
---

Figure 1: Pullè's *Stella d'Italia* Membership.

Source: Depiction of figures taken from *L'italo-Australiano*, 2 March 1907.
Giovanni Pullè
Pioneer and founding father of Italian ethnicity

Abstract

Giovanni Pullè (1854–1926) was an Italian migrant in Australia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who attempted to unite a fragmented, geographically dispersed, and diverse Italian migrant population during a crucial phase in Australia's history. Becoming an independent merchant, and later a member of the Italian business élite, he founded both L'Italo-Australiano (1905–1909) and the Oceania (1913–1915) which remain testimony to the collective presence of Australia's early Italian migrant 'communities'. The concepts of 'Italian' identity and community are not without their problematic dimensions. However, Pullè's newspapers illustrate an important episode in Italo-Australian history and their analysis describes how Pullè and others constructed a cohesive communal identity. Their efforts have received only passing acknowledgment in Italo-Australian scholarship. Exploration of the particular ventures that Pullè undertook enables us to acknowledge him not only as a pioneer of Italianità (Italianness), but also as a founding father of Italian ethnicity.

*****

On 9 August 1922, with his nephew, Giuseppe Luciano, Francesco Lubrano launched the first edition of the Italo Australian, a new weekly newspaper, in which the latter wrote:

The history of Italian journalism in Australia is truly recent history and largely restricted to the activities of the late count Pullè, who, with 'Italo-Australiano' first and later 'Oceania', marked the most important milestone in journalism in our colony. And how many battles were fought and won by these two Italian periodicals, modest in form, without any literary or journalistic pretences, but ever vigilant custodians of Italian interests, bringing their vitality to where the struggle was most ardent.¹

Who was 'count Pullè'? What role did he play in Italian journalism and in the early Italian 'colony' or communities of Australia? What were the battles, the ardent struggles, that he fought? What did he achieve to have inspired the establishment of Luciano and Lubrano's Italo Australian which endured for nearly 20 more years, and to have merited such acknowledgment and respect from a fellow Italian? Can he be considered a custodian of Italian interests or, better still, a pioneer of Italian migrant concerns and Italianità? Can he be described as a founding father of Italian ethnicity in Australia?

This article addresses these questions for the period from 1905 to 1915, suggesting consideration of a foundation phase of Italian ethnicity. Initially, however, it must be
conceded that Giovanni Pullè, like Lubrano and other notabili (notables) in the early
1900s, formed part of an élite group of Italians that represents a forgotten chapter in
Italo-Australian history.2 Whether suffering in retrospect from the shame of fascist
Italy or from a more recent research trend devoted to the popular resistance and
struggles of the working classes, this chapter is an unrecognised historical phase of
synergy and promise, forecasting important issues that were to resurface over the
twentieth century and particularly in the post-World-War-II era for Italian migrants.
Needless to state that the efforts of Pullè had nothing to do with political nationalist
sentiments emerging later from the homeland, nor with propagating the cultural rift
that traditionally divided Italian migrant classes. In fact, the thrust of Pullè’s
journalism was one of inclusion, unifying a diverse and geographically scattered
Italian migrant population for their protection and representation as a positive and
vital force in society at large. However, the notion of a common sense of ‘Italian’
identity and community so early in Italo-Australian history is problematic. As Loretta
Baldassar explains:

The construction of Italo-Australian identity has a history that is intimately related to
the development of Australia as a nation. At the same time, the development of Italy as
a nation, with its history of deep cleavages along regional, provincial and village lines,
cannot be ignored in the consideration of the development of Italian ethnicity in
Australia.3

The identities that Italian migrants brought to Australia and how they were received
are two dimensions informing a discussion of Italian ‘ethnicity’ at the turn of the
twentieth century.

Most scholars argue that italianità and ‘the Italian community’ have been
qualified by the diverse regional histories and class interests of the migrants
themselves, with experience of any communal life at the turn of the twentieth
century being limited due to their small numbers. Before any minority group
establishes a community, a binding force between its members would normally have
to exist, although there is some sense in which communities flexibly cater to the
diverse identities of their membership as some social anthropologists suggest.4 But,
for the Italo-Australian context, Richard Bosworth notes: ‘Until the end of the Second
World War, there were not many “Italians” in Australia (and many registered as such
had avoided the process of the “nationalisation of the masses” and were thus
accustomed to craft their self-identities from family or paese rather than from the
nation).’5 Robert Pascoe suggests that the waves of Italian immigrants prior to the
post-war era had some influence on the cultural formation of identity and
community, but it was only much later, from the 1950s onwards, that a specific
‘Italo-Australian’ identity was generated.6 While W. D. Borrie stresses the ‘economic
factor’ in Italian settlement patterns, which may be read as providing some sort of
community life for those scattered ‘colonies’ of Italian migrants enjoying similar
employment, there is little else that would have linked them together nationally.7
Thus, italianità may be understood only according to a slowly evolving sense of

Pullè and the Italo-Australians
Born Giovanni Battista Pullè from an aristocratic Venetian family, family
further back to the Florentine family Guicciardini, Pullè’s nine children
enlisted in the war effort through university studies and service in the
Australian military, as well as university studies. The pull of Australia, which, it
must be acknowledged, was a pivotal factor in impelling Pullè to seek the
introduction to one such university an Italian who, as it turned out, was
Born Giovanni Battista Pullè from an aristocratic Venetian family, family
further back to the Florentine family Guicciardini, Pullè’s nine children
enlisted in the war effort through university studies and service in the
Australian military, as well as university studies. The pull of Australia, which, it
must be acknowledged, was a pivotal factor in impelling Pullè to seek the
introduction to one such university an Italian who, as it turned out, was

Australia’s early Fed
these Italians who p
Australia’s ethnic
frame of multicultur
has there been rec
community leaders
over the last three d
an aim to develop th
a sense of italianità
Australian society, n
national Italian clie
Italian migrants in a
years he had been i
wished to ensure the
that Pullè faced in
consolidation of fam
profile. In order to
(community), Pullè’s
his plans to locally
and to tailor local
community colon
makes Pullè’s efforts i

After his arrival in
Office of the Queens
worked there for five
into business.13 During
Sarah McFarlane, a y
of his resignation.
community in the Italo-Australian context. Contributing to this development in Australia’s early Federation years was both the broad profile of Italian migrants and those Italians who positioned themselves as their community leaders.

