in the 1960s by pioneers, Secondo and Elisabetta Tonellato, on their former market garden. They died in the early 1970s.

[763] Fortier, "Re-Membering Places," 46-47

[764] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 132.

Virginia Rodato nee Zampin reflected on the lives of the pioneers like her father. She uses imagery that conveys her understanding of the migrant quest to achieve *sistemazione* in a new country. Virginia begins with her admiration for the Veneto market gardeners and pauses to collect her thoughts before reflecting on their trajectory from rootless migrants to successful "citizens":

> I just can't really say the words --- a lot of them had no family here. So, they got stuck into trying to get a house for themselves and provide for their family, to do the best they can do. And provide the right things for their kids as well so that they didn't have to persevere like they did. When they come out, they had nothing, probably an empty suitcase and so the only thing for them to do was to work and I believe they were really great people to do that and provide for their family in a lot of ways, it helped the State as well; they were very good citizens, to me. They were excellent just being, having the guts to do that.
>
> (Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, OH 872/43, 15 March 2017, 32-33).

Living in the area – staying close

Many narrators chose to live and make their home in the market garden area after they came of age; some married and lived on house blocks allocated by parents while others moved away from Lockleys. A few even circled back to the area because of their affinity with the place they had known as the *paese*. The location was also important because of the presence of other 1.5 or second-generation *paesani*. Second-generation narrators identify themselves as *veneti*, and their choice to live in the area close to other members of market gardener families is a continuation of the place-based community established by their parents.[765]

Many in the second generation have preserved bonds between families that were formed in the first generation and some purchased land after it was subdivided in order to remain in the market

[765]. See Appendix 5: Narrators and place of residence at the time of interview. This provides details of where narrators lived when I interviewed them between 2008 and 2018.

garden area. For example, Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, born in 1937, recalls the strategy to stay in the area after her marriage in 1968:

> Well, when we first married, I lived with my Mum and Uncle because they'd just built the new house there on Frogmore Road, and then I lived there for a couple of years, and then this house where I'm living now, came available. Like where we are living here was all market gardens, then a builder brought up and built all these spec homes, and so I think: 'Well, this is a chance, you know, to buy a house in the area.' And this is where we've been since living.
>
> (Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato, OH 872/6, 15 July 2010, 18).[766]

Another second-generation woman, Diana, born in 1951, explained her wish to remain in the area where she grew up. Before marriage she and her fiancé contemplated buying the house across the road from her parents' home when it was for sale but agreed it was too close.[767] Instead, they built a house a few minutes away, still convenient enough for daily contact especially as her parents aged: "The thought of staying close, yes, it's always been in my heart, around this area." (Diana Panazzolo nee Santin OH 872/27, 13 December 2013, 48).

Movements away from the *paese*

While the pioneers and the 1.5 generation continued to live on land that they had cultivated as market gardens at Lockleys, the community experienced disruptions and changes in the 1960s. The pioneers had endured the challenges of establishing their gardens in the Depression years, of being migrants in an Anglo Australian city and of riding out the war years which had threatened the stability of the community. The challenges had served to build and preserve solidarity until

[766] Assunta's mother died in childbirth and she was adopted by her uncle and aunt. Secondo and Elisabetta. Tonellato. She always called her mother's brother, 'uncle' while she used the term 'mother' for her auntie.
[767] The house on Frogmore Road was referred to earlier in this chapter - built by the Tonellato pioneer couple in the 1960s and bought after their death in the 190s by Maria and Assegno Mazzarolo.

circumstances transformed the community.[768] In the 1960s the internal dynamics of the *paese* changed markedly with the sale of the market gardens, and the ageing and retirement of pioneers and the 1.5 generation. The community sustained loss of members of the community through deaths.[769] Other losses were through remigration in the late 1960s when the Veneto region enjoyed a successful economic boom that was partly the cause for a high return rate from Australia.[770] For example, members of the two Berno families who, as discussed in Chapter 4, had been *de facto* community leaders, and hosts of social occasions in their packing shed, remigrated in the late 1960s and their departure affected the coherence of the *paese*, as noted by several narrators.[771]

After years of arduous physical labour on the market gardens, the two older generations gained more leisure time and improved their financial status through the sale of their land. Many pioneers who retired and prospered took first opportunities to visit their families in the Veneto or to travel more widely.[772] Several pioneer couples travelled together to Italy by ship and their stays extended to six months. Some in the 1.5 generation also went back to their place of origin in the Veneto

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[768] Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 67, refers to the solidarity within families that also enabled the establishment of the fisher community of Molfettese in Port Pirie between 1900 and 1945.

[769] By the end of the 1960s, thirteen pioneers had either died or returned to live in the Veneto region.

[770] The return rate of *veneti* from Australia was 71.3% of departures from Italy over the period 1960-1969 as estimated by Thompson, *Australia Through Italian Eyes.* See Chapter 2, "Reasons for Return," for analysis of a cohort of people from the province of Treviso in the Veneto region who returned to Italy and resettled between 1960 and 1970.

[771] A number of other *veneti* who had been incorporated into the *paese* at Lockleys after the war by the pioneers also remigrated to the Veneto and *paesani* felt their absence. In tota,l three pioneer couples returned and one widower. Nico Zampin and his wife Delia, brother and sister-in-law of pioneer Silvano Zampin, stayed in Australia for about twenty years before returning to the Veneto region with two of their three children. See interviews with two Zampin sisters for their recollections of the remigration of Nico and Delia Zampin and family in 1967 and the realisation that their father was without other siblings. See interviews with Virginia Rodato nee Zampin, OH 872/43, 15 March 2017, 5-6, 30; Bruna Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/39, 8 November 2016, 21.

[772] A couple in the wider Veneto community opened a travel agency in the city of Adelaide in the 1960s which became well patronised by Veneto market gardeners and other Italians. See Desmond O'Connor, "Club e Associazioni dei Veneti nel South Australia," 182.

region, sometimes in groups, and used the time to travel as tourists as well as to stay with relatives. As the second-generation sons and daughters were educated, came of age and married, as discussed in Chapter 6, some moved outside the family and community boundaries and modified the composition of the *paese*. The addition of married sons and daughters and grandchildren, including sons who married women outside the Veneto community, created new intergenerational relationships. After marriage some second-generation women and men lived away from the market garden *paese*.

Apart from the disruption of the war years when the community was disturbed by the absence of some men and the uncertainty of the hostile environment in Australia, the social networks of the *veneti* at Lockleys had remained relatively self-contained until the late 1960s. For the first three decades in the *paese* at Lockleys, the market gardeners did not have the need to build their own institutions such as churches, clubs or other small businesses like shops that served the community.[773] Until the establishment of a pan-Italian centre, the Veneto market gardeners had enjoyed a limited social life defined by a sense of belonging to the *paese* at Lockleys or associated with the Italian-specific religious observance in the local parish discussed in Chapter 4.[774] From the late 1950s some pioneer families became members of the *Casa d'Italia* Club in the city of Adelaide which brought together Italians from different regions and reflected the post-war increase of the

[773] Ian H. Burnley, "Italian Settlement in Sydney, 1920-78," *Australian Geographical Studies* 19, no. 1 (1981): 178-179, argues that a localised approach with ethnic community, ethnic-specific institutions, churches, clubs and businesses has provided a conduit for migrants to achieve their settlement goals and assist newer migrants to adapt to their new environment. See also Ellie Vasta et al., "The Italo-Australian Community on the Pacific Rim," in *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society,* ed. Stephen Castles et al. (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 218-219, for discussion of Italian Australia organisations in serving the needs of communities and their role in assisting Italians to have a sense of belonging. The authors argue that a wider view of multiculturalism must be developed so that Australians can acknowledge diversity beyond the limitations of ethnicity or an "Eurocentric" position and reduce the marginalisation of Asian and Aboriginal people.

[774] Thompson, *Australia Through Italian Eyes,* 158, argues that Italians who lived in areas where *paesani* lived close by may not have felt the need to socialise in organised clubs.

Italian population in South Australia.[775] Members attended family dinner dances on weekends, and Sunday nights became popular with young people as the Club fulfilled a role in maintaining a sense of Italian identity across generations.[776]

By the 1970s, the idea of preserving the *paese* was not a shared priority as it had been for the community in the previous thirty-five years. At this time, Australia's new multicultural policies coincided with initiatives of ethnic communities with large cohorts of post-Second World War migrants to develop their own organisations.[777] Separate group identities in the Italian population were strengthened as different regions established their own clubs and associations.[778] Some pioneer market gardener families entered into a more formal attachment by becoming members of

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[775] Oscar Mattiazzo who married into a market gardener family explains in OH 872/13: 186 that he embraced the wider Italian community in preference to emphasising his Veneto roots and he became a committee member of the pan-Italian Club, Casa d'Italia, in South Australia which had been established in the 1960s. Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 30, recalls that her husband and his brothers were more interested in remaining in the Italian Club than joining the Veneto Club. Armida Mattiazzo, OH 872/12, 11 January 2011,11, recalls working with three other Veneta women as cooks on Saturday and Sunday nights in the *Casa d'Italia* in the 1960s.

[776] In personal communication, a woman recalled that she had gone to meet other young Italian Australians at the *Casa d'Italia* in the city of Adelaide where there would be around two hundred at Sunday evening dances with live music. This was in the late 1960s and early 1970s prior to the establishment of the Veneto Club, an initiative to keep young people connected to their Italian heritage. (Personal communication with Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo, 17 October 2020).

[777] James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27-29, reports that in 1977, there were nearly two thousand ethnic organisations and media platforms in Australia that created an identity and sense of authority for different ethnic groups, evidence of the initiatives undertaken by successive federal governments towards multiculturalism in the 1970s. In 1993, findings of a survey showed that there were eighty active Italian-Australian associations in South Australia with more than half serving social-regional needs. See Antonio Cocchiaro, "The History and Future of Italo-Australian Associations in South Australia," in *Proceedings: The First Conference on the Impact of Italians in South Australia 16-17 July 1993*, edited by Desmond O'Connor and Antonio Comin. (Adelaide: Italian Discipline, The Flinders University of South Australia, 1993), 68-77.

[778] Sol Encel, "Introduction," *The Ethnic Dimension: Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin*. Edited by Sol Encel. (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 14, argues that ethnic communities are maintained by "closure" in the context of the dominant society and the closure gives a kind of authority to the ethnic group that cannot be experienced in the mainstream society.

the Veneto Club in South Australia which was established to cater for all people from the Veneto region; a mix of pre-war and post-war *veneti*, as described in Chapter 4.[779]

The *paesani* who had been accustomed to participating in social occasions hosted in sheds on market gardens joined a formal club which required a membership fee.[780] There was considerable interest from the early 1970s in the wider Veneto community to establish a dedicated club that could cater for their social and cultural needs.[781] Building the Club depended on voluntary labour from members of the Veneto community including some market gardener families who supplied their equipment to construct the building.

Frankie Ballestrin explains the early initiatives:

> FB: I went there the first day with my tractor and grader and we levelled out the soil … I wasn't involved in the actual discussions and things like that. They used to have picnics and things to raise a bit of money to be able to start building the building itself and the concrete work, all the labour was done free and I think they got all the material at cost price.
> And eventually they got it going, eventually got it going with their bowling alleys and the dance floor there and they'd have parties and weddings and things like that.
> OH: Why do you think that it was important for that group of people to build the club?
> FB: I wasn't there for the first meeting – but I assume the idea was to try and keep their children as part of Italians, you know. That's my theory. I might be wrong.

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[779] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 121-123, 137, 170, examine the role of Veneto Clubs in capital cities to provide "social life and solidarity," (121). See Thompson, *Australia through Italian Eyes,* 157-159, who argues that the Italian clubs in Australia's capital cities were often established with a male focus. For information about Italian associations in Canada see Nicholas De Maria Harney, *Eh, Paesan! Being Italian in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 80-101, who discusses the formation of Italian regional clubs which were established in the 1980s and reflected the density of the Italian populations and a vehicle to support the nostalgia of the migrants.

[780] See interview with Johnny Tormena, OH 872/18, 7 July 2012, 62, for details of foundation membership fee to join the Veneto Club which, at the time, was more than twice his weekly wage.

[781] For a brief history of the Veneto Club of Adelaide see: https://www.venetoclubadelaide.com.au/veneti-in-adelaide

> And also, some of those Italians that come out after the War, there's still some that can't speak English well, and that was a meeting place.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 14 January 2009, 40).

In explaining the genesis of the Veneto Club, Frankie proposes that its role was to cater for the social needs of the growing Veneto population in Adelaide. He also suggests that it was a way to hand on Veneto traditions to the second generation. Although he participated in the physical work in levelling the earth for the foundations, he speaks of the establishment of the club in third person and puts distance in his account. He acknowledges differences within the community associated with capacity with language.[782]

Another narrator recalls that both her father and husband participated in the physical work of building the Club. Sandra laughs at the memory of her father's role as 'supervisor,' intimating that he was more of an observer than a worker while her husband undertook physical work:

> Well, when they bought the land, it was a pug-hole. And you know, they needed someone there, say to give me the shovel? And Dad used to give the shovel. Or can you do this? Or have that? And that's what he used to do. Well, he did other things but he enjoyed going over there with the men and doing things. Because my husband was there. He used to dig swimming pools and the dirt used to go to the dump so instead of putting the dirt in the dump, he used to take it to the Veneto Club to fill in the pug-hole. So, we used to have tractors there and trucks there.
> And Dad used to go over there and 'supervise.' [laughter].
>
> (Sandra Semola nee Zampin, OH 872/44, 27 April 2017, 27).

[782] When I recall that it was Frankie's father who ceased hosting Saturday afternoon beer gatherings because he did not want to cater for large numbers of people that he did not know, I wondered if Frankie's distance reflected his own ambiguity about changes about his sense of belonging within the Veneto market gardener *paese* in the 1970s.

In 1974, the Veneto Club opened its facilities about four kilometres from the market garden area.[783] The Club catered for *veneti* who had become, by the 1970s, like communities in other countries where numbers of Italians and other European migrants had increased to the point where it was possible to formalise regional groups to meet social and cultural needs.[784] In Canada, anthropologist, Nicholas De Maria Harney explains that Italian communities formed clubs when they became: "a critical mass … with the same nostalgic references."[785]

When the Veneto Club was established in Adelaide, some pioneer market gardeners were still alive, and along with 1.5 and second-generation families, became foundation members. At least two families in the narrator cohort did not become members of the Veneto Club because their preference was for the pan-Italian organisation.[786] Families gathered at the Club for Sunday night dinners; occasions to bring together three generations in a family and meet groups of *paesani*. Men and women in the market gardener community participated in team sports which included soccer and netball teams that played in competitions for second and third generations. Events that the market gardeners would have held previously in the packing sheds such as baptism parties, birthdays and wedding receptions were celebrated at the Veneto Club.

Pioneers, Silvano and Amelia Zampin, welcomed the idea of becoming members of the Veneto Club which was located very close to their home. The couple celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary at the Club in 1981. Several of their eight daughters and sons-in-law were also active members and attended regular events with their parents at the Club.

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[783] See Adelaide Veneto Club Incorporated, *Adelaide Veneto Club Incorporated; The First 25 years of its History*, 1999, 24-27, for a brief history of the establishment of the Club.

