

## ITALIANS IN THE HINCHINBROOK SHIRE, 1921-1939: MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION

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Italians have migrated to Australia since 1788: Giuseppe Tusa arrived with the First Fleet; the New South Wales police had an Italian superintendent in 1824; prominent at the Eureka Stockade was Raffaele Carboni; Marquis de Ray's ill-fated attempt to form an Italian colony in the New Hebrides led to the establishment of "New Italy" in the Richmond River District of New South Wales in 1881; and in 1891 Northern Italian peasants accepted contract work on the Hinchinbrook Shire sugar plantations.<sup>1</sup> But it was not till the early 1920s that there was a substantial reflux of Italians to Australia. Most of those who came to Queensland settled in rural areas, especially the lucrative sugar districts. This is atypical of Italian settlement in the other Australian states which include significant urban concentrations. After World War Two Italians have migrated largely to urban areas in the southern states.<sup>2</sup>

Most studies of Italian migration to Australia have either focussed broadly on one state or the country in general, or have been confined to a specific aspect such as attitudes, assimilation and political or economic participation. An emphasis on sociological techniques has contributed to the neglect of local history. A valuable field of research would be the historical examination of one, or a comparison of a number of pre-World War Two Italian communities, in one of the most important areas of Italian interwar migration - North Queensland. One such community was established in the Hinchinbrook Shire; it also had the largest Italian-born population in Queensland during the 1920s and 1930s. This paper concentrates on only one aspect of the settlement of Italians in this Shire - their motives for migrating.

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Most Italian-born men, women and children residing in the Hinchinbrook Shire between the two world wars arrived there during the early 1920s. Table 1 shows a heavy influx of Italians between 1921 and 1925, followed by a loss between 1925 and 1947. Why such a migratory flow pattern? What caused 2,428 Italians to migrate in four years? Why did many then leave the Shire?

Table 1

Numbers of Male and Female Italian-born Migrants in the Hinchinbrook Shire, 1921-1947<sup>3</sup>

Date	Male	Female	Total	Increase	Decrease
1921	498	176	674		
1923	1,326	576	1,902	+1,228	
1925	2,365	737	3,102	+1,200	
1933	1,815	771	2,586		-516
1947	1,190	748	1,938		-648

Primarily, the influx was due to three factors: first, the United States of America's Quota Laws of 1921 and 1924 drastically reduced her intake of aliens; as a consequence, there was an immediate increase in the number of immigrants, particularly Italians, into Australia.<sup>4</sup> Second, economic opportunities in Brazil and Argentina deteriorated with dearer land, high shipping costs and uncertain markets for primary products; thus Italians wishing to migrate looked around for another suitable host country and found one in Australia.<sup>5</sup> Third, local conditions played an important part in attracting Italians to Australia generally and to North Queensland in particular. After World War One, the sugar industry in North Queensland was expanding and labour was in increasing demand. 1921 and 1922 were boom years. In 1923 Australian sugar requirements were barely being met.<sup>6</sup> Italian farmers supplying cane to the Hinchinbrook Shire's mills increased rapidly as did the number of Italian canecutters.<sup>7</sup> There was substantial remuneration not only for Italian interpreters, barbers,

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bakers and hotel proprietors. Thus an area that had proved itself economically kind to earlier Italian migrants drew more.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1925 and 1947 there was an absolute loss of 1,164 Italians from the Shire. The reasons for this overall decline were, first, as G. Cerutti and G. Cantamessa advised the Ferry Commission, too many Italian migrants had arrived for the work available. Italians left the district disillusioned by employment prospects in the region and, in particular, by gloomy projections of large numbers of unemployed during the 1925 cane cutting season.<sup>9</sup> Second, conditions in the sugar industry after 1925 were influencing factors: sugar production outstripped the needs of normal domestic and overseas markets, sugar prices and sugar workers' wages dropped, and the government increasingly regulated the production and expansion of sugar.<sup>10</sup> Third, the general lack of employment opportunities during the Great Depression was intensified for the Italians by the "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1930 between the Australian Workers Union, the Queensland Cane Growers' Council and the Australian Sugar Producers' Association. This Agreement, though not binding the Hinchinbrook Shire's two mills to employ 75% British and only 25% alien cane cutters, still called for an increasing percentage each year of British sugar workers.<sup>11</sup> Fourth, after World War Two Italian internees, released before 1945 but forbidden to return to their previous homes in North Queensland, established themselves in other industries in other parts of Australia.<sup>12</sup> Fifth, a myriad of Italian and Australian governmental immigration restrictions impeded immigration, especially of non-relatives, though they did not stifle it.<sup>13</sup> These factors provide the way to an understanding of the overall pattern of Italian migration to North Queensland; at the same time, they provide imperfect insight into the real reasons why the Italian migrated which were, after all, a complex of individual, highly personal and very often poignant decisions to leave homeland, family and friends.