Australia’s ethnic community representation tends to be located within the timeframe of multiculturalism. Only on much larger scales than the Italo-Australian case has there been recognition of the successes and failures of an earlier Italian community leadership abroad. Yet, just as Australia’s multi-ethnic communities over the last three decades have been piloted by ‘new ethnic’ leadership, so too did a handful of prominent figures emerge at the turn of the twentieth century with an aim to develop the existing clusters of Italian ‘colonies’ and, in the process, define a sense of ‘Italianità’. With one eye on his own business concerns and position in Australian society, which would naturally benefit from the establishment of a national Italian clientele, Pullè responded equally to the increasing numbers of Italian immigrants in a society not accustomed to welcoming foreigners. In his younger years he had been involved with established patrons of Italian affairs who wished to ensure the protection of Italian rights, as discussed below. The problem that Pullè faced in embracing a leadership role in his later years was the consolidation of familial, local and regional loyalties as characteristics of the ‘Italian’ profile. In order to construct an ‘Italian’ identity and community, Pullè’s newspapers had to capture the attention and interest of fellow Italians and to tailor a journalistic program to their needs. Given the odds against local community cohesion, let alone national ‘ethnic’ unity, it is this context that makes Pullè’s efforts all the more remarkable.

**Pullè and the Italo-Australian business elite**

Born Giovanni Battista Attanasio dei conti Pullè (1854-1920) in Modena, Pullè came from an aristocratic Veronese family which could trace its heritage to the 1580s and further back to the Flemish low lands. He was the fifth child of Carlo and Virginia dei conti Pullè’s nine children. Unlike his father and brothers, he did not undertake military service, as was the tradition in his family, or pursue a professional career through university studies. Instead, at the age of 21, he chose to emigrate to Australia, which, it seems, had always been a childhood dream. There are suggestions from oral family history that he may have commenced a cadetship with the Italian mercantile marines. This would have given him exposure to the import/export industry and, had he travelled to Livorno, probably entailed an introduction to one sub-emigration agent of the time for Queensland, John Glyn, who, as it turned out, recruited him.

After his arrival in Brisbane in late 1875, Pullè took up a position at the Survey Office of the Queensland Lands Department as a lithographic draftsman. He worked there for five years and nine months before resigning in order to branch out into business. During this time he became a British subject (in 1878) and married Sarah McFarlane, a young woman of Irish parents, from Goodna (in 1879). By the time of his resignation from the Survey Office (in 1883), he and Sarah had a small
family with two daughters. After resigning, Pullè returned to Italy, publishing a booklet to launch his Italo-Australian Commercial Company in the hope of becoming a business entrepreneur. Between 1884, on his return to Australia, and 1896, he was successful in a series of business enterprises in importing Italian merchandise, exporting Australian wool and hides, running a Coffee Palace, pioneering brandy distilling, and venturing into wine-making and rope-manufacturing. However, in 1893, he was struck by misfortune with the Brisbane floods, bank closures, and colonial depression. Early in 1896, he relocated with his family (now with seven children) and in-laws to Sydney. Within a decade, focusing his business capacities on various forms of food preservation, Pullè had entered a more stable period with the opening of his Excelsior Macaroni Company factory at Brighton-Le-Sands from 1903, which continued to operate well after his death as a family business in the hands of his children.\textsuperscript{14}

In the 30 years after his arrival in Brisbane and before the formation of his pasta business in Sydney, Pullè maintained a strong interest in issues critical to Italian immigrants. He had been involved in Italian community initiatives, like Brisbane’s \textit{Società di Patronato e Mutuo Soccorso tra gli Italiani nel Queensland} (Society for the Assistance of Italians in Queensland), which operated between 1877 and 1881.\textsuperscript{15} Although short-lived, this society appears to have been instigated because of the difficulties experienced by 103 Tuscans, who had arrived in Rockhampton and Brisbane on the \textit{Indus}, and for the protection of future Italian migrants to the colony.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, upon first returning to Italy in 1883, Pullè had stayed on to attend the 1884 Turin National Exhibition as a delegate of the Australian \textit{Italiani all’Estero} (Italians Abroad) section, his stall displaying tinned foods – an innovation at the time.\textsuperscript{17} But, once in Sydney, having built up enough capital, he was able to manifest another vision about which he appears to have been passionate since his first return to Italy: the journalistic ventures of \textit{L’Italo-Australiano} (1905–1909) and the \textit{Oceania} (1913–1915). Both were weekly newspapers, managed by \textit{i notabili} under Pullè, who was the instigator, main financier, and chief editor. At this point the general ‘Italian’ setting needs some background explanation.

At the turn of the twentieth century Italian immigrants had little community leadership and, in reality, did not relate to one another as a community or in a national sense. Borrie describes their patterns of settlement as ‘a function, first, of loyalty which frequently did not extend beyond the family or circle of immediate acquaintances in the area of origin in Italy, and, second, of the nature of their economic activity…’.\textsuperscript{18} Self-appointed leaders like Pullè saw a trend in host society relations that distinguished ‘Italians’ only in terms of northern and southern origins, an issue that had been debated since Chiaffredo Venerano Fraire’s introduction of 323 Piedmontese sugarcane workers in the early 1890s.\textsuperscript{19} The reputation of ‘Italians’ for working long hours, keeping to themselves, and living frugally often created suspicion and fear against them, also prompting negative stereotyping in the mainstream press. Attitudes in the \textit{Bulletin} and \textit{Smith’s Weekly}, for instance, frequently mocked and denigrated Italians for a way of life that appeared to threaten patriotic Australians in urban and rural areas. While investigations focused on their concerns, they were capable of making many contributions.