[784] Robert Pascoe discusses the formation of the network of Italian clubs that were established in Australian cities after the Second World War. See Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 201-205.

[785] Harney, *Eh, Paesan!,* 130.

[786] See interviews with Oscar Mattiazzo, OH 872/13, 6 June 2011, 186; and Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo, OH 872/24, 17 April 2013, 30.

One of their daughters explains the appeal of the Veneto Club as a meeting place of a wider group of *paesani*:

> To them it was the region, to meet everybody from their region. Everybody knew everybody. It was just, you'd go there, and they'd say: 'Oh, I know you, You're from this town, or this town.' ... you know, everybody knew everybody.
>
> (Sandra Semola nee Zampin, OH 87244, 27 April 2017, 27).

Figure 141: Amelia and Silvano Zampin and eight daughters, Veneto Club, Adelaide, 1981.

Celebration of Amelia and Silvano's Golden wedding anniversary.

Photo supplied by the family.

The Club catered for the social and cultural needs of the Veneto market gardeners, a sub-group within the wider Veneto community in Adelaide. Although clubs were not part of cultural practices in Italy, the new generation of *veneti* who had arrived from the late 1940s were interested in retaining Veneto culture and mixing with other *veneti* in more formal ways through the social and cultural programs of the Veneto Club which continues in a reduced way today.[787] This was in

[787] Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*, 121, illustrate that Italian clubs had been established from early in the twentieth century in Sydney and Melbourne to meet the social needs of new

contrast to the pioneer market gardener families who had not pursued "institutional completeness" by establishing organisations or even small businesses within their community structure.[788] The market gardeners had been satisfied with their internal social network and the size of the community could not have supported other organisations at Lockleys. Outside they had made informal connections to the wider Veneto community and accessed the wider Italian network of shops and businesses in the city or used delivery services to meet their need for goods and supplies. The majority of the pioneers used services owned by Veneto *paesani* in the city; the Mattiazzo butcher shop and the Rossetto family grocery which had a weekly ordering and delivery service.[789]

Some services moved closer to the *paese*. For example, in 1949 Oscar Mattiazzo, who married Virginia Santin, daughter of pioneer market gardeners. Previously he had worked in the grocery shop of his aunt Carmela and uncle, Domenico Rossetto.[790] When they married, Oscar and Virginia opened their own grocery shop in a suburb five kilometres from the Lockleys area. They offered a delivery service and employed young people in market gardener families to work in the shop which existed for ten years and many pioneer families switched patronage to the Mattiazzo grocery at Croydon.

Italian migrants even though forming clubs was not an Italian tradition. For more detail about Italian clubs in Australia, see Thompson, *Australia Through Italian Eyes*, 157-159. Thompson asserts that Italians who remigrated to Italy in her case study confirmed that the clubs were more for the benefit of men than women. Unlike the Veneto Club in Adelaide, membership of some Italian clubs had been limited to men.

[788] Burnley, "Italian Settlement in Sydney," 177-194, refers to the expectation of some clusters of Italian settlers in Sydney to embrace the support of kinship and friendship within the community. In addition, they expected the support of ethnic institutions and businesses. This was usually associated with less mobile migrants.

[789] Domenico Rossetto had arrived in 1926 and is included in the group of pioneers since he sponsored his three brothers and brother-in-law in 1927.

[790] When his uncle Domenico died in early 1946, Oscar went to work for his aunt Carmela.

In the early 1960s, the Rebuli brothers, sons of pioneer Brunone, opened a grocery shop very close to the market gardens and several narrators reported that their families utilised its delivery service although for some, it was within walking distance of the market gardens.

Figure 142: The Rebuli grocery, Grange Road, Seaton, 1963.

Photo supplied by Elena Rebuli.

The demarcation between the *paese* and the world outside it, is consistent with the image that Fortier uses to describe a migrant community that creates "an imagined boundary" and enables an interdependence within the group.[791] A scholar who studies the Chinese diaspora in Australia, Lucille Ngan, asserts that different generations understand their identity and the significance of the "imagined homeland" in divergent ways because of factors such as the length of time since separation from China and the strength of transnational connections.[792]

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[791] Fortier, "Re-Membering Places," 46.

[792] Lucille Ngan, "Generational Identities through Time: Identities and Homelands of the ABCs," in *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora: Memories, Identities and Belongings*, ed. Ku Eng Kuah-Pearce and Andrew P. Davidson (Basingstoke, Great Britain: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 74-93. Ngan argues that the identity of the first, 1.5 and second generations is a complex element of the effects of migration and is mediated by the length of settlement within a family and characterised by hybridity. The first generation who actively engage with the homeland, create intergenerational stories and myths which develop a sense of identity based on an illusory homeland and they may pass on these memories to the successive generations.

Community – exclusivity and impediment to integration

The pioneers had worked, shared equipment and practices and interacted with each other in the market gardens over several decades. The converse of the positive aspects of the pioneer community at Lockleys is evident in literature about assimilation and integration. Writing about southern European communities in Australia in the interwar years and early post-war decades, demographers such as Borrie and Price refer to the negative outcomes of migrant groups who lived in close settlements.[793]

In the case of *veneti* who lived in Gippsland between the wars, Davine asks whether maintaining customs and ties delayed their integration.[794] While I support Davine's proposition that the inward focus of a community such as the Veneto market gardeners contributed to an isolation which postponed integration, I also acknowledge that the Anglo Australian community did not invite participation or inclusion, a view held by a number of scholars.[795] For example, an Anglo Australian market gardener at Lockleys, neighbour to two Veneto market gardeners, advised his son not to mix with the Italians because they had been enemies in the war:

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[793] Both Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 63; 145, and Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 274, emphasise the almost complete absence of assimilation in the interwar first generation. This was consistent with assimilationist framework within which demographers worked in the post-war era prior to multicultural policies and practices.

[794] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conco*, 51, 97. Other scholars writing about Italian integration or assimilation include Baldassar et al, *The Italian Diaspora*, 34 argue that the chain migration encouraged the development of communities that reflect the home villages and inhibited a wider sense of an Italian Australian identity. Ricatti, *Italians in Australia*, 62-63 questions assimilation policy and explains that it justified racism towards Italians and (109-112) he analyses the role of the Catholic church in supporting assimilationist practices.

[795] The sentiments of Anglo Australians towards Italians during the interwar period ranged from hostility to disinterest. See for example, Borrie, *Italians and Germans*, 145-152. Borrie outlines the historical opposition to Italians particularly when they competed with Anglo Australians in economic circumstances. See also Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia,* 207-216. Price analyses the historical setting for racism towards Italians and southern Europeans in general from the late nineteenth century to the early 1950s. In the context of Port Pirie, Bromley, "The Italians of Port Pirie," 211-219, examines the relationship of the Molfettese to the wider community and argues that there were challenges for Italians to be fully accepted by Anglo Australians.

> Those days, you knew there was Italians but you did not mix with them much. No, we were not allowed … because during the war years, you know they were against us and that's what upset things, I think.
>
> (Rae Ballantyne, OH 872/21, 25 August 2012, 18).[796]

At Lockleys, there were pejorative claims about the Veneto market gardeners because of their separateness. Such clusters were regarded with suspicion because of their visible presence and 'otherness'.[797] While non-Anglo Australians continued to be marginalised through the shield of the White Australia policy, the concentration of *paesani* at Lockleys contributed to the physical, psychological and emotional wellbeing of the pioneer families. Belonging to their *paese* was always the first choice because of the reciprocity within the community, and the security of proxy family relationships which contrasted with the disinterest or hostility in the Anglo Australian world. Consequently, for the pioneers there was little incentive to move into the Anglo Australian world.[798] However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the second generation had moved outside the community as school students, engaged with employment, expanded social horizons, and some men had married Anglo Australian women. The feeling of belonging to the *paese* transformed through the generations in the Veneto market gardener community. In the absence of the physical market gardens and without the presence of the pioneers, the families preserved the community

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[796] The other narrator in an Anglo Australian market gardener family, Barrie West, explained the mixed experience with Italian market gardener neighbours. The pioneer generation were viewed by the Celery Growers Association as lacking the knowledge to grow celery in the 1950s. Barrie, however, interacted with Veneto and other Italian market gardeners and exchanged equipment. See interview with Barrie West, OH 872/22, 15 September 2012, 17, 18.

[797] See Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement," 284-285, who argues that the hostility demonstrated by the host country could force migrant communities further into their own space and strengthen "gravitation forces" within the group. De Bolfo, *In Search of Kings*, 44, refers to Australian officials who were wary of migrant "enclaves" while on the other hand, Italians themselves sought "fellowship" through their local community or cluster.

[798] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 145, asserts that the first generation of Italians did not consciously retreat from Anglo Australia. Instead because of their economic pursuits and social interactions within their community, their lives were contained and there was no real need to participate.

through informal networks that created an enduring sense of connection. The members in different generations made life-long relationships as *paesani*.

In Figure 143 below, the group pictured at the Veneto Club in the late 1970s provides an image of the inter-connected social lives and intra-generational connections of some pioneer families. Pioneers, Silvano and Amelia Zampin sit next to their daughter, Milva born in Adelaide in 1932 and her husband, Elvio Rebuli, a 1.5 generation Veneto whose parents had a market garden on Frogmore Road. Beside the Zampin couple are Albert and Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti who were both children when they arrived in the 1930s and established their own market garden after marrying in the late 1940s at Lockleys. The last couple, Clara and Beppi Stepan, had both been widowed before they married in the mid-1950s. Clara previously had been married to a Veneto man and they had hosted *bocce* competitions behind their market gardens. Clara and Beppi had both arrived after the war and were neighbours to the Tonellato family.

Figure 143: Group of veneti at the Veneto Club, Adelaide, late 1970s.

L-R: Elvio and Milva Rebuli nee Zampin, Silvano and Amelia Zampin,

Albert and Mary Tonellato, Clara and Beppi Stepan.

Photo supplied by Mary Tonellato.

Redefining the *paese*

The narrators' attachment to the Veneto *contadino* tradition, the market gardens and *paese* at Lockleys has been transformed through the intervention of two media. First, narrators have participated in the community project and recorded their memories of the market gardens in oral history interviews. Daughters and sons have documented their family history and the experience of the Veneto market gardens and the community from its origins in the 1930s to the loss of the market gardens at Lockleys in the 1970s. The second medium, the Veneto market gardeners' website, has archived the interviews and created a virtual *paese* as a new site of belonging for the 1.5 and second-generation narrators and other descendants.[799]

Since 2014, the narrators, and a global audience, have been able to access the market gardens, the community and its history through the Internet. The presence of the Veneto community is realised through oral history interview recordings and transcripts, family biographies and photos, maps and other documents. The website transmits a collection of primary sources about Italian migration between the wars and it embodies the circular connection between the two places of origin for the pioneer families, particularly for the second generation.

[799] See the website: https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/

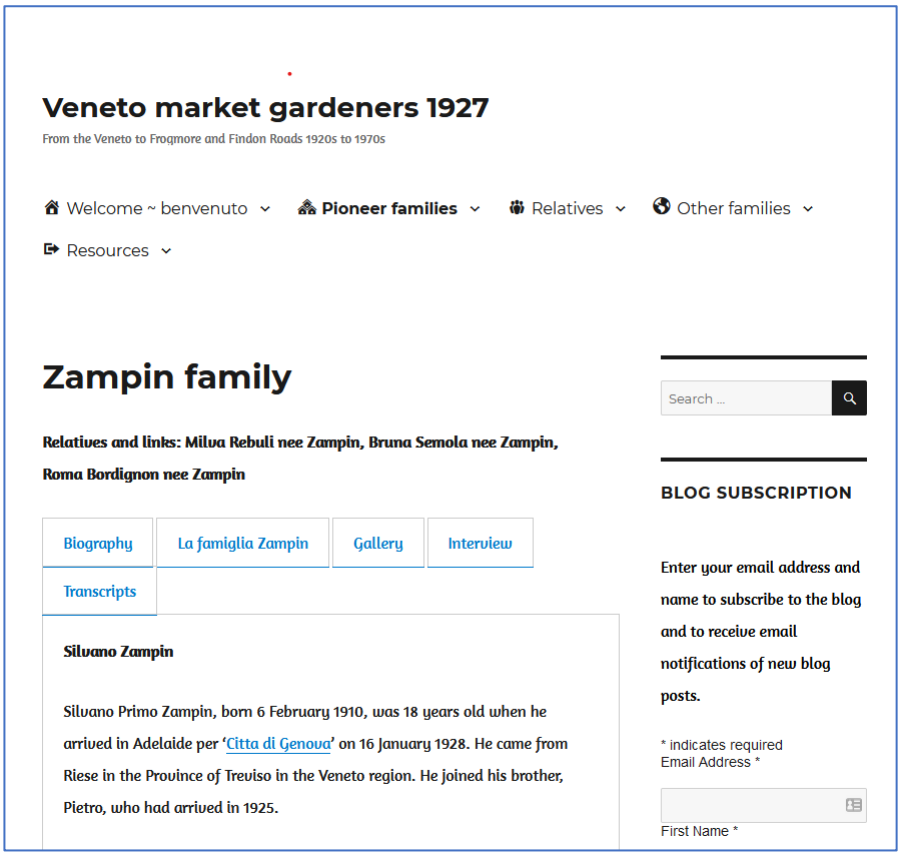

Figure 144: Screenshot of part of the Zampin family webpage.

Veneti Market Gardeners' website.

The website developed organically through the community oral history project I have developed since 2006. Funding from a local council heritage project grant facilitated the processes of compiling a history of individual families and the community of Veneto market gardeners in a format easily accessed *via* the Internet. In 2015 the National Library of Australia recognised the historical and cultural significance of the Veneto market gardeners' website and added the site to its PANDORA archive of web publications and websites relating to Australia and Australians.[800] The National Library archives a snapshot of the website annually which means that it will be preserved into the future.[801]

[800] As stated in the Introduction chapter, PANDORA, under the auspices of the National Library of Australia collects and preserves documentary resources that reflect the history of Australia and make them widely accessible. The Veneti Market Gardeners Website has been preserved on the PANDORA website.

[801] Because of the pandemic, the updating of websites has slowed and at the time of writing this thesis, the most recent version of the website is from 2019. Significant changes have been made to the website since that time.

A regular blog on the website reconstructs the *paese* through histories of individual families about work on the market gardens; customs related to food and visiting *paesani*; rituals at Christmas and Easter; and the meaning of an Australian Veneto identity. I also write about archival research; for example, after I returned from fieldwork in the Veneto region in 2018, I documented discoveries made in parish and council archives. The participation of guest bloggers from Adelaide, Melbourne, the Veneto region and Canada reflects local and transnational interest in the history of the market gardener community and wider interest in family history and accounts of migration. In 2020, eleven of twenty-five blogs were written by guests, an indication of the interest within the community to participate in the virtual *paese*.[802]

[802] See examples of guest blogs on the website:
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/memories-of-my-fathers-working-life/;
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/polenta-e-baccala-more-than-a-meal/;
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/the-three-simeoni-sisters/;
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/the-*mezzadria*-system/;
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/a-site-of-cultural-and-historical-significance/;
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/my-australian-identity/.