The Hinchinbrook Shire's Italians came overwhelmingly from the rural areas of Italy; very few migrated from the large cities or towns. Indeed those who migrated were not at all representative of Italy's broad, social spectrum. For example, no teachers, priests, accountants, lawyers, academics or skilled workers migrated.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the Italians who did come were not from the poorest areas of Italy such as the interior of Sicily; rather they migrated from areas where independent peasants and small proprietors predominated, where living standards were such that the expense of emigration, though difficult to meet, were not beyond them.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the Shire's migrants were young adult males at the time of departure.<sup>16</sup> As such, it is unlikely that many owned their own plots in Italy; most were probably tenant farmers or labourers for their fathers or other relatives. For example, Jack Boccalatte's father worked only a small acreage of mixed farming; since Jack himself was only one of many children, he emigrated to Ingham because of the financial gains which, as a teenager of nineteen years, he believed could be his.<sup>17</sup> Eusebio Molachino was also nineteen years old when he left Conzano, Alessandria, where he had been helping his father on the family's few acres.<sup>18</sup> Such migrants saw only a life of continuous, relentless toil in Italy just to maintain a marginal existence; there was not a gleam of material advancement in sight. Both V. Pavia and G.A. Gusmeroli, members of large families, saw no opportunities for advancement in Northern Italy and so decided to migrate.<sup>19</sup> These and other testimonies point to a correlation between exigent circumstances (but not abject poverty) and the aspiration to improve economic conditions by emigrating. However, J.S. MacDonald considers this explanation too simplistic:

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There is no doubt that all of Italy's rural folk desired the fruits of economic progress...[But] there was little immigration where aspirations for material betterment were expressed in broad associative behaviour [for example, trade unions, consumer and producers' co-operatives and mutual benefit societies which existed for instance in Central Sicily, parts of the Po region in the North, Emilia-Romagna and Apulia]. Yet where economic aspirations were integrated only with the welfare of the individual's nuclear family [as in Messina, Catania, and Massa Carra], immigration rates were high.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, MacDonald still does not deny that for migrants economic aspirations were very important. Indeed Italians emigrated only at those times and to those countries where the opportunities for economic advancement were considerably better. Such a conclusion is substantiated by the oral evidence of all settlers interviewed in Hinchinbrook Shire. All - save only one, E. Molachino - confirmed their original intentions of staying in Australia for the few years necessary to accumulate enough wealth to return to their home towns as prosperous and therefore important persons.<sup>21</sup> After interviewing approximately 1,500 Italians in 1923, Father Mambrini recorded precisely similar sentiments and intentions.<sup>22</sup> In A. Ganza's eyes, an uncle who peddled goods from Sondrio to Switzerland was a commercial success; he himself therefore originally intended to work in Australia only till he had accumulated the necessary £200 capital to outfit a similar peddling business.<sup>23</sup>

Economic considerations, however, were sometimes not the only reasons for emigration to the Hinchinbrook Shire, Riccardo Bennetto's parents migrated "because of fascism". J. Boccalatte migrated because of the better opportunities which he was told existed in the Shire, but he, too, referred to the many who came to Australia because of Mussolini. "Australia was the furthestest country

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from Fascist Italy", Aniselmo Miroglio gave as his reason for emigrating.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, such Italians migrated only to places which offered probable economic reward; and because all thought to make their fortune and return within a few years, fascism was very likely the final catalyst of their discontent. There were probably far fewer instances of Italians who emigrated exclusively for political reasons, that is, because they were actively and ideologically involved in anti-fascist activities in Italy and consequently feared reprisals.