As a family man and businessman within a community, Pullè sought out the work of others. Given the socio-political and ambiguous time of the Italian community in Queensland, Zucchini’s seven leading men – ‘self-made men’ – possess a strong sense of group identity through various means:

(1) taking advantage of collective strengths to build business
(2) creating local and regional newspapers
(3) forming community organisations
(4) holding an educational and cultural position
(5) long-term business interests
(6) an educational role within the Italian community
(7) business success

To a large extent, these men provided the leadership role within the Italian community.

Between 1905 and 1940, the Italian community in Queensland, as in other parts of Australia, was an active player in the local economy. The involvement of the Pullè family is evident through his newspaper activities.
to Italy, publishing a company in the hope of return to Australia, and is in importing Italian coffee palace, making and rope-dance with the Brisbane Company factory at well after his death as a

The formation of his pasta issues critical to Italian initiatives, like Brisbane's Insland (Society for the between 1877 and 1981.15 migrates because of the Rockhampton and Italian migrants to the Pullè had stayed on to the Australian Italiani foods – an innovation capital, he was able to be passionate since his lano (1905–1909) and managed by i notabili editor. At this point the ad little community a function, first, of circle of immediate the nature of their trend in host society and southern origins, dire's introduction of reputation of 'Italians' usually often created stereotyping in the weeky, for instance. appeared to threaten patriotic Australians.20 This was not encouraging for Italian migrants already living in urban and rural settings or for the future acceptance of emigration from the peninsula. While Italians were defended sometimes by local Australians and no investigations found them unlawful,21 Pullè saw a need to defend their rights, voice their concerns, and systematically champion the contributions that they were capable of making as a minority migrant group.

As a family man already living in Australia for some time, running a family business within a fledgling Italian food industry, Pullè was doubtless concerned about his own passage towards professional recognition within Australian society. Given the socio-political changes after Federation and because this was a somewhat ambiguous time for Italian immigrants, Pullè seized an opportunity to shape an Italian community in a positive way. Such qualities represent the first of John Zucchi's seven leadership categories for describing who he terms the Italo-Canadian 'self-made men' and business elite of Toronto for the early 1900s. For instance, Zucchi clarifies the process by which an Italian elite evolved in Toronto, developing a strong sense of group consciousness and Italian identity, which they manifested in a number of ways:

(1) taking advantage of a situation which threatened the Italian immigrants as a collectivity in the city, and standing up as a defender of the Italian population;  
(2) creating institutions to focus the attention of the Italian population across local or regional boundaries – mutual aid societies, recreational clubs, newspapers, churches, immigrant banks;  
(3) forming contacts with mainstream Toronto and acting as a representative of the Italian community to these contacts;  
(4) holding an official position in the community, such as priest, minister, court interpreter, or Italian consul representative;  
(5) long-term residence in the city, i.e., being a pioneer of the Italian neighborhood;  
(6) an education beyond the elementary grades and the ability to speak perfect Italian rather than only a dialect;  
(7) business success or high occupational status.22

To a large extent, these seven categories depict Pullè's persona, circumstances and role within the Italo-Australian setting at the turn of the twentieth century.

Between 1905 and 1915, Pullè provided the first substantial effort to unite all Italian migrants as a collective presence. It was not only Pullè's position as an independent merchant, Italian community representative, or journalist that enabled this, but also the involvement of many others, especially in the community projects directed through his newspapers. This was particularly remarkable given the importance of the

Catherine Dewhurst

31
White Australia policy, when the category of Italians had sunk to the bottom of the pecking order of eligible immigrants under the Immigration Act of 1901. Indeed, this was an era when living out any sense of Italianness was somewhat contentious and hardly understood in the broader society. Even in the early 1920s, one Italian migrant was amazed when local Australians did not know where Italy was. The first 'anti-Italian' riots had occurred in relation with the introduction of Italians on the Queensland sugarcane fields in the 1890s, and Italian immigrants were not being considered by many as equal to Australians, let alone British and northern European immigrants. To Pullè, these were irrational views, detrimental to the reputation of Italians for hard work and as part of a civilised nation of people.

It is necessary to sketch an Italian migrant profile in order to appreciate notions of identity and community, as well as the relevance of Pullè's journalistic venture. Within a matter of 35 years, as revealed in colonial censuses between 1866 and 1901, the Italian-born population had jumped from 35 to 5678 (see Table 1).

**Table 1: Colonial Censuses of the Italian-Born Population, 1866–1901**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colony</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>845</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
<td>327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1354</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>3889</td>
<td>5678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The somewhat misleading figure of 35, in 1866, was due to the official record of enumerated Italians in only one colony, that of South Australia. But, by the turn of the twentieth century, Italian migrants were overtaking the traditionally more numerous groups of non-British-born – the Chinese, Germans and Scandinavians. The majority were characterised by their peasant backgrounds and labouring employment. By 1911, of the 5543 Italian males responding to the national census, 4467 (about 80.5%) were fully literate (in English or another language) and 2143 (about 38.6 per cent) had naturalised. Prior to 1901, however, a number of prominent Italians of industry and commerce emerged as 'ethnics'.

The power of the length of residence functioned on a small collective ethnicity. In terms of this early phenomenon of 'community' that may be seen usually in urban centres, the Italian community in Australia without discrimination, and their migration, similar to others, when Australia was not a Federation, espoused the traditions continued and is relevant today. It may be said that although their migration stemmed partly from their experiences of prejudice and the business elite to the new monoculture, the prejudice emerged when unification and reconstruction with in the family. There is evidence of an unification expressed (sustained) and the family. It provided family and interests of migration that were recognized in general with Australian society, while encouraging the hospital district, also supported by the kind of 'ethnics'. The role of newspapers' editors in the mainstream pro
prolific Italians had emigrated, many of whom were to become active in the areas of industry and commerce. While not exclusively, the dominant traits in world-wide Italian emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century had reflected a strong image of the single, educated, and professional male, from a Northern Italian region. Thus, by the early 1900s, a general picture of the ‘self-made man’ had emerged as an ‘ethnic’ establishment to carve out a community.