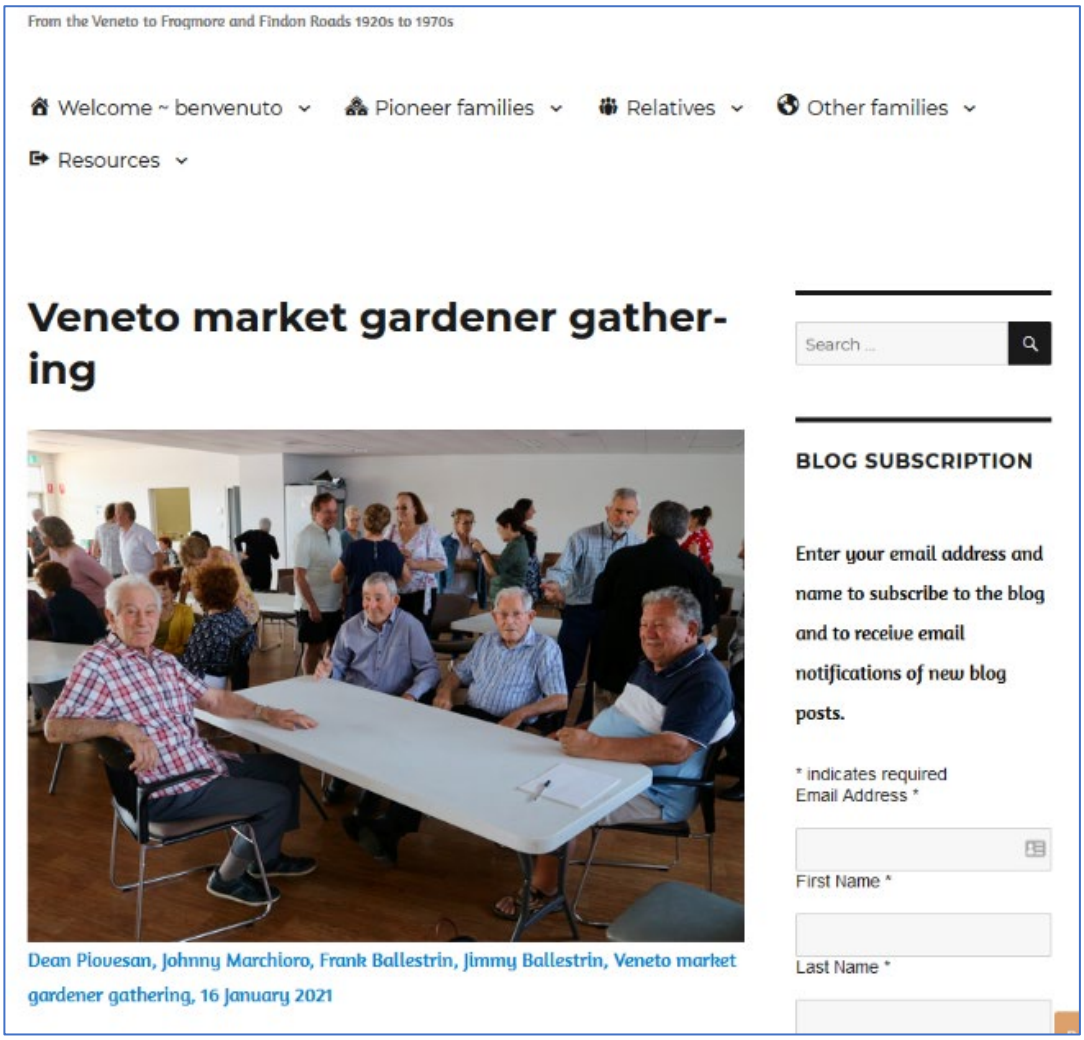

Figure 145:Screenshot of the blog page, 24 January 2021.

Veneti Market Gardeners' website.

During 2019, a community member suggested that eulogies of Veneto people known to the market garden community could be included and several families have provided them for the website. At a gathering of the Veneto market gardener families in January 2021, a second-generation man, Angelo Piovesan, endorsed the idea because they provide extensive histories of individuals and their experience of being migrants in Australia. Their publication on the website preserves and makes them accessible.[803] At present, eulogies represent community members: the 1.5 generation who arrived in Australia between the wars and those who migrated after the Second World War.

[803] During the COVID-19 period of restrictions in 2020, an elderly married couple related to a family of pioneers died within six weeks of each other. The number of attendees at the funeral was limited and the

Opening up memories

When they recall the experience of the Veneto market gardeners, the narrators project an image of community as "common ground … a ground that is material, but also virtual, real and imaginary."[804] The shared experience of growing up on a market garden surrounded by other Veneto families and other Italian families is real for the narrators; it also represents the varying memories, individual and communal stories of the *paese* at Lockleys. The narratives on the website demonstrate the potential of a medium for a "remapping of identity", and the creation of an "ethnic space" for telling the history of an Italian migrant community.[805] The website has created the space where memories of the market gardens and belonging to a pioneer migrant community are disseminated and valued through the voices and images of three generations. The website continues to attract new visitors, as shown in the diagram in Figure 146.

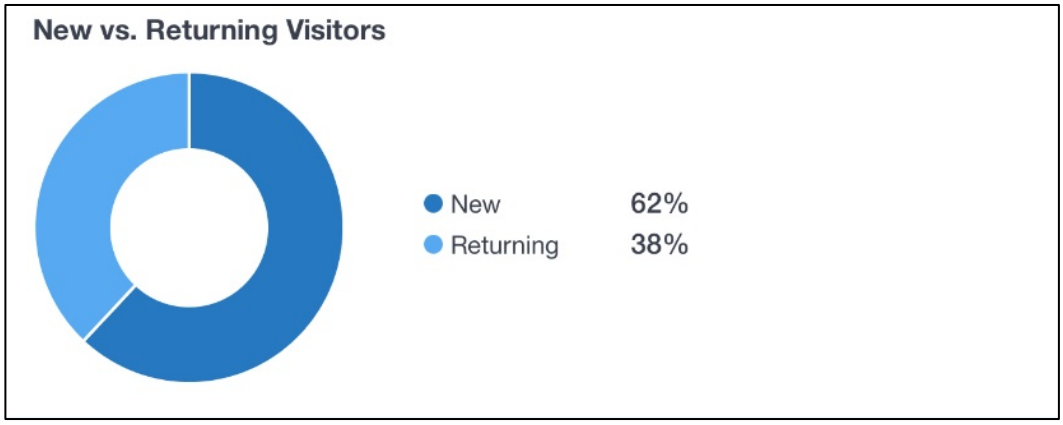

Figure 146: Visitors to the Veneto market gardeners' website, March 2021.

Diagram by Michael Campbell, website administrator.

The need to feel the security of home and membership of a community form part of the migrant experience of settlement and adaptation to circumstances in a new country. The 1.5 and second generation carry the history of their parents' experience of migration from their homes in the Veneto region and *sistemazione* at Lockleys where they recreated the *paese*. The social network

family was pleased that it was possible to post the eulogies for the couple on the website so that others who could not attend the funerals were able to read them. Two eulogies in the collection are in Italian.

[804] Sara Ahmed and Anne-Marie Fortier, "Re-imagining Communities," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 3 (2003): 257.

[805] Harney, *Eh, Paesan!* 8.

initiated on market gardens has been extended and fostered in the 1.5 and second generations. The website has introduced a new space to the community and has given voice to nostalgia for what had existed in the past. The market gardens have become a virtual presence on the website which has developed as a source of cohesion within the transnational Veneto market gardener community.[806]

Figure 147: Irene Zampin and Gabriella Antonini view the website, Caselle di Altivole, 2018.

Irene and Gabriella were born in Adelaide and returned to Italy with their respective families in the 1960s.

Photo by Madeleine Regan.

In 2017 the transnational attachment and cohesion were conveyed in communication with Remo Berno who I had interviewed in the Veneto region. He had listened online to several interviews recorded with people remembered from his childhood in Adelaide. Remo reflects on the processes of accessing his own memories and hearing other narrators speak about the Veneto market gardener community:

> You opened up a drawer in my mind and out came the home of my youth.
> With Dad in the car, we went down the path that leads from the Valetta Road entrance to

[806] See also Madeleine Regan, "A Shared Social Identity: Oral Histories of an Urban Community of Italian Market Gardeners in Adelaide 1920s-1970s," in *Remembering Migration,* edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (Cham: Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 93-105.

our garage. Then from there I entered the old house. I could see the rooms and all of us that lived in them … After this recall I went to your website (or should I say *our* website) to listen to some other interviews, and I can see that the way you put simple questions to your interviewees creates the basis for flashbacks to specific moments of the past, in places that are no longer there and sharing these moments with those who were present then and probably are no longer.

(Remo Berno, email correspondence, 1 July 2017).

Figure 148: Berno siblings, L-R: Remo, Diana, Roberto, Vallà, 2017.

Photo supplied by Remo Berno.

Remo's claim of "our website" reflects his sense of belonging to the transnational community of the Veneto market gardeners in Adelaide and in the Veneto region.[807] Although having lived in Italy for fifty years, he embraces his authority to contribute to the project and preserve memories of place and time. Through his nostalgic images, he evokes Abrams' concept of the oral history interview as "an entry point from the present into the culture of the past."[808] Remo sees the role of the website as a means of communicating the experience of the community and its history in a transnational

[807] Mihaela Nedelcu, "Migrants' New Transnational Habitus: Rethinking Migration through a Cosmopolitan Lens in the Digital Age," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38, no. 9 (2012): 1345, argues that new forms of belonging are possible through the Internet that transcend physical closeness and move into virtual connections.

[808] Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* 16.

space.[809] The meaning of migration for the 1.5 and second generation is transmitted through sharing their attachment to place, the villages in the Veneto region from where their parents emigrated and their place of *sistemazione* at Lockleys. The website contributes on a micro scale to the national history of migration and social and economic development of Australia since the late 1920s.

Top 10 Countries	
1. Australia	343
2. Italy	45
3. United States	24
4. China	22
5. Ireland	21
6. Canada	11
7. United Kingdom	6
8. Unknown Country	6
9. Brazil	3
10. India	3

Figure 149: Representation of visits to the Veneto market gardeners' website, March 2021. Diagram by Michael Campbell, website administrator.

Remo is just one of the narrators who expresses an emotional attachment to childhood and belonging to the *paese* at Lockleys. Through the website, narrators and bloggers reconstruct the history of the market gardens in the context of the events in Australia and the transnational perspective in Italy. The website reconnects the community of families through their histories and is similar to a number of other web projects that include memories, biographies and accounts of migrant groups in Australia.[810]

[809] The dissemination of oral histories on a website is an example of what Oral History scholar, Alistair Thomson, cites as an example of the "digital revolution in oral history." See "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History," 68.

[810] See for example, Yiddish Melbourne, https://www.monash.edu/arts/acjc/yiddish-melbourne/yiddish-melbourne

The *paese* at Lockleys endures beyond those individuals who were raised in families on the market gardens. It has been modified and reshaped by each of the three generations. While there was a hiatus after the market gardens were sold and the pioneer generation aged and died, the community has never been lost. No longer defined by the literal site, the *paesani* have maintained their relationships into the 1.5 generation and the second generation.

The narrators have given accounts of the ways that the *paese* has been redefined through their memories recorded in the collection of oral histories. The website transcends the fixed time and place of the *contadino* households in the Veneto villages in the 1920s and the Veneto market gardener community at Lockleys in the interwar years. It transmits a history and insight into the experience of belonging in a migrant group in Australia and their transnational links from between the wars to the experience of the narrators today. The website plays an innovative role in reconnecting the community in Adelaide with relatives in the Veneto region and as a resource for scholars who research migration and settlement in the period between the wars. The website is both a source and resource. It is one of the places where the *paese* has been transformed. It is a source for understanding the ongoing processes in the transformation of a migrant community in Australia and the experience of widening circles of interactions with each generation.

The Virtual Museum of Illawarra's Italian Migrants which contains short videos of elderly Italians speaking to themes, The Journey, Life in Australia and Identity, http://vmiii.com.au/stories; Immigration Place: Immigration Stories https://immigrationplace.com.au/immigration-stories/ which includes stories of a variety of migrants including Italians who arrived before the Second World War. Another website records social history, including migrant market gardeners, and cultural life in the outer suburbs of south-western Sydney, see "On the Fringes: South West Sydney 1994-2014," https://sweeney.lib.uts.edu.au/
The Greek Migrant Experience Project is a collection of twenty-three oral history interviews recorded with Greek women and men who migrated to Australia, produced and conducted by The Organisation of Hellene and Hellene-Cypriot Women of Australia, SA Inc in 2012-2013 and funded by the Australian Government's Community Heritage Stories program: http://oralhistoryaustraliasant.org.au/interviews/

Although the gardens are gone and the first generation and many of the 1.5 generation of Veneto market gardeners at Lockleys have died, such was the strength of the *paese* they created that their community has been sustained and transformed over nine decades. As the economic and social importance of the gardens diminished, the market gardener families gradually became part of a wider Veneto population and have expanded their sense of belonging in Australia. However, the descendants of the pioneer market gardeners have maintained their discrete identity and preserved their history which has been reinforced as members of the community have told their family histories in interviews and contributed to the communal narrative through the website and through on-going social contact. Attachment to the place of origin in the Veneto region is a continuous significant thread in the narrative. However, the market gardens where the *veneti* settled and created their homes has always been the heart of their story, now preserved by second and third generation members of the community through participation in their relational *paese*.

Conclusion chapter: Reshaping migration history

It's important that people know what happened in those years, because one thing that I've found lacking in growing up in Australia ... is that we don't know what happened just before we were born, or just before the war, or what people -- how people lived - Australians lived just before the war in the 1920s and the 1930s. We grew up in a period ... in abundance, and where everything was readily available, and work was readily available but it hasn't always been that way, and no-one's ever delved into the fact that things do change, things weren't always this way, and even Australians like Italians, like Germans: they all went through this period of poverty where there wasn't a lot of work, and people had to ... there was hardships and stuff, but we were never exposed to that at school. And ... and it's important that people realise that it hasn't always been this way.

(Giuseppe Chiumento interviewed by Madeleine Regan, 3 November 2018, JD Somerville Collection, State Library of South Australia OH872/55, 32.)

Click here to listen

Figure 150: Giuseppe Chiumento and his wife Monica Urbani, Malo, 2018.

Giuseppe, a second-generation relative of a pioneer market gardener family, speaks about the history of Italian migration in Australia.[811] He was born in Wollongong in 1958 and now lives in Italy. Although he grew up in a migrant family, Giuseppe acknowledges that he did not gain a real understanding of the various phases of migration to Australia. He speaks from his experience of a transnational life nine decades after the Veneto pioneer market gardeners arrived in Australia.

In his narration Giuseppe characterises the overarching theme of the hardship of the *contadino* life and the early years of migrants in Australia and contrasts it with subsequent periods of abundance. It is poverty, he asserts, that connects diverse groups and nations, such as Italians, Germans and Australians. For Giuseppe, an Australian-born Veneto who migrated to Italy as an adult, these stories of deprivation connect across time and space. This thesis analyses the connection of community and place for a migrant group. It examines the development of the community that evolved through the ongoing transformation of a *paese* from its roots in the Veneto culture, a period of transient mobility in the early years of the Depression in Australia, the experience of the Second World War and the achievement of *sistemazione* on the market gardens at Lockleys. The thesis sharpens the focus on the formation of identity and how a migrant community can share an identity over three generations. The focus of this microhistory of the Veneto market gardener community is on the transformations that have occurred from the arrival of the pioneers to present day descendants.