Very few of these anti-fascist left-wingers can have come to Australia for both the Fascist and Australian authorities were intent on preventing them...Most went to neighbouring countries since they had to leave Italy secretly.<sup>25</sup>

The very few included Mr. Carmagnola who was in the Hinchinbrook Shire in the 1920s and then again in the early 1930s; probably, too, a pair of vocal and active local anti-fascists, M. Tardianni and Mr. Savienne. In his report on internees of Italian origin, Mr. Justice Reed in 1943 summarized the internees' reasons for leaving Italy:

In most cases this was a desire to improve the internee's position. Some very definitely came here to escape the Fascist regime; but it may fairly be said that in most cases the internees lot in Italy was not good, and he thought he could do better for himself in Australia.<sup>26</sup>

Substantially, emigration was the product first, of hardship in Italy which provided the "push" for emigration and, second, "pull" of prosperity in Australia, which the information in countless letters to prospective migrants mainly provided.<sup>27</sup> What, finally, was the specific "pull" of the Hinchinbrook Shire - "Little Italy", as it was so often called - that between 1921 and 1939 brought more Italians to this district than to any other in Queensland?<sup>28</sup>

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In 1921 and 1933 censuses for Queensland show that Italians resided in numerous Shires but mostly in minute numbers.<sup>29</sup> Those Shires with the greatest number of Italian-born persons are listed in Table 2, demonstrating that the Hinchinbrook Shire did indeed contain more Italians than any other:

Table 2  
Queensland Shires with Largest Italian-born Population<sup>30</sup>

Shires	1921			1933		
	Italian	Others	%Italian	Italian	Others	%Italian
Ayr	90	6,164	1.44	520	11,553	4.31
Cairns	179	5,564	3.12	974	9,329	9.45
Cardwell	14	370	3.66	316	4,100	7.61
Douglas	23	1,350	1.68	246	2,655	8.48
Hinchinbrook	674	4,822	12.26	2,586	7,593	25.41
Johnstone	314	5,222	5.67	1,576	11,201	12.33
Pioneer*				178	9,748	1.79
Proserpine*				177	3,757	4.50

Significantly, these Shires were all prosperous sugar producing regions in the inter-war period; all participated in the sugar boom of the early 1920s. Given the overall motives for Italian migration to Australia, it would be plausible to expect that the Italian population in all these sugar Shires would have been more equitably distributed. One explanation advanced for the smaller number of Italians residing in the Shires south of Townsville (Ayr, Proserpine and Pioneer) was that the availability of suitable sugar land was limited, and hence the region's attractiveness to migrants, intent on substantial rewards, was minimal.<sup>31</sup> But, if this were so, why would so many Italians still prefer Hinchinbrook where the availability of land was also limited, to the less developed Shires further to the north (around Innisfail and Cairns) where cane farming was expanding rapidly? For instance, between 1920 and 1925, the total number of cane farmers (Italian and non-Italian) increased by 222 and 229 in the Johnstone and Cairns districts respectively:

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but Hinchinbrook still attracted ninety-three. Very likely, the answer is related to the overall pattern of farm ownership. In 1923, for example, 44.4% of the district's cane farms were owned by Italians compared with 40.8% in the Innisfail region and only 9.4% in the Cairns area.<sup>32</sup> Thus, if Italian farmers preferred to employ their fellow countrymen, as was frequently claimed, then Hinchinbrook would certainly have gained relatively more Italian migrants.<sup>33</sup>

In the majority of northern mill areas alien cane cutters predominated, though there is no clear evidence in the 1920s that land ownership involved the proprietorial exercise of an ethnic preference. On the whole, farmers probably employed whatever labour was available, Italian farmers showing a natural preference towards their compatriots if they were available. In five of the nine northern mill areas, including the Hinchinbrook Shire, Italian cane cutters predominated - no matter whether British or Italian farmers were locally in the majority. Only in the other four (Mossman, Hambleton, Mulgrave/Cairns and South Johnstone/Innisfail) was there some evidence that the majority of British farmers employed proportionately more non-Italian labour, but there alien cutters were in any case in a minority.<sup>34</sup> Considering all this evidence, new Italian immigrants probably went to those districts which offered them the best opportunity, initially as cane cutters, eventually to become cane farmers. In the less-developed areas north of Hinchinbrook, cane cutting under British farmers was available and prospects of farm ownership apparently good. At the same time, the very high proportion of Italian-owned farms in the Hinchinbrook district ensured a continuing influx of Italian settlers between 1923 and 1933 where cane cutting under Italian farmers was certainly assured even if the prospects of farm ownership in the Shire seemed less bright.