The power of the Italian establishment was, however, very limited. Those whose length of residence and occupational status enabled them to form this élite group functioned on a small scale within an Anglo-Saxon society that tended not to reward ethnicity. In terms of the overall picture of Italo-Australian history, Pascoe reminds us that this early period was without a community infrastructure: ‘Any notion of “community” that may have been embryonic failed to find ritual or territorial expression’. Thus, the notabili were men who functioned on a near invisible basis, usually in urban centres, where they pursued their own careers. Yet, whether arriving in Australia without great means, or having resided there for a number of decades, all Italian migrants were met by the policy of assimilation and discriminations. The common experiences they shared – language barriers, finding work, setting up family and house, becoming financially independent, the prospect of returning home, discrimination, and assimilation – were all fundamental aspects of the process of migration, similar to those facing ethnic groups today. Moreover, this was a time when Australia was forging its identity which, especially for immigrants after Federation, espoused assimilation to a British-Australian model. This context continued and is recognised as encouraging a sense of community and identity today.

Although their motivations to promote a national sense of Italianness may have stemmed partly from business interests, exposure to Italian industriousness and experiences of prejudicial attitudes grounded the commitment of the Italian business élite to the formation of their ‘ethnic’ community. Faced with a dominant monoculture, the preservation of minority group identities or ways of life often emerges when under threat to be expressed through symbolic boundary construction with inevitable compromises. The early Italian foreign-language press is evidence of an umbrella for such a process through which an identity could be expressed (sustained by events, stories, dialogue and rituals) and a community could be created. It provided the expression of a cultural identity, reflecting the aspirations and interests of minority groups worldwide. The Italo-Australian press is recognised in general as focusing on ‘the Italian community’ and its place in and ties with Australian society. Many Italian newspapers throughout Australia’s history, while encouraging Italian migrants to assimilate into the socio-political life of the host society, also stressed the importance of maintaining their ‘ethnic identity’. The kind of ‘ethnic identity’ that was nurtured was largely shaped by the newspapers’ editors whose own backgrounds, agendas and ‘personalities’, as with the mainstream provincial press, guided what was acceptable and what was not, defended particular qualities of their co-nationals when under attack, and promoted
occasions for the celebration of a common \textit{identità}. Host societal expectations were not without influence and experiences of discrimination by Italian migrants mostly served the process of cultural maintenance.\textsuperscript{39} When a host society’s new peoplehood was being emphasised, some early 1900s migrants even felt the need to define their presence and identity in ways that would ensure their inclusion. As one American study found in examining the same period, emigration involved two responses: the fight against discrimination; and the desire to contribute to the formation of a new society.\textsuperscript{40} Both aspects may be discerned in Pulè’s views about Italian migrants and his efforts to unite them.

The exclusion of Italians was never a formal criterion under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Yet, while the White Australia policy primarily discriminated against people from Asia and the South Pacific Islanders (Kanakas), it also made life difficult for many Italians, particularly from Italy’s southern regions.\textsuperscript{41} Anti-Italian feelings, volatile from the 1890s, stemmed in part from the belief that contract workers would lower Australian wages and living standards, and in part from attitudes that favoured British-Australians over southern Europeans. Debate about Italians (Northern versus Southern Italian migrant) was ignited again in the early part of the 1900s, prompting many in parliament and the press to question the character of Southern Italians, stalling support for their immigration. This debate was focussed on the economic, social and cultural assimilability of northern Europeans in preference to southern Europeans.\textsuperscript{42} It was also a debate influenced by eugenics. To many Italians, like Pulè, it suggested that Italians were inferior to others, an attitude which appeared contrary to Australia’s greater vision of nationhood and the need for progress and population. It is for this reason that Pulè fought against perceptions that Italians were nor ‘white’, attempting to reinforce the equality of Italians as potential immigrants and citizens.

Pulè’s newspapers did not appear from a vacuum, and it is also worth noting the prior history of Italian journalism. Francesco Scusa had published a monthly, entitled \textit{L’Italo-Australiano} in 1885, which lasted six months. Its aim was ‘to promote the interests of Italian immigrants, keep them informed of events in Australia and Italy, provide a focus of cohesion for the Italian community in Australia and to propose reforms for the betterment of conditions for Italian workers’.\textsuperscript{43} Eighteen years later, in July 1903, Giuseppe Prampolini published a weekly, the \textit{Uniamoci}. Its main aim was to ‘unite all Italians of good will’ and it endured until August 1904.\textsuperscript{44} Both newspapers were socialist in orientation, but it is reasonable to assume that Pulè was inspired by their aims and efforts. Launching his \textit{Italo-Australiano}, Pulè gave credit to its predecessors, suggesting the need for a new approach:

That a journal of this description is wanted, there is very little doubt. On two occasions attempts have been made in this city to establish an Italian paper. These attempts were somewhat perfunctory, yet the measure of success they attained emboldens us to believe that a more vigorous effort, founded on a more solid basis, will lead to a prosperous result.\textsuperscript{45}

This ‘more solid and financial basis’ approach – a non-political one – is the issue of the new publication. Pulè became a common reader and one of the first Italian papers to have a large circulation in Australia. The issue on 21 August 1917, saw a column of mostly Italian views whose interplay was an ongoing success of the development of trials that were already established for migrants of the mean and the rich as well as to present the readership was not a reader of such papers.

\textbf{Australia’s first Italian newspaper} Pulè specifically aimed to provide a focused, well-balanced view of the opportunities available to Australians and especially Australians and not just to some of the large Italian papers. Additionally, it aimed to promote the achievement of this through and through a focus on the Italian community in Australia and not just on the poor in the country amongst others. Conveying an understanding that could be understood and enjoyed by all.

In a decade of publications, the need for a common interest in the Italian community was underpinned by the desire to promote a sense of belonging and national identity.
metal expectations were...potential commercial prospects, but were mainly driven by a passion for Italianità. Italianità was defined through patriotism and had a unifying objective. The newspapers had many supporters and,

Catherine Dewhirst

This 'more solid basis' was the establishment of a company (with infrastructure and financial backing) and the adoption of a more conservative (less radical) approach - a non-partisan and bilingual approach. It is initially important to address the issue of the newspapers' representativeness, a point which can be illustrated later by taking a closer look at some of Pule's community initiatives.