At Lockleys, the pioneers formed a post-migration network and built a new community through sharing *contadino* heritage and working in the single occupation of market gardening. Instead of expecting state, cultural or religious institutions to assist with the processes for transition to Australian life, the market gardens and the *paese* generated wellbeing and cohesion for the

[811] Giuseppe Chiumento is married to Monica Urbani, a great niece of Vittorio Marchioro, a pioneer who migrated from Malo in 1927. Giuseppe and Monica live in Monte di Malo in the province of Vicenza in the Veneto region. There is a strong link between the Marchioro families in Adelaide and Malo and Monte di Malo.

Veneto community. The pioneers made their home at Lockleys and developed a social network that sustained the community in changing times. They created a new sense of belonging unlike the experience of being members of an intergenerational rural household in the Veneto region. The *veneti* valued the *paese* at Lockleys because it provided them with the "identity of place and identity of community."[812] Although redefined over the generations, the relational community of the *paese* continues to be a thread that connects the descendants of the market gardeners today long after the disappearance of the physical site of the gardens.

In their oral history interviews, the narrators acknowledge the role of market gardens as home, the family workplace and the community gathering place. They have retained their parents' feeling that the community approximates proxy family. They recall the market gardens as a physical place with boundaries that shaped an enduring identity for families. Helga Griffin, in her memoir, *Sing me that lovely song again …,* argued that the diaspora Germans who had been removed from other countries like Iran or Palestine and were detained in Australian internment camps during the Second World War created an imaginary homeland.[813] The nostalgic home was Germany rather than the country they had lived in until being rounded up by the British Government. Their return to Germany was desired but impossible. In contrast, I argue that the Lockleys community created a nostalgic ground, or home, which encompassed the home village of origin in the Veneto. Yet the imagined home, particularly for the second generation, was the Lockleys market gardens. Indeed, in their interviews, the pioneer couple, Angelina and Vittorio Marchioro, contrast their life in retirement with the period of forty years in which they worked their market gardens. While they refer to their origins and links to relatives in the Veneto region, the market gardens, the place and the community in which they lived, worked and raised their family was the place where they found their bearings and managed their adult lives.

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[812] Fortier, *Migrant Belongings*, 107.

[813] Helga Griffin, *Sing me that lovely song again …* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2006), 121-140.

Children in Ballestrin, Marchioro, Piovesan and Tonellato families in front of the Tonellato truck.

Note: six of the seven in the group were interviewed for this study.

Photo by Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro.

Rather than the *paese* at Lockleys simply representing the location of a diasporic migrant group, the narrators in interviews look back and view the market gardens at Lockleys as a place with a personality and identity for the *veneti*. The legacy of the *paese* is evident in the accounts of the first, 1.5 and the second-generation narrators in the oral history interviews in this study. The thesis has used the memories of narrators to analyse roles within families and the community to show the continuities and discontinuities in the trajectory of a migrant group's processes of settlement and formation of identity and sense of belonging. Integrating oral history with published records has allowed an analysis of the circumstances of the pioneers that moves beyond the memories of their children and contributes knowledge which is not documented in written form.

Voices of three generations

A key aspect of the oral histories in this study is the differentiation between the voices of three generations. Each cohort presents different perspectives and demonstrates the continuity of the *paese* into the present day. In the collection of oral history interviews recorded with the pioneers, descendants of the Veneto pioneers and others closely associated with the market gardens

provide evidence of the complexity of the intergenerational experience and the ways that migrant identity is formed in different generations.[814] The first generation of migrants recalls the memory of both migration and settlement, a process that transcends movement from one country to the next but forms an experience and an identity within a family that is carried through generations. I argue that the narrations of the 1.5 generation and the second generation are not a mere subjective recounting that necessitates, or is at best complemented by, additional facts derived from archival sources. Instead, the children of the pioneers remember the formation and maintenance of the market garden community which has become part of their wider endeavour to maintain this community in an ongoing way.

Figure 152: Three generations of Tonellato families, Frogmore Road, 1963.

In 2021 there are six generations of Tonellato families.

Photo supplied by Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato.

[814] See for example, Mary Chamberlain, "Diasporic Memories: Community, Individuality, and Creativity – A Life Stories Perspective," *Oral History Review* 36, no. 2 (2009): 177-187, who examines memory in the context of oral history interviews with migrants and argues that the family creates opportunities for evolving identities that reflect the transnational experience of narrators. Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, "Transnational Families;" Katrina Srigley and Stacey Zembrzycki, "Remembering Family, Analysing Home: Oral History and the Family," *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 29 (2009): 1-19; argue that remembering occurs within a family context which is also the source of identity. This is particularly significant for migrants whose identity is formed through the experience of migration. See also Thomson, "Moving Stories," 24-37.

The sole representatives of the pioneer cohort who recorded oral history interviews, Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro, reflect on their pre-migration lives and impressions of Australia after their separate arrivals: Vittorio in 1927, and Angelina, in 1938. Their goal of *sistemazione* eclipsed the need to assimilate, a concept that became more apparent as Angelina and Vittorio's sons chose their own paths: one to the market gardens and the other to hospitality. Vittorio proudly declared his satisfaction when his son, Johnny, took on market gardening with Eleonora, his wife: "Now my son at Bolivar, he buy another piece of the ground. He is living there." (Vittorio Marchioro OH 12, 13 March 1984, 14). Vittorio's emphasis on the purchase of land embodies the aspirations of the *contadino* whose need to cultivate was the foundation of existence.

Including the voices of narrators who arrived as children is an innovative element of this study. Interviews of the 1.5 generation cohort bring a new perspective in migration history in the representation of generations and deepens the examination of a migrant community in Australia. Having arrived as children or adolescents, voices of the 1.5 generation are frequently omitted in the documentation of migrant history because this cohort did not participate in initiatives to migrate and are therefore assumed not to have authority. The ten narrators who arrived as children bridge life in their villages of origin in the Veneto region, the market gardens and their experience as adults in post-war Adelaide.

With some acute memories of childhood in Italy in the 1930s, they reflect on their adaptation to Australian life, their coming of age through the years of the Second World War and as independent business owners of market gardeners or in other career pathways. Members of the 1.5 generation who became market gardeners address the question of adapting *contadino* practices through their memories of how they worked the land, adapted agricultural practices and purchased their properties. They also reflect on the strength of the community, the internal life of the *paese* through the bonds between families and the formation of Veneto Australian identity. In Figure 153, close bonds are represented in the photo of the wedding party of Rosina Tonellato to Lui Santin, both children of pioneer parents.

Figure 153: Marriage of Rosina Tonellato and Lui Santin, 1945.

Note the father of the groom beside his son and father of the bride beside her, and absence of the mothers.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

I had assumed at the start of my project in 2006 that I would focus on the *veneti* who had arrived in Adelaide after the Second World War. I had not anticipated interviews with men and women whose parents had arrived in Australia between the wars. The memories of the twenty-six second-generation members born in market gardener families between 1927 and 1953 take in an expansive historical period. Older narrators remember the challenges endured by their parents during the war. The majority of the second generation recall childhood on the market gardens and the security of a community in the 1950s that had been established for nearly twenty years and was incorporating new Veneto migrants.

Figure 154: Piovesan and Tonellato children with Rosalia and Angelo Piovesan, Frogmore Road, 1938.

A mix of 1.5 and second-generation children.

Photo supplied by the Piovesan family.

The second-generation narrators claim a sense of belonging to their family *contadino* heritage even as most of them ventured beyond their parents' occupation and forged pathways to integration that were not possible in the previous two generations. They speak also of their sense of belonging to the *paese* at Lockleys. Many in the second generation express a nostalgia for the life that families lived on the market gardens within the small Veneto community. They offer complex feelings about identity formed through their links to the *contadino* culture, structure of their families on the market gardens, gender roles and interactions with Anglo Australian culture.[815] Many in the second generation, motivated by nostalgia and affection for their heritage, have continued to return to their origins in the ancestral villages in the Veneto region. They value the transnational connections and the family history that exists in Italy. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the Veneto village is their familial place of origin; however, their main nostalgic 'homeland' is the market garden community at Lockleys.

[815] Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 167, argues that the basis of what she terms "memory-community", the retrospective way of remembering stories of one's life, is through the memory of family.

The second generation holds the tension of the consequences of migration within families. Daughters and sons are aware of their parents' dislocation from relatives and family history in the Veneto region and they are deeply attached to the *paese* at Lockleys. They have also encountered Anglo Australia in a different way from the pioneer generation because of changes in the way migrants have been viewed and accepted.[816] Frankie Ballestrin explains the challenges he experienced:

> We were that in between; you know, Dad and our parents, all right, they were true Italians, but we're half Italians and half Australians. You're sort of in between. We could see one side and also could see the other side, you know, and it made it a bit harder in a way. Because we had to blend with the Australians on one side and the Italians on the other side.
>
> (Frankie Ballestrin, OH 872/7, 12 December 2008, 12).

Frankie describes the second-generation migrant dilemma of living between two cultures, and the experience of "double cultural competences."[817] But in the new *paese*, the community at Lockleys, the tensions between old and new were bridged, and, for a time, the prospect of being pulled apart by contradictory cultures of the homeland and the new home was mitigated by the sanctuary of their market garden life.

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[816] Anne-Marie Fortier argues that the migrant family embodies two positions simultaneously: "dislocation and belonging." The family represents security and stability and it also embodies dislocation and fragmentation. See *Migrant Belongings*, 61.

[817] Vasta, *The Second Generation*, 167, argues that there can be ambiguity for the second generation who live in the two cultures and their identity is not fixed.

Figure 155: Sandra Santin, granddaughter of pioneers, Frogmore Road, 1965.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin,

Beyond the documentary accounts

I shaped my research around five questions to examine the history of settlement and the role of the market gardens as the foundation of the *paese* at Lockleys. The questions focus on adaptation, formation of identity and mechanisms the Veneto group employed to achieve *sistemazione* at Lockleys, and were informed partly by the work the scholar of Italian migration in the United States of America, Samuel L. Baily who argues that migrants continue to adapt their experience as they endeavour to settle in the new country. [818] He states: "The continuing interaction over time of resources brought from the village and the host society's structures modified both."[819] I have argued throughout this thesis that the pioneer market gardeners adapted their *contadino* culture and adjusted to live in their neighbourhood and Australian society through their identity as commercial market gardeners.

The first research question asks how the Veneto pioneers relied on their resources and *contadino* origins to negotiate their first years after arrival in Australia in the late 1920s. The history of the

[818] Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 91.

[819] Baily, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise*, 91.

Veneto market gardener community began in the most difficult of times for the Italian migrants and other southern Europeans who arrived early in the Depression. Their existence in the early period was the antithesis of the ordered, if poor, life of the *contadino* family household and the cycle of exodus for seasonal work and return that had been familiar in the Veneto region.

Had a functioning chain migration had been in place, an existing nuclear community would likely have welcomed the pioneers as new migrants; however, the economic situation militated against an easy transition. Instead, the new arrivals confronted a prolonged period of itinerant labour, caused by the Depression. The pioneers adapted and expanded the model of Veneto men returning to their family household from seasonal migration. After scattering across South Australia and other states for several years, the pioneers returned to the boarding houses in the city of Adelaide, found land, accommodation and work as market gardeners and began the next stages in the processes of *sistemazione*. A new community at Lockleys was initiated by the Veneto men who gradually incorporated women and children. By degrees, person by person, a new *paese* came into being, as a place the pioneers could experience as home, and a safe place for newly arriving family members.

Based on their experience as *contadini,* the pioneers made the shift from cultivating inherited limited plots of land in the Veneto region to properties at Lockleys, adapting ancient cultivation practices to incorporate glasshouses and grow new varieties of vegetables. The community of pioneers made another significant modification, adjusting the structures of the regulated patriarchal intergenerational households of the Veneto region to their new roles as self-employed market gardeners with wives who worked beside husbands in the *paese* at Lockleys.[820] The absence of intergenerational family support was ameliorated by the social network pioneers formed with *paesani* who became proxy family members.

[820] Harzig and Hoerder and Gabbacia, *What is Migration History?* 106, argue that migration and settlement can enable migrants to adapt gender-specific roles in their new country.

In the second question about how the *veneti* undertook steps towards settlement, I argue that the market gardens, as a physical site and network of *paesani*, shaped the processes of *sistemazione* of individual families and extended into the community from the 1930s. Unlike the *contadini* in the Veneto region who worked to subsist, the pioneers became proprietors of market gardens, met the demands of the commercial market in South Australia and operated within unfamiliar legal frameworks such as government land tenure and taxation systems, and local government regulations.

Figure 156: Centre: Luigia, Noemi and Eugenio Zalunardo with paesani, Grange Road, late 1940s.

Photo supplied by Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo.

The pioneers demonstrated their capacity to operate within new structures and progressed from tenants to proprietors and finally to vendors. The ability to form working partnerships within families reflected an openness to adapt the Veneto *contadino* model to their circumstances at Lockleys. For example, pioneers negotiated the land tenure system in South Australia and developed intra-family business arrangements. The pioneers made the radical shift from peasant subordination and constraining tradition of inheritance or the *mezzadria* to establishing legal partnerships to lease and own land where sons could become tenants-in-common with their fathers. The new social and economic structures and the elevated role of women in the labour on the market gardens broke away from patriarchal arrangements and enabled pioneers and 1.5 generation to

gain ownership of land. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law could become business partners. Although they used the Australian administrative processes to satisfy their ambition to be self-employed on the land, the *veneti* concentrated on the achievement of *sistemazione* in families and in the *paese* rather than on assimilation to British Australia.

In the third question I examine the ways that the *veneti* developed and maintained the community on the market gardens. The flattened hierarchical structures of the *paese* at Lockleys modified the demarcation of roles in the Veneto land system, especially in the early years when individual families set up their market gardens from a similar low economic base. The concentration of the group of families who resided on the land at Lockleys from the 1930s made it possible to develop a community that nurtured Veneto identity in a xenophobic Anglo Australian environment where tensions were exacerbated during the Depression and the Second World War. The group turned further inwards, created a community and replicated the social networks of extended family in the absence of Government, formal religious structures or other social supports.

Figure 157: Baptism of Remo Berno, Adelaide, 1953.

Parents - Pietro and Antonietta Berno. Godparents - Angelina and Vittorio Marchioro and other paesani.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

By the 1950s, in the absence of village leaders or *padroni*, some individuals like the Berno brothers emerged as leaders in the community, respected as financial lenders and major sponsors of young Veneto migrants after the Second World War. The Veneto pioneers overcame challenges that had threatened the stability of some other Italian communities across Australia including the remigration of four of the pioneer families. [821] The pioneers did not just survive but emerged ready to thrive and evolve into an expanded *paese* which absorbed the new post-war wave of Veneto migrants who were integrated into the community at Lockleys.

The fourth research question addresses another modification: the loosening of the boundaries of the market gardener community which began as the result of inter-generational changes. The major discontinuity occurred in the cohort of the second generation, most of whom moved away from the market gardens because of the occupational choices that flowed from increased education. Although the second generation has had access to different education, employment and social interactions, they retain a form of the network that assisted the pioneer families to settle on the market gardens. The children born in Australia to the pioneer and 1.5 generation parents have redefined their attachment to the *paese*.