Perhaps some Italians went to the Hinchinbrook Shire because non-Italians there were less ethnocentric, more welcoming of another nationality. After all, the district had a long history of Italian



migration. But there is no evidence that this was so. Indeed, places like Ayr and Wide Bay had an equally lengthy history of Italian migration without attracting equivalent numbers.

Thus in the final estimate the lure of Hinchinbrook appears to have been related to the absolute numbers of Italians who were already there - which was due quite simply to the process of chain migration. The personal letter, full of enthusiasm and praise for wages and conditions in the new country, was eagerly received by the family at home in Italy and read by, or to, other relatives and townspeople. The immigrant's visit home, a display of visible signs of wealth, had an even more spectacular impact. From such beginnings came the "innumerable endless chains".<sup>35</sup> Chain migration, one of three motivational patterns distinguished by Price, according to which immigrant communities are formed,

comes into being slowly. It is the process whereby one or two persons of a particular place (or ideology) in Europe settle in some locality abroad and then establish links with friends and contacts at home. Along these family, village or ideological 'chains' then move a gradually increasing number of persons - their passages frequently prepaid by those already settled abroad - until the new settlements at times reach...a considerable size.<sup>36</sup>

In 1923 Riccardo Benedetto's parents migrated directly to Ingham on the advice of his uncle who had preceded them six months before, himself at the instigation of an army friend at home whose parents, already in Ingham, wrote letters full of praise for the opportunities in the Hinchinbrook Shire.<sup>37</sup> A. Ganza's stimulus to migrate to Australia in 1913 was the arrival home of an uncle from Western Australia with a cache of golden sovereigns.<sup>38</sup> C.G. Deviette migrated directly to the Hinchinbrook Shire in 1926; his cousin having arrived in Fraire's party in 1891, the year in which Italian chain migration to the Shire is thought to have begun.<sup>39</sup> "Even today, in

privately assisted nominations from Italy", writes R. Shepherd, editor of the local newspaper, "indirect links can be traced to the original group".<sup>40</sup> The congeniality of the Hinchinbrook Shire as the Italians found it, and the seductiveness of their letters home describing it, are indeed relevant to the size of the Shire's Italian community.

Price has calculated that between 1890 and 1940 only about 7% of all Southern European settlers came to Australia outside the chain process.<sup>41</sup> Thus the Hinchinbrook Shire's experience is not atypical: it parallels the chain migration of Italians from the Lipari Archipelago to Sydney observed by J.S. MacDonald; the Calabrian group settlement in Griffith, New South Wales, which began with five migrants from Reggio Calabria in 1922; and the almost exclusive settlement by Sicilians in Moresby and Mourilyan in the Johnstone Shire in the 1920s.<sup>42</sup> Therefore Italian settlements in other northern sugar areas were also established through the process of chain migration. Since Hinchinbrook continued to offer good employment opportunities, the continued success of its chain migration was assured.

As more new settlers arrived, more opportunities presented themselves to enterprising men and women, not merely in the sugar industry but in hotels, bakeries, butcher shops and corner stores, or as dressmakers, interpreters, commission agents and wine merchants. The process had a multiplying effect: as numbers grew, there was a comparative lack of competition from other migrant groups in farming, business, canecutting and labouring in the Hinchinbrook Shire, (see Table 3).

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Table 3

Other Migrant Groups in Cairns, Johnstone and Hinchinbrook Shires, 1921 and 1933<sup>43</sup>

	Cairns		Johnstone		Hinchinbrook	
	1921	1933	1921	1933	1921	1933
Greeks	39	80	184	245	51	56
Maltese	-	55	-	352	-	62
Germans	54	78	117	89	20	19
Danish	29	34	20	21	40	24
Chinese	338	57	159	73	55	42
Finnish	-	10	-	19	-	124
Yugoslavs	-	70	-	192	-	2
British Isles	945	1,208	995	1,253	766	659
TOTALS	1,405	1,592	1,475	2,244	932	988
Italians	179	974	314	1,576	674	2,586

The Piedmontese, Lombardians, Venetians, Sicilians and Calabrisi migrated to the Hinchinbrook Shire primarily for economic considerations. Their wives or fiances came to help make the dream a reality. Economic hopes and aspirations were high priorities and had tremendous impact on the permanency and character of Italian settlement. If reality was not being matched by the dream, Italians usually left the district for more lucrative areas. Their goals often dictated such economic practices as frugality, long hours, acceptance of promissory notes in lieu of wages, arranging cane cutting work for recently arrived relatives and friends, and the pooling of resources to set one partner up on a cane farm, then another, till all owned their own farm. These in turn produced adverse, often racist comments, protestations and practices by Australians, such as the discriminatory "Gentleman's Agreement". C.A. Price has pointed out that