Australia's first Italian/English bilingual newspapers
Pule established L'Italo-Australiano with Dr Quinto Ercole, while the Oceania became a community project in itself under his direction with the assistance of two co-editors, Antonio Folli and Achille Rimoldi. Both newspapers were components of Pule's 'L'Italo-Australiano' Newspaper Company, registered from 27 January 1905 to 21 August 1917, in which Pule was the managing director.45 He was joined by a handful of mostly Italians from different regional origins, professions, and political views whose interest in developing the Italian communities was necessary for the ongoing success of their newspaper venture [see Table 2]. Aiming to promote the development of trade between Italy and Australia, thus reflecting the business concerns of their founders, the newspapers also attempted to inform Italian migrants of the means available to them to improve their opportunities in Australia, as well as to present Italians in a positive light to the broader society. As such, its readership was not restricted to middle- and upper-class Italians. As a journalist, Pule specifically adopted two processes, focussed on improving the image of and opportunities available to his co-nationals. First, he promoted civic assimilation, such as naturalisation, which would guarantee acceptance to some extent by Australians and ensure rights to land ownership, work, and the vote. He accomplished this from his position as a community leader and via the diffusion of useful information for Italian migrants about the host society's expectations. Although a conservative liberal thinker himself, Pule attempted to keep his newspapers free from the realm of politics and religion, again signalling a broadly inclusive tone for their readers. Second, Pule attempted to provide a forum for debate regarding the virtues of the Italian migrant, who was compelled to escape poverty back in the homeland, but had so much to offer the new nation. He achieved this through a strategy of bilingualism and a number of community-focused projects, two of which are considered shortly. Indeed, he even won a Diploma di Medaglia d'Oro (gold medal diploma) at the 1906 International Exhibition in Milan 'not only for disseminating information from the mother country amongst our brothers', an official publication of the day noted, 'but also for conveying an understanding of Italy to Australian society so that our country may be understood and appreciated, and our emigrants perceived and received with welcome arms'.47

In a decade of publication, the editors, financiers, and other contributors held a common interest in their communities' growth and potential commercial prospects, but
while run by men not ignorant of the potential business benefits through advertising, they were not mere vehicles for abuse or exploitation by a privileged few. Pullè and his associates worked largely without pay, driven by a desire to assist other Italian migrants and a pride in being Italian. They were interested in developing the Italian communities scattered around Australia, in promoting Italian cultural traditions and customs, and in dispelling fears about the Italian migrant in a society often suspicious of foreigners. They shared the value of maintaining strong social activities, as evidenced by their patriotic gatherings and celebrations, many anecdotes and letters, and their love for Italian culture, history, opera and literature. This is reflective of their educational background. Yet, where feelings of patriotism did not reflect the reality of most Italian peasant families, the newspapers had an additional thrust: to address the concerns of all Italian migrants, irrespective of socio-political, economic or educational backgrounds. Thus, community projects were tailored to the needs expressed by Italian migrants as a whole, and not only by the business élite. As such, L’Italo-Australiano and the Oceania took on a representative role for the Italian ‘ethnic’ issues of the day.

Generally of four to six pages each, the newspapers were simple in format, and the editors often had to apologise for typographical errors. Both newspapers were structured in such a way as to include an editorial (featuring diverse subject matter, usually penned by the chief editor), a range of interviews, statistics and reports (particularly commercial), current affairs (from Australia, Italy and other Italian migrant communities abroad), literary pieces, and advertisements. An understanding of the Italian migrant people as a rich resource that Australia had at hand was promoted by the newspapers. Both also encouraged an appreciation of the realities of migrant life in Australia and reported on controversial attitudes, legislation, and acts of discrimination as a means to spark debate and educate the general public. In addition, there was a regular column open to the public. This column conveyed opinions for which the editors did not accept responsibility. Here Pullè frequently printed criticisms against his articles and initiatives to encourage dialogue. The newspapers were distributed nationally, as well as to contacts in New Zealand, Scotland, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, Italy, and possibly more countries, thus reflecting an international role.

It is at this point that the journalistic efforts of the Italo-Australian business élite, despite the newspapers’ altruistic tone towards helping all Italians migrants in Australia, could be dismissed as self-serving. However, while members of the Italian migrant commercial sector, like Pullè, were aware of the potential gains through the newspapers, there was a genuine feeling driven by a strong sense of moral obligation that ‘they were performing necessary duties beneficial to other Italian immigrants’, as Zucchi argues. The ambiguity is well illustrated in the newspaper advertisements, where Italo-Australian and Australian companies promoted their services and goods in Italian or English. Many Italian families would have grown their own vegetables, fruits and, in time, olive trees, and made their own cheeses and pastas at home, deterring them from seeking such services. In fact, illiteracy also may have played a
Table 2: Giovanni Pullè’s ‘L’Italo-Australiano’ Newspaper Company, 1905–1917

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L’Italo-Australiano</th>
<th>The Oceania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dates of publication</strong></td>
<td>11 March 1905–30 January 1909</td>
<td>12 July 1913–13 February 1915</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Aim of newspaper**    | • to develop the Italo-Australian arts, industries and trades;  
                        | • to provide Italian migrants with lucid and regular information about Australian society;  
                        | • to allow a means through which the public could voice its concerns and opinions;  
                        | • to follow events that take place in the Mother Country;  
                        | • to promote Italian immigration for the agricultural sectors;  
                        | • to hold high the Italian flag and claim for the local Italian communities a place of honour; |  
                        | This newspaper introduced a national league, and a scheme for Italian immigration through agricultural village settlement. |
| **Financiers**           | Giovanni Pullè (merchant)  
                        | John A. Crain (confectioner)  
                        | Bartolo Callose (confectioner)  
                        | Italo Campi (clerk)  
                        | Dr Quinto Ercole (doctor)  
                        | Giovanni Ristuccia (fruitier)  
                        | R. M. Spreafico (merchant) | Giovanni Pullè (merchant)  
                        | Bartolo Callose  
                        | Francesco Lubrano (merchant)  
                        | P. Anzino  
                        | Oscar Meyer (manufacturer) |
| **Director(s)**          | Pullè, Ercole, Callose, Ristuccia | Pullè  
                        | Achille Rimoldi (engineer)  
                        | Antonio Folli (theatrical entrepreneur) |