In the final research question, I ask how the market gardener families addressed change and how the boundaries of the physical *paese* opened up after the market gardens disappeared. In the late 1950s and early 1960s as urban subdivision crept into the suburbs, the generational changes, demise of the market gardens, remigration of a few significant families and the advent of multiculturalism signalled new directions and adaptations in the life of the community. The arc of change included movement from a group of primary producers whose social life was shared in packing sheds to retirement of the pioneers and membership of a formal regional club.

[821] For example, the inter war Italian communities dissolved in the rural areas of Lismore in New South Wales, in Gippsland in Victoria in the 1960s. The small group of Sicilian market gardeners at Werribee were evicted from their leaseholds in the late 1940s and found separate land holdings. The 1960s was also a period of increased remigration to Italy.

Another generational change was the incorporation of the new wave of Veneto migrants which reinforced links with relatives and *paesani* in the Veneto region. Interestingly the pioneers' children narrate a difference between their parents' interwar arrival and the post-war chain migrants, calling the latter 'new Australians'. On the one hand the terminology reflects the way it was used in official language to describe non-British post-war migrants more generally in Australia. On the other, I have heard the term, 'new Australians' used by the 1.5 and second-generation members of the community to distinguish the interwar *veneti* from those who arrived after the Second World War. It marked different identities of the two waves of Veneto migration.

Figure 158*: New Veneto migrants with Robert Berno - Berno house, Valetta Road, early 1950s.*

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

Land became a commodity for the pioneer families. While the Veneto market gardeners profited from the sale of their land, they stayed at Lockleys in contrast to theories that migrants often seek "geographic and social mobility" after they establish themselves in their new country. [822] The *paese*

[822] Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova*, 137, refers to greater opportunities for migrants in urban areas to increase their capacity to move as an example of internal migration as they gain more prosperity. See also Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 190-197, for examination of the mobility of the interwar generation.

at Lockleys was the site of belonging where the community remained long after the market gardens disappeared.[823]

The community did not dissolve with the passing of the pioneer generation. Today their descendants, even some third-generation members, preserve the connection. Geographer, Doreen Massey states that place provides meaning and is associated with the formation of "belonging, identity and security," but it is not static and relies on the "social relations which interact at a particular location."[824] Although no longer defined by occupation and land, the descendants of the Veneto market gardener pioneers have retained an identity characterised by *paesani* who spoke the Veneto dialect, followed customs, cultural practices, and shared experience of living and working on market gardens at a particular time in the *paese* at Lockleys. The strength of attachment is illustrated by the numbers of the 1.5 and second generations who either stayed living in the place they knew as the *paese* or moved back in later life.

The continuity of the *paese* through the generations

The families were attached to their market gardens and the place where they made their primary relationships within their community.[825] The configuration of the market gardens at Lockleys as a *paese* enabled the families to experience a connection, both physical and emotional. The formation of the *paese* at Lockleys enabled the pioneers to tolerate the separation from the relationships, traditions and culture they had left behind in their Veneto villages as they developed processes of *sistemazione* and raised families on the market gardens.[826]

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[823] For discussion of the emotional attachment to place and the imaginary boundaries that people can construct around a place that might constitute home see Peter Read, *Returning to Nothing,* 2.

[824] Doreen Massey, "A Place called Home," 168.

[825] See Massey, "A Place called Home," 167-172.

[826] Davine, *Vegnimo da Conci*, 51. Davine argues that the development of small Veneto communities of *paesani* in the Gippsland area of Victoria between the wars compensated for the separation from family and life in the Veneto region.

The following three diagrams reflect the continuity of the *paese* from the experience of families in the Veneto region to the present in the lives of the descendants of the Veneto market gardener pioneers.

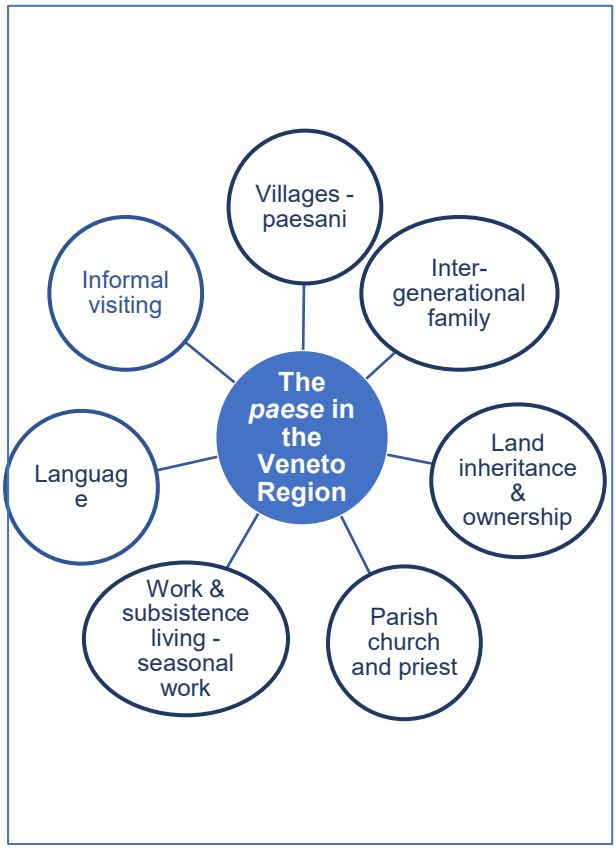

Figure 159: The paese in the Veneto region after the First World War.

In Figure 159: the *paese* is represented by geographical and social connections. Families were closely connected, and work dominated the family household which often included at least three generations. All roles were clearly defined in a family.

Land was inherited through strict patriarchal lines and women's roles were generally domestic while men worked the land. Seasonal migration for work by young men and outwork of young girls as domestic servants supplemented the family income and ameliorated poverty.

The role of priest was influential in the lives of families. Shared social life for the family outside the household was limited to Church activities. Men however had wider social interactions in the local *osteria* and playing bocce while women's outside activity involved visiting. The *paese* in the Veneto region was based on the ordered structures of a patriarchal society.

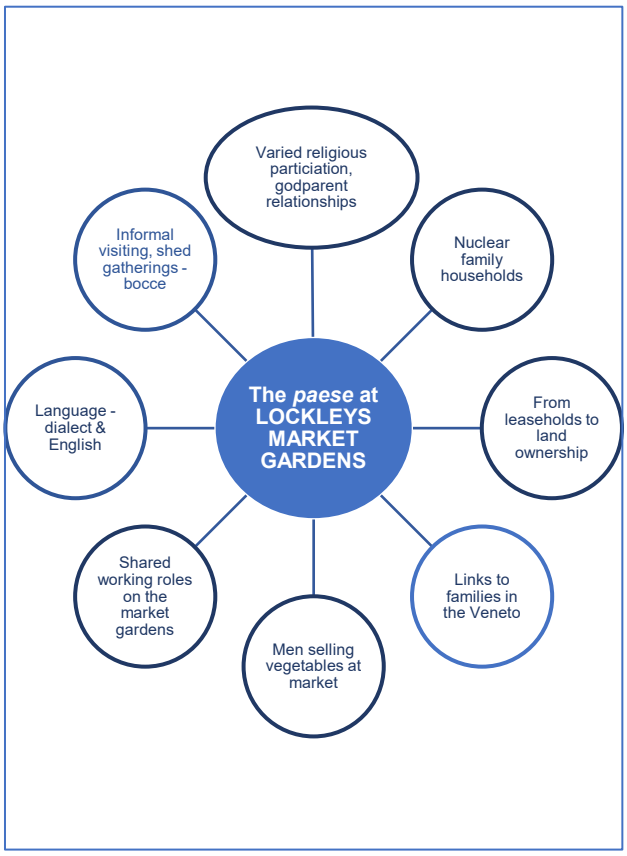

Figure 160: The paese at Lockleys, 1930s-1960s

The market gardens as featured in Figure 160, symbolise the transformation between the Veneto *paese* and place of settlement at Lockleys up to the 1960s when the market gardens began to be sold. In place of the intergenerational household, nuclear families lived and worked on their market gardens in the *paese* at Lockleys.

Women were part of the family labour unit and worked the market gardens beside their husbands and children also contributed to the family business.

Some families transferred their market gardens in the 1960s to the area of Bolivar north of the city of Adelaide in the hope that the second generation would continue the market gardens and thus recreated a new form of the *paese* on neighbouring properties. However, families remained living in the Lockleys *paese*.

The *paesani* became proxy family members and godparents assumed significance as intergenerational connections in the absence of extended family and the Veneto dialect was maintained as the first language in pioneer families.[827] Social life was arranged within the *paese* with regular reciprocal visits to other families at night and some pioneers hosted informal social gatherings in packing sheds on market gardens. Some activities, like *bocce,* were gendered. The pioneers maintained transnational links with their families in the Veneto and many pioneers made return visits to Italy.

[827] The one exception was the Zampin family where English was the first language because Silvano Zampin had married Irish Australian woman, Amelia Shaw.

Despite the limited support of the Catholic Church for Italian migrants before the Second World War, some families were church goers and religious rituals such as baptisms, first holy communions and marriages were significant social occasions that brought families together for celebrations in packing sheds. The community encountered adjustments in the relational *paese* including deaths of some pioneers and remigration of some families. The *veneti* endured the loss of the physical landscape with the disappearance of tilled soil and glasshouses when the land was sub-divided.

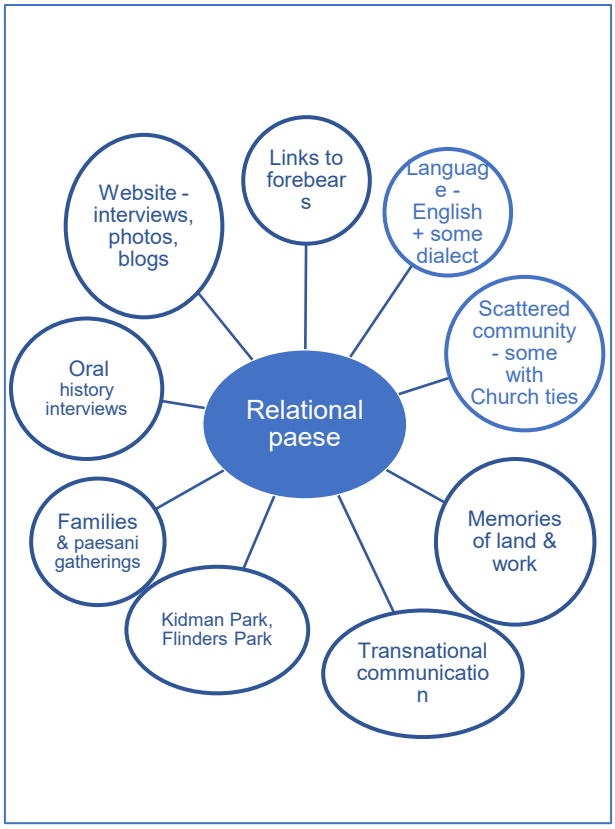

Figure 161: Relational paese of the Veneto market gardeners in 2021.

In Figure 161, the *paese* is represented as a social network rather than as the site of family market gardens. After the market gardens were sold, the *paesani* remained on smaller blocks carved out of the market gardens, as neighbours at Lockleys.

Following the deaths of the pioneers and some 1.5 members, people in the 1.5 and second-generation cohorts have redefined but maintained their relationships. They have visited each other, attended social occasions like weddings, baptisms and honoured the dead at funerals.

In a new configuration, the community attends gatherings related to the Veneto market gardener oral history project. Many descendants have recorded oral history interviews about their family market gardens and life at Lockleys, histories that preserve the story of the community. The website archives the memories of the market gardens, publishes blogs which reconstruct family histories and recreates interactions within community, in turn, transforming the *paese*.

The *paese* of the website

The Veneto market gardeners' website is another way to understand and acknowledge the *paese* at Lockleys; it reclaims the experience of the pioneer families on the market gardens through the narrators' voices, photographs and other documents and their relationships. The representation of the families on the website who formed the *paese* at Lockleys illustrates the benefits of reducing scale in understanding the impact of migration within, and on, a community.[828] The website acknowledges the role of the migrant and reflects cultural historian Annette Kuhn's examination of the role of the family in the processes of how memory is made and maintained. She argues that the family holds: "a past held in common by all its members, a past that binds them together today and will continue to do so into the future."[829] In the virtual or relational *paese*, the same three dimensions of the past are evident.

The website brings together elements of the *paese* and preserves the accounts of the Veneto market gardeners that are now formally acknowledged by the wider Veneto community. The financial support of the Veneto Club guarantees the future of the website.[830] The narrators' voices and photographs of the family market gardens prompt memories of narrators and provide insight into the labour, intimacy of families and home and the celebrations that took place within the *paese.* To hear the narrators offers families the gift of oral history, the familiarity of voice.[831] The website also represents the form of oral tradition identified in the Introduction chapter which

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[828] In addition, narrators who are relatives and other people connected to the market gardens add perspectives to the focus on the Veneto pioneer families.

[829] Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 166-167, discusses the role of the family in making memories which she argues provides the template for other ways that communities remember, including the idea of the nation as family.

[830] In March 2021, the Veneto Club of Adelaide began to provide financial support for the website which strengthens the connection of the pioneer families as a sub-group within the wider Veneto community in South Australia. It will also fund the preservation of the website into the future.

[831] At the social gathering for the Veneto market gardener families in January 2021, Linda, a daughter of 1.5-generation parents spoke about the potential of the website to remember voices of relatives who have died. Linda's father, Albert Tonellato died in 2010 and Linda's granddaughter admitted that she could not remember her *nonno's* voice. Linda accessed the Veneto market gardeners' website and played the recording of her father who had been interviewed in 2008.

enables descendants to listen to interviews and receive the history of their forebears told in their own words. Memories of parents, grandparents and great-grandparents accessed on the website are passed down as intimate migration history and oral testimony that communicates ideas about families in the context of identity, belonging and change.

Through reconstructing family history, the narrators convey pride in their parents' agrarian heritage and resilience in overcoming hurdles of meagre education and poverty in Italy, xenophobia and marginalisation in Australia. The website reconnects the successive generations of the Veneto market gardener community and the *paese* at Lockleys in a format that is open to the narrators and other descendants, a transnational, and scholarly audience. In recent correspondence about the need to consider the future of the Veneto market gardeners' project, a second-generation member highlighted the community function of the website which reflects the past *paese*:

> It has become a source of great pride to not only see our migrant heritage preserved, but it has also become a means for us all to share our stories
> and to unite us again into a community which closely resembled the spirit
> shared by our parents and relatives in those early times of migration.[832]

Figure 162: Group of young veneti *from Lockleys at Henley Beach, Adelaide, 1948.*

A mix of 1.5 and second-generation young people.

Photo supplied by Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazzo.

[832] Angelo Piovesan, email communication to the Veneto Club Adelaide Inc., 19 January 2021.

Modifying the old and the new

I argue that the unique circumstances of foundation of the *paese* during the Depression led to a community that placed Veneto agricultural identity and *contadino* heritage at the core of their market garden community. At Lockleys, they modified practices, learned a new kind of cultivation using glasshouses, engaged with the commercial market, adjusted gendered roles, raised families and became landowners. The pioneers resolved the problem of separation from their families and adapted the *contadino* traditions and built a supportive culture that was loosely based on the experience of the family networks in the Veneto region. In the absence of generational hierarchies, a kind of horizontal network of solidarity developed that even extended to sons as partners in the next generation.