...it is not only desirable but entirely necessary to resist the still common practice of treating immigrants as though they have come from a vacuum.<sup>44</sup>

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The history of migrant settlements does not begin with the migrant's arrival in Australia with one suitcase. Rather the Italian came to the Hinchinbrook Shire, as to other parts of Australia, with ideas, memories, beliefs, obligations and goals. The Italians' social, political and economic adaptation to Australia must be considered in the light of their historical and geographical background, former living and working conditions, customs, family relationships and motives for migrating.

REFERENCES

1. P. Bosi, Blood, Sweat and Guts (Pino Bosi, no date), pp.6-38; and C.A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia (Melbourne 1963), p.126. Signor Fraire, a Native of Saluzzo county in Cuneo province, Piedmont, convinced the Townsville Chamber of Commerce that Northern Italian peasant labourers would work successfully in the neighbouring Shires' canefields. At the time, political uncertainty over the continued employment of Kanaka labour was at its height. In 1890 Signor Fraire, after dissolving his partnership in the Townsville firm of Armati and Fraire, was engaged to return to Italy to indenture labour. He returned with 335 Italians; 113 came to the Hinchinbrook Shire, 153 to Ayr and 69 to the Wide Bay District. Price, op.cit., p.170.
2. W.D. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia (Melbourne 1952), pp.51, 56-7.
3. Based on the 1921, 1933 and 1947 census data and that compiled in 1923 by Father Membrini in "Report of a Month's Visit to the Italian Settlement on the Herbert River, North Queensland", (true copy held History Department, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1923), p.3; hereafter "Report". The 1925 statistics are derived from C. Ferraris' evidence to the 1925 Queensland Royal Commission on Social and Economic Effect of the Increase in the Number of Aliens in North Queensland"; cited in Ferry Report Material held at Queensland State Archives (Q.S.A.) No. Pre/A849, p.40; and newspaper statements of migration numbers, for example Townsville Daily Bulletin, 9 May 1925. The number of females to males in 1925 is only approximate as some male children could be included in the female total of 737. Due to the intervention of World War Two, there are no census statistics nearer to 1939 than the earlier 1933 census and the post-war 1947 census.
4. The 1921 3% Quota Law reduced the United States of America's Italian intake to approximately 42,000; in 1924 this intake was drastically reduced to 4,089; "Report of the Royal Commission on

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Social and Economic Effect of Increase in Number of Aliens in North Queensland", Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1925, III, pp.28-31; hereafter "Ferry Report" (after its Commissioner). Also see D.R.G. Packer, Italian Immigration into Australia (M.A. thesis University of Melbourne 1947), pp.20-27; and Publicity Branch, Prime Minister's Department "Foreign Migration", p.2, Ferry Report Material, Pre/A849, (Q.S.A.). Italy's unstable economic and political conditions just before and after Mussolini's takeover in 1922 do not appear to have had as much influence as America's 1921 and 1924 Quota Laws on overseas immigration trends. The total overseas emigrants from Italy for 1921 were 195,240; for 1922, 127,986 left; in 1923, 185,106; 1924 saw 136,051 leave; and in 1925, 112,808 emigrated overseas. Emigration to other European countries, especially South-West France, however, seems to have had a more direct correlation. In 1921 only approximately 5,000 migrated to Europe whilst 1922 saw 109,000 migrate to South-West France alone (a figure which is also influenced by America's Quota Law); in 1923, 183,000 migrated to South-West France; in 1924 and 1925, 225,000 and 170,000 respectively left Italy for South-West France. W.F. Willcox ed., International Migrations, Vol. II, New York 1969, pp.454 and 459.

5. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, p.79; and Bro. R. Stanfield, Italian Immigrant Settlement in North-east Queensland (Litt.B. degree in Geography, University of New England 1965), p.108.
6. J. Hempel, Italians in Queensland (Canberra 1959), p.167; also see M. Gurdon, Australian Attitudes to Italy and Italians, 1922-1936, with Special Reference to Queensland (B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Queensland 1970), p.64.
7. The percentage increase for Italian farmers compared to British farmers was 26.3% (69.9%) in 1916, 38.2% (54.8%) in 1921, and 44.4% (51%) in 1923. For the three cane seasons in 1916, 1921 and 1923 Italian cane cutters comprised the following increasing percentages respectively 56.1%, 80.3% and 91.8%. Based on Ferry Report Material, Pre/A849, (Q.S.A.).
8. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, constantly emphasised this point as a most important factor in the migration of Italians and other Southern Europeans to Australia.
9. The Australian Workers Union representative predicted that 500 would be unemployed, whilst Ferraris believed that 1,200 were already unemployed as at 21 April 1925, the date of his evidence to the Ferry Commission. Pre/A849 (Q.S.A.), pp.13-4, 19, 21, 30 and 41.
10. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, p.95. See also J. Bertei, Innisfail (B.A. Pentultimate Thesis, University of Queensland 1959), p.56; and Bro. R. Stanfield, Italian Immigrant Settlement in North-east Queensland, p.76.

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11. Minutes of Annual Conference of Queensland Cane Growers Council, (March 1934), pp.88-89.
12. Borrie, op.cit., p.70. See also, O. Bonutto, A Migrant's Story (Brisbane 1963), and N.W. Lamidey, Alien Control in Australia, 1939-1946 (Sydney 1974).
13. For example, passports were to be issued only to those nominated by landholders in North Queensland or to those in possession of £40 (rising to £500 in 1934) capital on landing in Australia as from mid-1925. See Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, pp.88-89; and Gurdon, Australian Attitudes to Italy and Italians, pp.55-93.
14. The exceptions being 1 female operatic singer, 2 doctors and at least one clerk living in the Shire in the 1930s. Price, op.cit., pp.24-48; and J.S. MacDonald, Migration from Italy to Australia with Special Reference to Selected Groups (Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University 1958), p.224.
15. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, pp.79-80. Describing the pre-1914 migration from Italy, Foerster also remarks, "It is significant that emigration should not have originated where misery was greatest, for it began in those regions where there was a chance of saving enough money for passage fares and has continued to be most constant from districts where wages were at a medium level", The Italian Emigration of Our Times (London 1924), p.104.
16. The average age of the Italian male migrant at the time of migration to the Hinchinbrook Shire was 21.5 years. This estimate is based on C.A. Price, The Methodology and Statistics of Southern Europeans in Australia (Melbourne 1963), Appendix 8 - Appendix 15, pp.62-97.
17. Interview.
18. Interview. E. Molachino had also been in the army in 1918.
19. Interviews. Cf. C. Gamba's conclusion that "the move for Northerners to migrate was due, in general terms, to a demand to raise one's already relatively high standard of living; in the South migration was definitely urged by the necessity to earn a living and by an attempt to do so under less tragic circumstances", Italian Immigration to Western Australia: A Study in Economic History and Sociology (M.A. (Economics) Thesis, University of Western Australia 1949), p.14.
20. See J.S. MacDonald's absorbing article, "Italy's Rural Social Structure and Emigration", Occidente XII, 5 (1956), pp.437-456. According to MacDonald's findings, such a conclusion also holds true for the poor industrial classes of whom, however, few found their way to the Hinchinbrook Shire.

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21. Cf. similar findings concerning the early Australian colonists: "Before the Gold Rush most middle-class immigrants like Henry Kingsley's 'Geoffrey Hamlyn' thought of Australia as a place in which to make their fortunes before returning 'home' to live in comfort and honour. The point is only underlined by the fact that many of them...insensibly became more and more involved with their Australian interests until the cherished dream of a permanent return 'home' receded into the background." R. Ward, The Australian Legend (Melbourne 1970), p.61.
22. Mambrini, Report, p.33. This number of 1,500 is after allowing for 500-odd children.
23. Interview.
24. Interviews. One interviewee who wished to remain anonymous said that all of his extended family gradually made their way to Australia because of fascism: one Saturday night some of the young men were beaten up by "Mussolini's thugs"; the next weekend the men and their relatives turned out in force and convincingly "whipped the fascist louts". From then on their families were victimised by being placed under curfew. Once in Australia, however, only one member of the family apparently remained politically active against fascism.
25. MacDonald, Migration from Italy to Australia, p.155. Exceptions included a few Italian Jews who fled fascist persecution in the late 1930s. Also see Packer, Immigration into Australia, p.91.
26. Lamidey, Aliens Control in Australia, 1939-1946, p.74. 2,107 Italians from Queensland were interned, including 320 from the Townsville region, op.cit., pp.53 and 86.
27. Population saturation, war, piracy, disease and natural catastrophies were relatively unimportant as causes of migration. For a detailed discussion see Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, Chapter IV. Ferry and various other writers believe that "...the better conditions and higher rates of pay enjoyed by members of the A.I.F., as compared to the other soldiers in the Allied armies", was a major factor in the immigration of Southern Europeans to Australia. "Ferry Report", Q.P.P., III (1925), p.28. However, not one testimony given at this Commission from Italians residing in the Hinchinbrook Shire even mentioned this. Naturally, it could have played a part; at the same time, it assuredly would have required substantiation from friends, relatives, newspaper articles, etc., before any final decision to emigrate was taken.
28. Direct and indirect forces such as boom sugar conditions and various governmental immigration regulations have already been discussed; see above. The term "Little Italy" was certainly apt in the sense that there were numerically more Italians in the Shire than any other. Whether it was also justified in the sense that Italians there showed a greater proclivity than elsewhere to