Note: L’Italo-Australiano folded due to financial difficulties from a fire outbreak near the production premises. The Oceania ceased because of the War Precautions Act 1915, which effectively banned all foreign-language press.
part in accessing the newspapers. Yet, it is difficult to concede that Italian migrants of this era would have been completely uninterested in their own foreign-language press or other Italians, particularly in a society that imposed values of assimilation. Moreover, it is likely that there would have been at least one literate person who could convey any important information from the newspapers to others.

From the largely urban-centred advertising, readers were informed about outlets for such things as Italian food products (parmaggiano, olive oil, maccheroni), fresh fruits, vegetables, wines, shops where Italian was spoken, barbers, hairdressers and clothing stores, people who could assist with translations and interpretations, others who could give advice on setting up companies, and others who could provide machinery for manufacturing pasta, as well as insurance companies and banks. These services were set up by and already available to the longer-term resident Italians and their families. Advertising (with approximately half being for Italian businesses) also highlighted the places where Italian contacts could be found. It was largely restricted to the city of Sydney, but, as advertisements may be regarded as the main source of funding for newspaper publications, without it there would have been no Italian press at all. Beyond advertising, other more pragmatic measures may be found in the newspapers’ pages, demonstrating a genuine effort towards assisting Italian migrants of less privileged circumstances. Indeed, Pullè’s awareness of the frustrations of Italian migrants, both unemployed and employed, was voiced early in *L’Italo-Australiano*.

From the letters that we continually receive from unemployed Italians looking for work, from the continuous complaints that reach us from everywhere, from those who, although employed, hardly manage to earn a living, we can do no less than take this state of affairs seriously into consideration, to uncover the reasons and propose the solutions.50

Inspired by the successful New Italy agricultural community of Richmond River in northern New South Wales, two particular community projects reveal the inclusive focus of Pullè’s journalism: a national Italian migrant league; and an Italian agricultural village scheme.

**The Australasian Stella d’Italia League**

Pullè’s *Italo-Australiano* was launched with some controversy. In the first edition, he questioned the ideals and funding of Sceusa’s defunct benevolent society, the *Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso* (Italian Workingman’s Mutual Aid Society). This society had become inactive from dropping membership, but was sitting on frozen funds, to be dispersed only after another three or four more years. However, Pullè was more outraged that such societies remained dormant when there was so much to be done and an increasing Italian population needing action. Sceusa, at this period suffering from arteriosclerosis, had not been able to stimulate interest in his society. Pullè initially invited him and the other trustees to hold a meeting on the matter of the old society. At the same time, he proposed the establishment of semi-official league to support Italian jobs-placement age.

From its inception, Pullè advocated working closely with other community groups of political, religious, and philanthropic organizations. Pullè envisioned the league established ‘to represent purely on national, denominational and cultural grounds; to defend our interests, help Italian Catholicism (celebration); to express our ideas and emotions; and helping Italian interests in Australia and in New Zealand. The diverse membership of Rutherford, the south coast of the Marquis who doubtless worked closely with Pullè, acts as the League appears to lend significant support for his idea. With membership becoming more strongly focussed, yet maintained to establish their own community, it would contribute extra momentum and the principles in a practical and understanding of the circumstances and
that Italian migrants of their own foreign-language school to support more practical programs, like an Italian language school and a jobs-placement agency for unemployed Italians.

From its inception, the *Stella d’Italia* (Australasian Italian Migrant League) advocated working with the Australian society and government in order to bring about acceptance for many of the Italian communities’ social concerns, irrespective of political, religious and social-class differences. Its official scope reflected the way Pulle envisioned his co-nationals’ collective identity and community. It was established ‘to represent a bond of union between all Italians in Australasia, based purely on nationality; to encourage Italians to actively participate in Australian society; to defend Italian interests in Australia and promote prosperity; to protect, direct and help Italian immigration; to celebrate Statute Day as a national festa (celebration); to expand and develop the League throughout Australasia via local branches’.51 It was a League that was driven by the needs of the Italian migrant population: ‘... amongst the established aims of the League is that of “protecting and helping Italian immigration”’.52 Moreover, it was under the auspices of the *Stella d’Italia* that cultural events were organised to celebrate *italianità* in a collective way.

Interest in the *Stella d’Italia* can be gauged by those who participated in meetings and took up membership. Its first major meeting was attended by a large cross-section of Italians, described by Pulle as the ‘most unanimous, most representative assembly of all classes and Italian interests, in fact rarely have we seen ourselves united at a meeting in Australia...’.53 Within six months Pulle had rounded up a membership of nearly 130 people, revealing the interest of Italians from all over Australia and in New Zealand [see Figure 1]. Given that the ostensibly regionally diverse membership included 19 Kalgoorlie Italians who were certainly miners, 33 Rutherford Italians who were probably vineyard workers, 14 Herb River Italians who doubtlessly worked in the sugar industry, and two New Italy settlement Italians from the Marquis de Rays expedition, known for their work in the silk industry, the League appears to have attracted the interests of working-class Italians, some of whom were from peasant origins. Their membership suggests a degree of collaboration for a national organisation willing to represent their needs. It is also reasonable to assume that many of these members acted as representatives in their own local communities, as appears to be the case with Giacomo Piccoli from New Italy. Furthermore, Pulle encouraged independent community cohorts, using the League as an idea and fraternity for the interests of all.