The *paese* was a place of belonging for the market gardeners, as *veneti* and as a community of migrants who adjusted to life in their neighbourhood and in Australian society. After the market gardens were gone, the proxy family relationships continued and *paesani* met in different configurations of generations. Social events moved from the packing sheds to wider gatherings at the pan Italian Club in the 1960s. Several of the market gardeners contributed labour in building the Veneto Club; they contributed finances, became foundation members and regularly attended functions after it opened in 1974.[833]

Today narrators also attend social gatherings that I host to bring together the few elderly members of the 1.5 generation and the wider group of second-generation men and women. Increasingly, third-generation descendants and friends of the pioneer Veneto market gardeners attend these events.[834] The gatherings are an opportunity for the participants to reminisce and recall the life and

[833] Some *veneti* became members of either *Trevisani nel Mondo* or *Vicentini nel Mondo*, the associations that represent migrants from those two provinces in the Veneto region.

[834] I have hosted a series of social gatherings for the Veneto market gardener families since 2011 as part of my community oral history project. Most recently in January 2021, forty people including 1.5, second and third generation family members were present and socialised and listened to a presentation about the Veneto market gardeners' website. The gatherings have become so popular that some older community members will ask when they see me, even at funerals, if I could tell them when the next one will be held!

relationships within the *paese* or hear about aspects of my research. For example, in an event in 2019, I compiled information about the role of women on the market gardens and family members shared memories of their mothers with the group. Most recently in January 2021, forty 1.5, second and third generation family members were present and socialised and listened to a presentation about the different aspect of the Veneto market gardeners' website.

Figure 163: Gathering of Veneto market gardener families, Seaton, January 2019. Participants were asked to raise their hand if they had worked on market gardens. Photo by Alex Bennett.

Contribution of the research

I have used chronological and thematic perspectives to document the microhistory of the Veneto market gardeners as an account of a migrant community that has not been recorded previously. My study, based on oral history interviews, extends the knowledge of the history of Italian migration in South Australia beyond the existing literature. This new research on the history of a sub-group in a regional community adds to current studies of the migration and settlement of

different Italian groups in South Australia.[835] It complements the experience of small Italian communities founded in the early twentieth century based on a shared occupation such as, for example, the Molfettese fishers at Port Pirie.[836] The study also expands the documentation of Veneto communities in Australia.[837] My research builds on studies of the cultural life of Veneto migrants in South Australia.[838]

My research sits in the context of other studies of Veneto communities who settled in Australia in the same period as the pioneer market gardeners; however, it differs in significant ways.[839] In contrast to inner city chain or rural settlements, members of the Veneto market gardener community settled in a peri-urban area of a capital city. They worked as small-scale primary producers in a *paese* on the metaphorical and literal edge of Anglo Australia. The study focuses on the working lives of the market gardeners but it also examines their origins in the Veneto and *sistemazione* in Australia as well as the dynamics of the community that continue today.

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[835] See O'Connor; Cosmini-Rose; Cosmini-Rose and O'Connor; Longo, Mercurio and Scarino – titles first cited in the Introduction chapter.

[836] See Bromley; Corrieri, Jenkins; Mantello – titles previously cited in the Introduction chapter.

[837] See Baldassar and Pesman, *From Paesani to Global Italians*.

[838] See O'Connor, "Club e Associazioni dei Veneti nel South Australia," 177-187, Adelaide Veneto Club Inc *The First 25 Years*.

[839] Several studies of Veneto communities in rural Australia already cited in the Introduction chapter document their establishment between the wars. For the studies of Victorian communities, see Davine and Grollo and for studies in New South Wales see Huber and Jenkins.

Figure 164: Albert, Antonietta and Pietro Berno, Valetta Road, late 1950s.

Truck packed with cauliflowers ready for market.

Photo supplied by the Berno family.

The history of interwar migration is under-researched in Australia in favour of post Second World War studies of mass migration and the development of multiculturalism. Most studies of migrant groups between the wars focus on the establishment of communities as the result of chain migration. However, this study investigates the migration and settlement strategies of a cohort who did not conform to the model of chain migration between the wars. Although scholars have examined Italian migration before the Second World War the accounts discuss patterns of arrival and settlement, the high incidence of chain migration and the processes of assimilation viewed mostly through statistical data gathered from censuses, naturalisations and other official records.[840]

Using a group biography or prosopography approach has made it possible to examine interactions within families, in each generation and between three generations of families, to address the challenges of understanding the experience of migration and settlement within the context of a

[840] See especially Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*; Borrie, *Italians and Germans.*

small community. Because the population of market gardener families was small, a whole cohort has been analysed in a microhistory rather than relying on a sample of a larger population. The microhistory of the nineteen adults who arrived from the Veneto region between 1926 and 1928 enables a deeper examination of the continuities and discontinuities within three generations of migrant families. The microhistory approach enables an assessment of factors such as land as a source of belonging and identity, function of the social network as proxy family for the pioneers at Lockleys and transformations in gender dynamics in this study of migration and settlement.

The methodology of using of oral histories to create a group biography is one way to study the migration and settlement of a group. The limitations of such a methodology include access to, and the selection of, narrators in a community in terms of age, gender and years spent living in Australia. The value of including the first-generation cohort in a study about a migrant group cannot be underestimated. The interviews with sole pioneer narrators, Angelina and Vittorio Marchioro, has provided a broader framework in which to view the transformations in the generations of the Veneto market gardener families.

Figure 165: Veneto families, Saint Kilda, early 1950s.

Photo supplied by Diana Panazzolo nee Santin.

This intergenerational study of a community of market gardeners at the fringe of urban spaces opens new questions for migration research in Australia. It invites analysis of the social and economic factors that make it possible for migrant groups to settle and integrate over an extended time period. The research poses questions about whether the experience of a shared occupation and co-location contribute to the settlement and integration of a migrant group. It also asks if new roles for women can transform the concept of family and gender expectations in migrant communities. The study offers considerations of the significance of place in the study of migration in Australian history and in the context of adjustment processes, resilience, and belonging for migrants. It then follows to ask if the role of place facilitates or impedes adjustment processes for migrant families and communities. This study also generates questions about the extent to which intergenerational relationships create opportunities in migrant communities for integration. Further questions beyond this thesis, although raised by the examination of the Veneto market gardener *paese,* link to other strands in Australian migration research such as the interpretation of diversity and belonging and the influence of national myths about multiculturalism. These areas could be investigated in further studies of how individual communities evolve and adapt in the processes of migration and settlement.

The appeal that Giuseppe Chiumento makes in his oral history interview, cited at the beginning of this chapter, to understand the history of the migration and settlement of different groups of migrants is an enduring aspiration for the study of Australian history as a settler country. This study acknowledges and contributes to the growing visibility of migrant histories in Australia's national story. The narrative of the Veneto market gardener community adds what has been a missing piece to the history of migration and shifts the perspective on Anglo Australia.

Angelina and Vittorio Marchioro, son Johnny, grandchildren, Lisa and Robert.

Photo by Eleonora Marchioro.

The relational or virtual *paese* on the website creates a transnational space which brings together the community: the descendants, relatives and friends in Adelaide and relatives like Giuseppe in the Veneto region who can access the experience and identity of the *paese* at Lockleys. Paradoxically, at an exceptional time of limited mobility during the COVID-19 pandemic, transnational interest has increased, and distant family members from a wider Veneto diaspora across the world have contacted the website community.[841] In 2020-2021, visitors to the website have included distant relatives from Italy, Canada, Germany and the United States, in addition to

[841] The correspondents usually have found the website as they sought links for family history projects. They ask for more information and in two cases, have sent material that has been incorporated in existing family pages. In September-October 2020, after discovering family names on the website that corresponded to those in her research, a Canadian woman contributed two blogs about her extensive family history research in Canada and the Veneto region:
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/finding-nonna/
https://venetimarketgardeners1927.net/finding-nonna-part-2/

new contacts in Australia. Place-bound connections that keep and transform security of belonging are, I suspect, undergoing yet another transformation within the community of descendants.

The local experience of the Veneto market gardeners who settled and formed a *paese* in the west of Adelaide between the wars connects to the nation's larger story of migration and settlement. The microhistory of a family-focused migrant group that used their shared regional identity to create a new homogenous community, demonstrates the initiative, solidarity and vision that can enable an immigrant community to flourish and integrate successfully (but not assimilate) into Australian society over three generations. The balance between the intimate and domestic oral histories, archival and other research in the context of South Australia, and national and transnational migration stories presents new meanings of migration in families and a community. The history of the Veneto market gardener families who arrived between the wars reshapes our understanding of migrant communities in Australian history.

Figure 167*: Names of market gardener families in the* paese *at Lockleys.*

The design was created as a tea towel for the community in 2019.

Photo by Madeleine Regan

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Certificates of Title relating to the location where many of the Veneto market gardeners leased, and then owned land.

Sections 412 and 413 in the Hundred of Yatala in the County of Adelaide - Certificates of Title from 1889 to 1961:

- Volume 530, Folio 167
- Volume 853, Folio 37
- Volume 964, Folio 7
- Volume 1095, Folio 118
- Volume 1195, Folio 25
- Volume 1328, Folio 4
- Volume 1332, Folio 192
- Volume 1691, Folio 90
- Volume 1753, Folio 182
- Volume 1991, Folio 123
- Volume 2086, Folio 112
- Volume 2191, Folio 166
- Volume 2191, Folio 167.

Section 411 in the Hundred of Yatala in the County of Adelaide – Certificates of Title from 1920 to1953:

- Volume 1293, Folio 73
- Volume 1313, Folio 140
- Volume 1778, Folio 161
- Volume 2259, Folio 165.

Portion of allotment 71 of the subdivision of portions of Sections 97.144 and 162 in the Hundred of Adelaide in the County of Adelaide:
Volume 1986, Folio 84.

Legal case

High Court of Australia judgment on appeal from the Supreme Court of South Australia, Defendant, Public Trustee, Plaintiff, Zoanetti. Adelaide, 20 September 1945, Melbourne, 18 October 1945:

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Oral history interviews - State Library of South Australia

All the oral history interviews recorded for this project are archived at the State Library of South Australia. They are also accessible on the Veneto market gardeners' website under family names. Many transcripts are also available on the website. www.venetimarketgardeners1927.net/

OH 12/1 Interview with Vittorio and Angelina Marchioro by Michael Tsounis, in Adelaide, 13 March 1984.

OH 872/1 Interview with Giancarlo (Johnny) Marchioro by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 21 & 28 July 2008 & 11 August 2008.

OH 872/3 Interview with Mary Tonellato nee Zoanetti by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 3 October 2008.

OH 872/4 Interview with Albert Tonellato by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 3 October 2008.

OH 872/5 Interview with Bruno Piovesan, by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 4 October 2008.

OH 872/6 Interview with Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 15 July 2010, 9 October 2014.

OH 872/7 Interview with Frankie Ballestrin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 12 December 2008, 5 January 2009.

OH 872/8 Interview with Angelo Innocente by Madeleine Regan, 5 January 2009, in Adelaide, by Eleonora Marchioro (in dialect) 13 January 2011.

OH 872/9 Interview with Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 9 June; 14 June; 15 November 2010 and 5 May 2011.

OH 872/10 Interview with Lino Tonellato by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 16 July 2010.

OH 872/11 Interview with Connie Legovich nee Marchioro by Eleonora Marchioro, in Adelaide, 10 January 2011.

OH 872/12 Interview with Armida Mattiazzo nee Biasetto) by Eleonora Marchioro, (in dialect) in Adelaide, 11 January 2011; 1 December 2016.

OH 872/13 Interview with Oscar Mattiazzo by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 13 April 2011; 25 May 2011; 29 February 2012; 8 March 2012; 11 April 2012; 11 April 2012; 2 May 2012; 23 May 2012; 6 June 2021.

OH 872/14 Interview with Nina Quaresima nee Fazzalari by Eleonora Marchioro, in Adelaide, 13 April 2011.

OH 872/15 Interview with Egidio (Jimmy) Ballestrin by Eleonora Marchioro, in Adelaide, 4 July 2011.

OH 872/16 Interview with Aldo Rossetto, by Eleonora Marchioro, in Adelaide, 4 July 2011.

OH 872/17 Interview with Dino Piovesan, by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 4 October 2008.

OH 872/18 Interview with Giovanni (Johnny) Tormena by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 25 May 2012; 15 June 2012; 6 July 2012; 7 July 2012.

OH 872/19 Interview with Maria Rosa Tormena by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 25 May 2012; 15 June 2012.

OH 872/20 Interview with Romano Marchioro by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 11 June 2012.

OH 872/21 Interview with Rae Ballantyne by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 25 August 2012; 1 September 2012.

OH 872/22 Interview with Barrie West by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 25 August 2012; 1 September 2012.

OH 872/23 Interview with Barbara Haynes nee Ballantyne by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 1 September 2012; 15 September 2012.

OH 872/24 Interview with Anna Santin nee Mattiazzo by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 3 April 2013; 17 April 2013.

OH 872/25 Interview with Guido Rebuli by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 24 April 2013.

OH 872/26 Interview with Enrico (Ricchetto) Rebuli by Anna Mechis (in dialect) in Adelaide, 7, 12, 17, 28 June 2013.

OH 872/27 Interview with Diana Panazzolo nee Santin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 13 September 2013, 18 October 2013, 13 December 2013.

OH 872/28 Interview with Lina Campagnolo nee Ballestrin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 13 March 2014.

OH 872/29 Interview with Noemi Campagnolo nee Zalunardo by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 20 March 2014.

OH 872/30 Interview with Maria Mazzarolo nee Compostella by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 23 April 2014.

OH 872/31 Interview with Melbourne Recchi by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 18 June 2014; 31 July 2014.

OH 872/32 Interview with Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 28 August 2014, 12 September 2014.

OH 872/33 Interview with Bruna Rossetto nee Battaglia by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide 18 December 2014.

OH 872/34 Interview with (Anita) Clara Stepan, formerly Sbrissa nee Lazzoretto by Anna Mechis and Madeleine Regan, (partly in dialect) in Adelaide, 9 January 2015.

OH 872/35 Interview with Adrian Tonellato by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide,19 November 2015; 20 December 2015; 30 January 2016.

OH 872/36 Interview with Milva Rebuli nee Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 27 March 2016.

OH 872/37 Interview with Norma Camozzato nee Ballestrin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 21 September 2016.

OH 872/38 Interview with Adelaide (Aida) Valentini nee Recchi by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 28 September 2016.

OH 872/39 Interview with Bruna Semola nee Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 8 November 2016.

OH 872/40 Interview with Lino Ballestrin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 22 November 2016.

OH 872/41 Interview with Roma Bordignon nee Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 3 February 2017.

OH 872/42 Interview with Christine Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 26 February 2017.

OH 872/43 Interview with Virginia Rodato nee Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 15 March 2017.

OH 872/44 Interview with Sandra Semola nee Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 27 April 2017.

OH 872/45 Interview with Irene Zampin by Madeleine Regan, in Caselle di Altivole, Italy, 23 June 2017; 16 November 2018.

OH 872/46 Interview with Remo Berno by Madeleine Regan, in Vallà, Italy, 27 June 2017.