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form "colonies", as was often charged, is a different matter. For comments on "Little Italy" see Press Cuttings File PRE/A849 (Q.S.A.), and Smith's Weekly, 29 August 1931, p.14.

29. For example, in 1921 Sarina, Pioneer, Eacham, Cloncurry, Chillagoe, Belyando and Emerald each had fewer than 10 persons born in Italy; Proserpine having 10. In 1933, Cloncurry and Belyando recorded nil; all other had fewer than 20 except Pioneer and Proserpine. Censuses.
30. \*these Shires are not really significant in terms of Italian-born populations but are included for comparison being sugar production areas.
31. Pre/A849 (Q.S.A.) and "Ferry Report", pp.20-21; also Stanfield, Italian Immigrant Settlement in North-east Queensland, p.76.
32. Pre/A859 (Q.S.A.). The Innisfail percentage includes other aliens, too, but these were a minority.
33. For an example of such claims see Queensland Parliamentary Debates 1925, CXLV, p.43.
34. Pre/A849 (Q.S.A.).
35. Apparently this was the first usage of the term by the United States Commissioner-General for Immigration in 1907. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p.109.
36. The other two motivational patterns are the organized group settlement such as German Lutherans made in South Australia in the nineteenth century; and the gravitational group settlement in which migrants who are dispersed throughout the host society are brought together by forces of mutual attraction even though they originally migrated independently to different places. C.A. Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement", in W.D. Borrie (ed.), The Cultural Integration of Immigrants (U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris 1959), pp.109, 270-1.
37. Interview.
38. Interview.
39. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, p.112; R.C. Shepherd, Herbert River Story, 2 (Unpublished Manuscript), p.191; "Ferry Report", pp.14-15; J.R. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia (Melbourne 1927), pp.99-100.

Signor Fraire's party can be categorised as an example of an "organized group settlement". However, the Italians in Fraire's party were not the first of their countrymen to reside in the Hinchinbrook area. There was an Italian woman in McDowell's party which spent over twelve months in the Ingham region (c.1868) paving the way for the establishment of the first of the big sugar plantations in the district. Her Christian names were given to the



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small mountain, Mt. Catterina Cordelia (now usually called Mt. Cordelia), downstream from Gairloch, as well as to the small creek, Catterina Creek which skirts its base. Mention is also made of the first brick building in the Hinchinbrook region, the Commercial Hotel which was built about 1887 by E. Regazolli. Shepherd, op.cit., p.1.

40. Shepherd, op.cit., p.171.
41. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p.109. The "padroni" system of chain migration, whereby an Italian served his transplanted villagers as broker, sponsor of his countrymen's relatives, interpreter, employment agent, etc., for substantial repayment, was very important to migration in the United States of America. In Australia, however, it reached only trivial dimensions. J.S. & L.D. MacDonald, "Italian Migration to Australia: Manifest Functions of Bureaucracy Versus Latent Functions of Informal Networks", Journal of Social History, 3, Spring (1970), p.257.
42. MacDonald, Migration from Italy to Australia, pp.265-6; Price, "Immigration and Group Settlement", p.271; and Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, p.81.
43. 1921 and 1933 censuses pertaining to birthplace. Maltese, Finnish and Yugoslavs were not enumerated separately in 1921.
44. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p.289.