With membership based on one shilling per annum, the League was nationally focused, but meant to be oriented to the local needs of its membership or for them to establish their own branches. Hence, when funds were being raised for special causes in Sydney, Pulle made it clear that other urban and rural groups should not contribute extra money to this metropolitan community, but to tailor the League’s principles in a practical and relevant way to their own communities.54 This provides an understanding of the way that Pulle viewed his fellow Italians: their different circumstances and needs were taken into account with membership not being
answerable to a centralised hierarchy. The Stella d'Italia signalled the first attempt in Australia to consolidate an Italian ethnic presence and identity, and appears to have recognised diverse Italian backgrounds. As chief editor of L'Italo-Australiano, Pullè was able to give it some prominence on a national level.

One year after the founding of the Stella d'Italia, Pullè initiated an annual celebration of Italy's Statute Day and the collective identity of Italians, by holding a ball on 4 June 1907. Commenting later, he clarified the important symbolism of the day:

'It is indeed marvellous that we have managed to establish that, from now on, the Italian communities of Australasia will have a special day in which to affirm the importance of their nationality with the celebration, in a dignified, collective and representative way, of "Statute Day", not only by Italians living in Sydney, but throughout the Commonwealth, under the auspices of their society, the "Star of Italy" League'.

Likewise, the Stella d'Italia brought about an annual picnic to commemorate Italy's unification and celebrate Italo-Australian identità. The significance of Italy's constitutional and risorgimental history was widely publicised in both of Pullè's newspapers and marked a nationwide theme for Italian migrants in Australasia. As Ferdinando Bentivoglio explained, it was '...historical reasons that carried the collective thought of the whole Italian people from Turin to Catania towards a single purpose, the union of our country... [and] patriotism derives from the full knowledge of our national history'. These events positioned regular episodes for the public display of 'Italian' patriotism within the Australian social calendar. Although celebrating these momentous occasions in Australia in a nationalistic way, the Stella d'Italia was seeking two outcomes: unifying the diverse Italian immigrant population within Australia; and, signalling Italians, despite their traditional differences, under the banner of an 'Italian' identity, as an important component of Australian society in the eyes of other Australians.

True to its initiative, the Stella d'Italia took on the role of creating an Italian language school and raising funds for special causes, like Italy's earthquake victims in 1908, as the newspaper had previously done in 1905. It is uncertain whether the League's membership continued to grow, but by the time the Oceania went to print in 1913, it was no longer mentioned. In its place was a new initiative – a syndicate – making this a newspaper of the Italian people who owned it by subscriptions, donations and actions. The Oceania continued the themes of fighting against discrimination and establishing useful infrastructure.

One example of the continuation of the spirit of the Stella d'Italia in the Oceania was the outcry against the West Australian Mines Bill, mooted in 1913, which proposed excluding Italians and other foreigners from the mining industry because of the danger to them in not being able to speak and understand English. The Italian communities rejected this reason, believing it to be a mask for cultural prejudice. They formed meetings and committees, and sent off letters of protest to the Prime Minister, the Premier of Western Australia, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Italy. They enlisted the support of New South Wales Labor Party parliamentarian, James Dooley, Pullè with those other mig the bill. With suffice the Legislative Assem

The Italian Agricultu
Pullè also launched agricultural village...
Summer 1909 marked the first attempt in Pullè's lifetime to galvanize the Italian electorate into action, and appears to have been instigated by the crisis in the L'Italo-Australiano. Pullè initiated an annual nationalistic pilgrimage to Adelaide, by holding a ball under the guise of a celebration to mark the change of the Italian Guardian's Day. After the first year, the Italian Guardian's Day became a fixture of the newspaper's calendar, and was celebrated with a registry of the day's events. Pullè and his associates would use this day to symbolize the importance of Italian culture and identity, and to reinforce the importance of Italian heritage in the Australian community. Pullè and his associates believed that it was the duty of the Italian Guardian to promote the interests of the Italian community in Australia, and to foster a sense of national identity among the Italian population.

The significance of Italy's migration in Australia was visible not only in Pullè's activism, but also in the way that it was perceived by the local community. The Italian Guardian's Day was celebrated with a series of events, including a ball and a picnic, which provided an opportunity for Italian men and women to come together and reinforce their cultural identity. The celebrations were also a way for Pullè and his associates to remind the Italian community of their heritage and to promote the importance of preserving it.

The Italian Agricultural Village Scheme

Pullè also launched L'Italo-Australiano with the proposal of establishing an Italian agricultural village settlement by purchasing enough land to support 50 to 100 agricultural workers and their families already resident in Australia. He sought the support of the Italian Guardian's Day League to promote the scheme. The scheme was to be an economic and cultural project, with the aim of creating a community that would be self-sufficient and proud of its Italian heritage. Pullè believed that it was the duty of the Italian Guardian to promote the interests of the Italian community in Australia, and to foster a sense of national identity among the Italian population.

Of interest is the support previously given to Sceusa's society to certain political views on alien workers in the sugar industry. Sceusa did not want to see his fellow Italians reduced to the status of the Chinese migrant worker - a term that was used to describe foreign workers. He was concerned that contractors would exploit Italian migrants, who would be perceived as scabs or second-class citizens, a situation that would drive foreign workers away.

The debate between Pullè and Sceusa reached the heart of the history of the Italian Guardian's Day, which was founded in 1913, which the newspaper industry was nascent in English. The Italian Guardian's Day was a cultural and political movement that sought to promote the interests of the Italian community in Australia. The movement was led by C. Peppe, who was a prominent Italian political figure in Australia, and who was a strong supporter of the Italian Guardian's Day. The movement was also supported by the Italian Guardian, which was founded in 1909 by Pullè and other Italian political figures in Australia.
Giovanni Pulè

To a large extent, they both agreed that Italian migrants needed protection. In fact, Sceusa had shown one Queensland sugar mill to have done the wrong thing by potential Italian migrants, an instance that was fully supported by Pulè and his *Italo-Australiano*. Generally, however, Sceusa argued against any schemes involving Italians working on the sugarcane fields, a stance he had held for many years. To solve the problem of exploitation he preferred to discourage Italian immigration. Pulè, however, argued that the sugar industry was suitable for Italian migrants. This was an industry in need of workers given the recent cessation of Kanaka labour. As he explained: ‘We favour immigration. We recognise that Australia is by exception the best country in the world for labour. […] We are the first to maintain that justice and good conditions secure our co-nationals; but we are elsewhere informed that this is the case.’ Pulè and Sceusa’s debate throws light on how Italians were perceived generally by sugar mill employers and other supporters of Italian workers on the one hand, and Labour politicians on the other. Douglass states that these polarised positions were symptomatic of the larger debate on Italian immigration: ‘… the dynamic interplay of divergence and convergence of interests’ between Italian and British canecutters became a ‘catalyst for Queensland’s labour legislation and immigration policies alike’. Neither Sceusa nor Pulè could have foreseen just how important Italians were to become for Australia’s future sugar industry, but Pulè had sensed a niche in which Italian immigrants and their agricultural skills would excel in later decades.