OH 872/47 Interview with Sandra Conci nee Santin by Madeleine Regan, in Adelaide, 25 August 2018.

OH 872/48 Interview with Giovanni Rebuli by Madeleine Regan, in Valdobbiadene, Italy, 21 September 2018.

OH 872/49 Interview with Nevea Antonello by Madeleine Regan, in Castelfranco Veneto, Italy, 28 September 2018.

OH 872/50 Interview with Rosanna Bin by Madeleine Regan, in Casltelfranco Veneto, Italy, 7 October 2018.

OH 872/51 Interview with Madeleine Mocenigo by Madeleine Regan, in Castelfranco Veneto, Italy, 7 October 2018.

OH 872/52 Interview with Elisabetta Pastro by Madeleine Regan, in Riese Pio X, Italy, 8 October 2018.

OH 872/53 Interview with Ermenegilda Simeoni by Madeleine Regan, in Riese Pio X, Italy, 22 October 2018.

OH 872/54 Interview with Gabriella Antonini by Madeleine Regan, in Caselle di Altivole, Italy, 24 October 2018.

OH 872/55 Interview with Giuseppe Chiumento by Madeleine Regan, in Monte di Malo, Italy, 3 November 2018.

OH 872/56 Interview with Natalina Bello by Madeleine Regan, in Valdobbiadene, Italy, 4 November 2018.

OH 872/57 Interview with Vivian Miotto, in Cornuda, Italy, by Madeleine Regan, 9 November 2018.

OH 872/58 Interview with Adelina Mattiazzo by Madeleine Regan, Adelaide, 27 November 2018.

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Ship arrivals

State Records, Government of South Australia, Passenger lists 1845 – 1940
https://archives.sa.gov.au/finding-information/discover-our-collection/migration-and-crew/passenger-lists-1845-1940?year=1928&page=1

Passenger lists on ships – incoming passengers

Regina d'Italia – arrived 1 March 1926 (Francesco, Marchioro 24 years, Margherita Marchioro, 20 years, Maria Marchioro 5 months)
https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1926/GRG_41_34_0_258-1926_Regina%20d%27Italia.pdf
Città di Genova – arrived 7 June 1926 (Domenico Rossetto, 30 years)
https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1926/GRG_41_34_0_301-1926_Citta%20di%20Genova.pdf

Carignano – arrived 31 July 1927 (Brunone Rebuli, 34 years, Adeodato Rossetto, 29 years, Angelo Rossetto, 23 years, Giovanni (sic) Gelindo Rossetto, 32 years)
https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1927/GRG_41_34_0_477-1927_Carignano.pdf

Città di Genova arrived 1 September 1927 (Angelo Pievesan (sic) Piovesan, 22 years, Giovanni Santini (sic) Santin, 41 years, Secondo Tonellato, 34 years)

https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1927/GRG_41_34_0_500-1927_Citta%20di%20Genova.pdf

Regina d'Italia – arrived 20 September 1927 (Antonio Ballestrin, 25 years, Isidoro Ballestrin, 22 years, Giuseppe Ballestrin, 17 years)
https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1927/GRG_41_34_0_491-1927_Regina%20d%27Italia.pdf

Palermo arrived 11 October 1927 (Gino Felice Berno, 18 years, Vittorio Pietro Berno 18 years)
https://archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documentstore/passengerlists/1927/GRG_41_34_0_505-1927_Palermo.pdf

Orama arrived 17 December 1927 (Vittorio Marchioro, 21 years)
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Città di Genova arrived 17 January 1928 (Silvano Zampin, 17 years)
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Part C: Web resources

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Overview of the pioneers and their context

The following eighteen men and one woman emigrated from the Veneto region to Adelaide. The list shows the eight different *comuni* or local council areas in the two provinces in the region from which the Veneto market gardeners emigrated between 1926 and 1928.

1. Province of Treviso

Vallà - Comune di Riese Pio X

Ballestrin, Antonio Bembenuto

Born 21 September 1902, Valla'

Died 1977, Riese

Brother to Isidoro Ballestrin and first cousin to Giuseppe Ballestrin

Married Minato, Romilda in Vallà 1934. Romilda died in 1957 and Antonio returned to Italy. He married Vettori, Elena in 1959 in Vallà.

No children

Market gardener.

Ballestrin, Giuseppe

Born 19 July 1910, Vallà

Died 1989, Adelaide

First cousin to Antonio Benvenuto and Isidoro Ballestrin

Married Tieppo, Cesira in the *comune,*1934

Children: Lino, Norma, Louis

Market gardener.

Ballestrin, Isidoro

Born 15 May 1905, Vallà

Died 1965, Adelaide

Brother to Isidoro Ballestrin and first cousin to Giuseppe Ballestrin

Married Andreazza, Gina in Vallà 1934

Children: Santa, Frankie, Dolfina

Market gardener.

Riese - Comune di Riese Pio X

Berno, Alberto

Born 16 February 1905, Riese Pio X

Died 1986 Riese Pio X

Brother to Vittorio Pietro, Felice and first cousin to Gino Felice

Married Carraro, Elvira in Italy 1950

Children: Johnny, Marisa

Market gardener.

Berno, (Vittorio) Pietro

Born 18 July 1909, Riese Pio X

Died 1986, Riese Pio X

Brother to Alberto, Felice and first cousin to Gino Felice

Married Pastro, Antonietta in Italy, 1948

Children: Robert, Remo, Diana

Market gardener.

Berno, Gino Felice

Born 18 January 1909, Riese Pio X

Died 1984, Adelaide

First cousin to Alberto, Pietro and Felice

Married Jean Dyson, Adelaide, 1933 (divorced, remarried Irma Gomierato, Italy ? late 1950s)

Children: Max, Lance

Market gardener.

Zampin, Silvano

Born 6 February 1910, Riese Pio X

Died 1982, Adelaide

Brother to Pietro who arrived in 1925

Married Amelia Shaw, Adelaide in 1931

Children: Milva, Bruna, Roma, Angela, Christina, Virginia, Sandra, Cynthia, Peter

Market gardener.

Bigolino - Comune di Valdobbiadene

Rebuli, Brunone

Born 23 October, 1893, Bigolino

Died 1947, Adelaide

Brother-in-law to Rossetto brothers: Adeodato, Angelo, Domenico, Gelindo

Married Rossetto Giovanna 1921, Bigolino

Children: Dorina, Albino, Elvio, Guido

Market gardener.

Rossetto, Adeodato

Born 24 February 1900, Bigolino

Died 1975, Adelaide

Brother to Angelo, Domenico, Gelindo, and brother-in-law to Brunone Rebuli

Remained single, no children

Wharf labourer.

Rossetto, Angelo

Born 2 January 1904, Bigolino

Died 1972, Melbourne

Brother to Adeodato, Domenico, Gelindo, and brother-in-law to Brunone Rebuli

Married Bolzonin, Maria 1935, Bigolino after returning to Italy in 1933. Remigrated to Australia in 1948 with their eldest three children.

Children: Luciana, Anita, Giovanni, Vivien

Skilled hosiery manufacturer.

Rossetto, Domenico

Born 28 October 1896, Bigolino

Died 1946, Adelaide

Brother to Adeodato, Angelo, Gelindo, brother-in-law to Brunone Rebuli

Married Buffon, Carmela 1924, Bigolino

Children: Anna, Modesto

Grocery shop owner.

Rossetto, Gelindo

Born 14 January 1895, Bigolino

Died 1962, Bigolino

Brother to Adeodato, Angelo, Domenico, brother-in-law to Brunone Rebuli

Married Bordin, (Adele) Lina by proxy 1930

Children: Lena, Aldo, Silvano

Market gardener, mica miner.

Comune di Altivole

Santin, Giovanni Luigi

Born 7 November 1886, Riese Pio X, raised in Caselle di Altivole

Died 1961, Adelaide

Married Tessari, Maria, 1907 at Caselle di Altivole. (Maria died 1918)

Second marriage to Visentin, Costantina 1919 in Caselle di Altivole

Children: Angelina (first marriage), Luigi, Vito, Romildo, Virginia

Market gardener.

Tonellato, Secondo

Born 15 October 1893, Caselle di Altivole

Died 1973, Adelaide

Married Gatto, Elisabetta 1922 in Caselle di Altivole

Children: Luigi, Rosina, Alberto, Lino, Orlando, Assunta (niece, adopted as a baby)

Market gardener.

Comune di Ponzano Veneto

Piovesan Angelo

Born 4 December 1905, Ponzano Veneto

Died 1949, Adelaide

Married Zanatta, Anna Rosalia by proxy 1934

Children: Nillo, Dino, Bruno

Market gardener, mica miner.

Comune di Vedelago

Zalunardo, Eugenio

Born 18 February 1895, Castelcucco, raised in Vedelago

Died 1972, Adelaide

Married Ballestrin, Luigina 1943 in Adelaide. (Luigina died 1965) Remarried Giuseppina ? unknown year.

Children: Noemi, Renato

Market gardener

2. Province of Vicenza

Comune di Malo

Marchioro, Francesco*

Born 28 October 1901, Malo

Died 1945, Adelaide

Brother of Vittorio

Married Marchioro, Margherita 1925 in Monte di Malo

Children: Mary, Lina, Connie

Terrazzo and concrete worker.

Marchioro, Vittorio

Born 23 December 1906, Malo

Died 1992, Adelaide

Brother of Francesco, brother-in-law of Margherita

Married Marchioro, Angelina by proxy 1937

Children: Johnny, Romano

Market gardener.

Comune di Monte di Malo

Marchioro, Margherita*

Born 1905, Monte di Malo

Died 2001, Adelaide

Sister-in-law of Vittorio

Married Marchioro, Francesco 1925 in Monte di Malo

Children: Mary, Lina, Connie

Market gardener.

*Married couple

Appendix 2: Dates of naturalisation of pioneer *veneti*

Date	Name	Years after arrival
27/11/1931	Marchioro Francesco + Margherita & Mary	7 years
24/02/1933	Rossetto Domenico + Carmela & Anna	7 years
17/5/1934	Rossetto Adeodato	7 years (incl. 6 months in Italy 1931-32)
19/09/1936	Piovesan Angelo + Rosalia	9 years
21/10/1937	Zampin Silvano*	9 years
01/04/1938	Rebuli Brunone + Giovanna & Dorina, Albino & Elvio	11 years
30/12/1938	Berno Gino*	11 years
19/4/1939	Rossetto Gelindo + Adele	12 years
08/12/1939	Santin Giovanni + Costantina	12 years
28/3/1940	Tonellato Secondo + Elisabetta	13 years
26/4/1940	Zalunardo Eugenio – single man	13 years
War years		
05/12/1945	Marchioro Vittorio + Angelina	18 years
23/07/1946	Ballestrin Antonio + Romilda	19 years
07/08/1946	Berno Pietro – single man	19 years
06/11/1946	Berno Alberto – single man	19 years
18/08/1947	Ballestrin Isidoro + Gina	20 years

02/09/1947	Ballestrin Giuseppe + Cesira	20 years
10/1/1955	Rossetto, Angelo	28 years but after absence of 15 years living in Italy 1933-1948

*Loss of British nationality for Jean Dyson who married Gino Berno (1933) and Amelia Shaw who married Silvano Zampin (1930 or 1931)

Six were naturalised between five and ten years after arrival

Giuseppe Ballestrin, Isidoro Ballestrin, Alberto Berno, Pietro Berno, Vittorio Marchioro, applied at least twice before they were permitted to become naturalised after the war.

Appendix 3: List of men registered for Allied Works Council

Conscription to Allied Works Council – October 1942

Service in the Civil Aliens Corps 1943-1945

Name	Registration – AWC- October 1942	Age in 1942	Naturalised at the time? (Date of naturalisation)	Conscription - Civil Alien Corps 1943-45
Ballestrin Antonio	Yes	42	No (23/07/1946)	Yes but deferred
Ballestrin Isidoro	Yes	39	No (18/08/1947)	No- because of ill health
Ballestrin Giuseppe	Yes	32	No (2/09/1947)	Yes (Alice Springs, Barmera +)
Berno Alberto	Yes	39	No – had submitted papers in 1939 (6/11/1946)	Deferred
Berno Pietro	Yes	33	No – had submitted papers in 1939 (7/08/1946)	Deferred
Berno Gino	?	33	Yes (30/12/1938)	?
Marchioro Francesco	No	41	Yes (27/11/1931)	No – because of ill health
Marchioro Vittorio	Yes	36	No – had submitted papers in 1939 (5/12/1945)	Yes, served at Alice Springs & mica mine, Harts Range
Piovesan Angelo	?	39	Yes (19/09/1936)	?
Rebuli Brunone	?	49	Yes (1/04/1938)	?
Rossetto Gelindo	?	47	Yes (8/12/1939)	Yes, served in Civil Construction Corps in NT & mica mine, Harts Range
Rossetto Adeodato	?	42	Yes (1934)	?

Name	Registration – AWC- October 1942	Age in 1942	Naturalised at the time? (Date of naturalisation)	Conscription - Civil Alien Corps 1943-45
Rossetto Angelo	No – in Italy	38	Yes (19/04/1939)	No – in Italy at this time
Santin Giovanni	?	56	Yes (28/03/1940)	?
Tonellato, Secondo	?	49	Yes (26/04/1940)	?
Zalunardo	?	39	Yes (21/10/1937)	?
Zampin Silvano	?	32	Yes (31/08/1937)	?

Extended family members

Name	Registration – AWC- October 1942	Age in 1942	Naturalised	Conscription to Civil Alien Corps 1943-45
Ballestrin Ermenegildo Arrived 1937	Yes	31	Would not have met five-year residency rule	Yes (Price, Yorke Peninsula)
Ballestrin Narciso Arrived 1938	Yes	29	Would not have met five-year residency rule	Yes (Alice Springs + other places)
Berno Albino Arrived 1938	Yes	31	Would not have met five-year residency rule	Deferred

Appendix 4: Overview of occupations of 1.5 and second generation

Information based on interviews and a meeting with three sons of pioneer generation held on 13 March 2020 and assistance from Christine Rebellato nee Mattiazo

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Ballestrin Isidoro – a son and two daughters			
Frankie (born 1937)	Yes	Worked on the farm during primary school. After his father died 1965 Frankie took over the garden at 28 years of age	High school for two years – left at 14 years - had wanted to be a mechanic
+ 2 daughters		One died in a car accident and the other – unknown	Unknown
Ballestrin, Giuseppe – two sons and a daughter			
Lino (born 193)5	No	Public Service – long career in middle management in the Taxation Office	12 years of schooling
Louis (father Giuseppe) (born 1950)	No	Worked in the market gardens while at school, then Government surveyor	12 years of schooling
Norma (born 1940)	No	Office work – against parents' wishes found herself a job at 14 years	Left school after two years of high school
Berno – Pietro – two sons and a daughter			
Roberto (born 1949)	No	Became involved with family property development business in Italy	Began Law degree in Adelaide, studied Arts degree in Italy. Left Adelaide with parents in 1969
Remo (born 1953)	No	Became involved with family property development business in Italy	Completed 12 years schooling in Adelaide, did an Engineering degree in Italy, Left Adelaide with parents in 1969

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Diana (born 1956)	No	Works in family property development business in the office in Italy	Started school in Adelaide, mostly educated in Italy Left Adelaide with parents in 1969
Berno Alberto – a son and a daughter			
Johnny (born ?1952)	No	Went into small business in Italy	Completed some years of high school in Adelaide, Left Adelaide with parents in 1969
Marisa (born ?1957)	No	Unknown	Education not known Left Adelaide with parents in 1969
Marchioro, Francesco – died 1945 **three daughters**			
Mary (born 1925)	Yes	Intellectually disabled – helped her mother in the garden	None
Lina (born 1927)	No	Helped out mother after first job for a year or two then trained and worked in own dressmaking boutique	Completed 3 years of high school
Connie (born 1938)	No	Office work	Completed 3 years of high school
Marchioro, Vittorio Two sons			
Johnny (Born 1940)	Yes	After school a couple of small jobs including delivering for Italian grocer, then went to work with father at 15 years. Married Eleonora in 1965 and they farmed at Bolivar till 2007 = 42 years + with father from 15 years	Completed 3 years high school
Romano (Born 1942)	No	After school, apprenticeship as carpenter, worked for a builder, then worked for father-in-law at restaurant Barbecue Inn which he bought with his wife in 1970s	Two years high school

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Piovesan, Angelo – died 1949 Three sons			
Nillo (Born 1935)	Yes	Retail for some years, then market gardener with Dino, then became a policeman	Left at minimum age of schooling
Dino (Born 1936)	Yes	Worked for a time in the market gardens, then truck driver, factory work, labourer and driving instructor for 24 years	Two years high school, Father died when Dino was 13 – had wanted to be a mechanic.
Bruno (Born 1937)	Yes	Apprenticeship as fitter & turner, then tool maker at GMH for couple of years then own business making tools & own business, built warehouses	Left school at 15 years – age of compulsion
Rebuli, Brunone – died 1947 Three sons and one daughter			
Dorina **(1.5 gen)** (born 1923)	No	Intellectually disabled – worked within the family home and market garden	Unknown
Albino or Vito **(1.5 gen)** **(**born 1924) One son, one daughter	Yes	After father died, worked market garden for a while then worked at East End market receiving goods, went into the family grocery, then wine shop Neither of children in second generation worked in market gardens	Education not known Father died 1947 – Albino was 23 yrs Both children tertiary educated
Elvio or 'Shorty' **(1.5 gen)** (born 1925) 8 children – six daughters, two sons	Yes	After father died, worked market garden for a while then worked at East End market receiving goods, went into the family grocery 1950s, also worked at GMH None of Elvio's 8 children worked in market gardens (Not sure of occupations)	Education not known Father died 1947 – Elvio was 22 yrs.

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Guido (second generation – born in Adelaide in 1938)	No	Office boy at Michel wool company, then family owned grocery+ other work, self-employed in wine business Three daughters – employment unknown	Guido left school at 14
Rossetto, Gelindo One daughter and two sons			
Lena (born 1932)	No	Worked in grocery shop, then assisted her husband's transport business	Two years high school
Aldo (born 1934)	No	Mica mine +then Port Stanvac Oil Refinery – then went to Darwin 1964, owned sports shop	?Three years high school
Silvano (born ?1944)	No	Worked with Aldo in Darwin sports shop	Education unknown
Santin – children of Giovanni (1.5 gen)			
Lui (born 1921) Two sons and two daughters	Yes No	Worked in partnership with two brothers, wife and sisters-in-law Eldest son died at 3.5 months. Eldest daughter worked in office then went into retail business with husband's family. Second son had neurological disease - died at 39 yrs. Youngest daughter worked in administration	Minimum schooling in Australia after arriving in 1935 Eldest daughter-Yr10 Son- Special school Second daughter-Yr 10
Vito (born 1923) One son	Yes Yes, 12 years	Worked at cheese factory Worked in partnership with two brothers, wife and sisters-in-law. Pest control, truck driver, Market gardener in family partnership, locksmith business, maintenance business.	Minimum schooling in Australia after arriving in 1935 Three years secondary school

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Romildo (born 1924) One son and two daughters	Yes Daughter – No Son – Yes 12 years Daughter - No	Worked in partnership with two brothers, wife and sisters-in-law Eldest daughter worked in office admin. Market gardener in family partnership then worked in retail, market gardener, truck driver, storeman. Youngest daughter worked in office admin	Minimum schooling in Australia after arriving in 1935 Daughter -educated to Yr 11 Son -Yr 11 Daughter- Yr 11 (started Yr 12)
Virginia (born 1927) Three daughters	Yes, until married No	Worked in market garden, home chores, cared for children of other market gardeners, deli and grocery shop partnership with husband Teacher, dental therapist/research assistant, doctor	Minimum schooling in Australia after arriving in 1935 All tertiary educated
Tonellato - children of Secondo (1.5 gen)			
Lui (born 1922) - one son and one daughter	Yes Yes for a period	First job – factory, then worked with father Son worked on market garden with parents then went into own business Daughter – not known	Minimum years after arriving in 1935 Son left at minimum age Education not known
Albert (born 1925) – One son and three daughters and one son)	Yes Children helped out but none went into the business after school	First job in fish factory, then worked on parents' garden until marriage and had his own Son, an accountant, daughters worked in various roles including public service, administration	Minimum years of school after arriving in 1935 Education levels unknown

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Lino (born 1926) One son and one daughter	Yes No	Immediately went to market garden, later after injury established a poultry farm with his wife at Two Wells Son went to university, died in early adulthood, daughter, worked as a trainer/administration	Left at 13.5 years Both son and daughter were educated post-secondary school
Nano (born 1927) 4 daughters, 1 son	Yes No	Immediately went to market garden Two daughters are nurses, two daughters work in office administration. Son works in retail – worked for Rebuli wine shop for a while	Minimum schooling Education levels not known
Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato (born 1937)	Short time	Retail work over a long period – grocery shop and at the airport	Two years secondary school. Assunta was adopted by her uncle and aunt.
Zalunardo, Eugenio 1 son, 1 daughter			
Noemi Zalunardo (Campagnolo) (born 1947)	Yes	Worked in the garden with her parents from primary school age, at 15 years went into the garden full-time until marriage	Left school at 15 years
Renato (born ?1958)	No	Delivered oil to domestic residences, owned his own business	Education not known
Zampin, Silvano 8 daughters, 1 son (born between 1932 and 1954)			
Milva – eldest (born 1932)		Worked with father for two or three years before working in mica factory	Left school after completing primary years
Sandra (Semola) (Born 1947)	Yes	Worked with father & was responsible for the garden for six months when her parents went to Italy for the first time when she was 13, 14	Left at end of primary school – parents had to get permission for her to work at home

Family	Worked market gardens	Other work/employment	Education/notes
Other five Zampin sisters	No	Manufacturing, factory work or retail work	All left school at minimum school age
Cynthia – youngest daughter	No	Public servant	?Completed secondary school
Peter (born 1953)	No	Died at 18 years	Died at 18 years

Family members of pioneers who were market gardeners

Family	Worked market garden	Other work	Education/notes
Narciso Ballestrin brother of Isidoro (pioneer) Two sons and two daughters			
Jimmy **(1.5 gen)** (father Narciso) (born 1939)	No	Had paid work as a child, after school, got apprenticeship at Perry Engineering, did not complete, then got job to contribute to family, worked as a concreter	Left school at 14 years Not enough land for Jimmy to work with his father
Silvano (2second gen) (father Narciso)	No	Became a bank teller, worked in the market garden	12 years of schooling
Lina (second gen)	No	Worked as trainee teacher in Catholic primary and secondary school until marriage, later became support education officer until retirement	Completed 12 years of education mentored by Catholic Sisters while she was trainee teacher
Norina (second gen)	No	Not known	Not known

Summary of the data – the generations who worked in the market gardens

1.5 generation

Nine sons (including the older two Rebuli sons, three Santin and four Tonellato sons all worked the market gardens. (Two older Rebuli brothers worked for some years on the market gardens after their father died and then moved to working in the family grocery business and Elvio worked at GMH and other jobs)

- All sons owned and worked market gardens after assisting their parents. Ownership of separate market gardens came at marriage. Lino Tonellato had to finish up because of injury – started a poultry business with his wife. Rebuli brothers started grocery business after 10 or so years.

Four daughters (Marchioro, Rebuli, Santin and Tonellato)

- Mary Marchioro and Dorina Rebuli were intellectually disabled and contributed to the work on the family market gardens.
- Virginia Santin had worked in the family market garden before marrying Oscar Mattiazzo and they owned a grocery business together
- Rosina Tonellato married Lui Santin and worked on the market gardens with the two other Santin brothers and their wives for 35+ years.

Second generation sons and daughters

- **25 sons**
- **34 daughters**
- Two families returned to Italy before their children (Pietro Berno's two sons and a daughter + Alberto's son and daughter) came of age

Sons

Of the 25 sons:

- Two worked as market gardeners until retirement (Frankie Ballestrin and Johnny Marchioro)
- Five others worked for a period as market gardeners
    - Two by themselves (Nillo & Dino Piovesan worked at Bolivar for several years)
    - Three worked with their fathers who were 1.5 generation: Dean Santin & Alan Santin worked at Bolivar - Santin's sold 1986 (Anna's interview) and Adrian Tonellato worked with his father on Frogmore Road until 1979 (Adrian's interview).
- Two sons received 12 years of schooling – Lino Ballestrin became a middle manager in the Commonwealth Public Service and Louis Ballestrin was a Government surveyor

- Two sons died at a young age before 20 years old (Johnny Santin and Peter Zampin)

The remaining 15 sons worked in various occupations – including some who worked to help their parents on the market gardens for short periods.

Daughters

Of the 34 daughters:

- Five daughters worked in the market gardens with their parents
- Milva Zampin left after completing primary school to help her parents who by that time had six younger children. She worked in a factory after two or three years.
- In the same family, Sandra Zampin refused to go to high school and became a market gardener at the age of 12 and she worked until her marriage at 19 years in 1966.
- Noemi Zalunardo who worked in the market garden with her father at 15, had completed three years of high school and she continued in the market garden until her marriage in 1969 when she was 22 years.
- Two daughters who were intellectually disabled (Mary Marchioro and Dorina Rebuli) worked on some tasks in the family market gardens.

- The remaining 29 daughters received different levels of education including several at tertiary level. They were employed in various occupations – mainly in office administration and some in retail and factory jobs; one doctor, two teachers. Some details are not known.

Appendix 5: Narrators and place of residence at the time of interview

First generation narrators – place of residence at time of interview

Veneto pioneer families Year of interview	Living in former market garden area	Living in other location	Comments
Veneto pioneer families Year of interview	**Living in former market garden area**	**Living in another location**	**Comments**
Vittorio Marchioro 1984	Moved from Frogmore Road in 1948 and bought land about two kilometres away		Interviewed by Michael Tsounis 1984
Angelina Marchioro 1984	Moved from Frogmore Road in 1948 and bought land about two kilometres away		Interviewed by Michael Tsounis in 1984

1.5 generation narrators – place of residence at time of interview

Veneto pioneer families Year of interview	Living in former market garden area	Living in other location	Comments
Mary Tonellato 2008	Frogmore Road		Moved away to next suburb but returned and built house on Frogmore Road
Albert Tonellato 2008	Frogmore Road		Moved away to next suburb but returned and built house on Frogmore Road
Lino Tonellato 2010		Yes	Moved away after marriage and could not work in the market gardens because of ill health
Anna Santin 2013	Frogmore Road		
Maria Mazzarolo 2013	Frogmore Road		
Jimmy Ballestrin 2011		Yes	Initially lived close to his parents but moved away after marriage ended
Oscar Mattiazzo 2011		Yes	Married into market garden family, never lived in the area

Bruna Rossetto 2014		Yes	Never lived in the area – husband had worked in market garden in the area
Veneto pioneer families Year of interview	**Living in former market garden area**	**Living in other location**	**Comments**
Johnny Tormena 2012		Yes	Never lived in the area – had relatives on market gardens
Maria Tormena 2012		Yes	Never lived in the area - had relatives on a market garden

Note: 4 of 6 who had lived on market gardens continued to live in the area

Narrators from other Italian families - place of residence at time of interview

Other Italians Year of interview	**Living in former market garden area**	**Living in other location**	**Comments**
Aida Valentini nee Recchi 2016	Kidman Park		
Mel Recchi 2014	Kidman Park		
Nina Quaresima nee Fazzalari 2011		Yes	Moved away when she was a child

Second-generation narrators – place of residence at time of interview

Second generation Year of interview	**Living in former market garden area**	**Living in other location**	**Comments**
Frankie Ballestrin 2008	Flinders Park		
Bruno Piovesan 2008	Kidman Park		
Lina Rismondo nee Marchioro 2010		Aged care home	Previously lived in two homes close to the area
Assunta Giovannini nee Tonellato 2010	Kidman Park		
Connie Legovich nee Marchiro 2011	Kidman Park		Had built two houses in the area, close to where she grew up

Second generation Year of interview	Living in former market garden area	Living in other location	Comments
Dino Piovesan 2011	Lockleys		After first marriage, moved away, now living with second wife
Johnny Marchioro 2008		Yes	Living on a market garden at Bolivar
Romano Marchioro 2012	Lockleys		In the same street where he grew up
Diana Panazzolo nee Santin 2013	Kidman Park		Moved from family home to own home close by after marriage
Lina Campagnolo nee Ballestrin 2014	Kidman Park		
Noemi Campagnolo nee Ballestrin 2014		Moved after marriage	
Milva Rebuli nee Zampin 2016	Flinders Park		
Bruna Semola nee Zampin 2016		Yes	Initially after marriage lived close to the area but moved away
Roma Bordignon nee Zampin 2017	Kidman Park		
Virginia Rodato nee Zampin 2017	Fulham – within 2 kms		
Sandra Semola nee Zampin 2017	Lockleys		
Christine Zampin 2017		Yes	Initially after marriage lived close to area but moved away
Guido Rebuli 2013		Yes	Initially after marriage lived close to area but moved away
Adrian Tonellato 2015		Yes	
Norma Camozzato 2016		Yes	Hectorville
Sandra Conci nee Santin 2018		Yes	West Beach

Second generation Year of interview	Living in former market garden area	Living in other location	Comments
Lena Moscheni nee Rossetto 2014		Yes	Parents had initially lived in the Lockleys area where they had a market garden
Aldo Rossetto 2011		Yes	Parents had initially lived in the Lockleys area where they had a market garden
Irene Zampin 2017		Lived in Italy since 1967	Grew up on the market gardens in the area
Remo Berno 2017		Lived in Italy since 1969	Grew up on the market gardens in the area

Twenty-five second-generation narrators were born in Adelaide to Veneto families and twenty-three grew up on the market gardens:

- Thirteen narrators born to Veneto market gardeners in the second-generation and interviewed in Adelaide lived in the same area as they grew up at the time of interview.
- Eight lived away from the area
- Two never lived in the area although their parents had lived and worked market gardens in the area for several years prior to living in the city. The family was also related to market gardeners in the area.

Anglo Australian narrators – Place of residence at time of interview

Anglo Australians Year of interview	Living in former market garden area	Comments
Rae Ballantyne 2012	Kidman Park	
Barbara Haynes nee Ballantyne 2012	Lived close to the market garden area	
Barrie West 2012	Lived close to the market garden area	