In contrast to the sugar plantation contract system and Sceusa’s approach to Italian immigration, Pulè’s Italian agricultural village scheme was an alternative response to support unemployed or unsatisfied Italian agriculturalists in the process of settlement. According to Pulè, establishing this scheme would assist in boosting population growth for Australia, and employing and housing the potential swell of Italian migrants. The scheme was an idea that others, like Leopoldo Zunini, Italian vice consul for Western Australia (1802–1908), were also championing, and such schemes were considered timely. New South Wales Parliamentary member, Dr Richard Arthur, for instance, had broken away from the Immigration League of Australia that he founded in 1905 when his support for non-British immigration conflicted with other members. He founded a new Immigration League based on a broader vision of inclusion where the people of other nations could be given equal preference and in which Pulè was invited as a member, taking on a representative role for Italian migration interests. Pulè himself achieved some attention for his efforts from the mainstream press which interviewed him about his own ‘project in contemplation’ and his role in a syndicate set up to orchestrate Italian immigration with the Australian government. It appears that he also had the backing of the Italian government for the idea as a whole:

… I think that a sprinkling of Italians in the country will be of advantage to the country as well as to the settlers themselves, because they will be coming to a climate not unlike their own. They will be the best of the Italians, not the pauper class. There is already an istituto coloniale in Rome, which exists for the purpose of watching over the interests of Italians beyond the syndicate to f

Both the Italian and means.

With New South Wales commenced negotiations were soon made to block purchase it for Italian scheme, one not in fund a dairy co-operative to approved applications available to prosop was favourable to Pulè’s success in nominations of me. The newspaper had Pulè’s scheme be preparations be to up a guide book for operations. Howe restrictive government incompetence govern explains Zunini’s case study in official c failure, especially v continued to advocate attempted to organise with World War I an forced to abandon the Stella d’Italia and then beyond his control. The role amongst Italian presence in Australia is in Italian-American newspapers in Australia, the only way to solve the reason, taking advantage of a unified front. He was arguing that Italian attempted to bridge the needs of Italian men by Italians and other
Catherine Dewhurst

Both the Italian and Australian governments insisted on migrants arriving with some means.76 With New South Wales' land laws not well disposed to group settlements, Pullè commenced negotiations with the Queensland Department of Public Lands and steps were soon made towards the progress of his scheme. His proposal aimed to inspect blocks of between 10,000 and 30,000 acres of land for agricultural purposes in order to purchase it for Italian settlers who would be approved initially by the promoters of the scheme, one not intended to be restricted to Italian migrants alone.77 His intention to fund a dairy co-operative on a small percentage of the land would give industry entrée to approved applicants in the first instance, while the rest of the land would be made available to prospective Italian migrant farmers. The response from the department was favourable to Pullè's proposal. On 4 April 1908, L'Italo-Australiano recorded Pullè's success in securing the 'assisted immigrants scheme' and called for nominations of men and women to be made through the Intelligence Department. The newspaper had already reported inquiries from about 150 families interested in Pullè's scheme by 12 October 1907. As late as December 1907 it appears that preparations were being made by the Queensland Public Lands Department to print up a guide book for intending settlers and outline agricultural and pastoral operations.78 However, the project was always up against anti-Italian opinion and restrictive government policies, as was that of Zunini whose scheme encountered incomplete government support and 'strong public opposition',79 Margot Melia explains Zunini's case: 'The unbridled xenophobia of the day effectively scuttled the scheme in official circles'.80 As a long-term notion, such schemes were doomed to failure, especially with the difficulties of the inter-war years. Nevertheless, Pullè continued to advocate on behalf of Italian migrant workers in his Oceania, and attempted to organise, amongst other things, a jobs-placement agency. It was only with World War I and the War Restriction Act of 1915 that he and his associates were forced to abandon the newspaper enterprise. Realistically, the success of both Pullè's Stella d'Italia and the Italian agricultural village scheme was hampered by factors beyond his control. This, however, need not deter acknowledgment of his pioneering role amongst Italian migrants and his promotion of their needs and collective presence in Australian society in which the foreign-language press was pivotal.

Italo-Australian studies have neglected the role and significance of Pullè and his newspapers in Australian history. Pullè had been around long enough to realise that the only way to solve the problems faced by Italians in Australia was to appeal to reason, taking advantage of democratic processes, and presenting a positive and unified front. He was uncompromising in his fight against prejudicial perceptions, arguing that Italians had a place in Australia. Through his journalism, Pullè attempted to bridge the gap between hostile elements in Australian society and the needs of Italian men, women and their families. On occasions his views were echoed by Italians and others within the established sectors of Australian society as a whole.
Yet, what he achieved spanned a longer period and, even after his death in 1920, he remained an inspiring symbol for the Italian communities in Australia, as Lubrano affirmed. His memory was cut short only with the events that occurred throughout the 1930s and '40s. With Italy's entry into World War II, a shadow fell on the deeds of many Italian migrants in this phase and earlier, and the infrastructure that the notabili had established was demolished.

Analysis of Pulè's newspapers reveals an early example of identity and community construction. Throughout L'Italo Australiano and the Oceania, he pioneered the expression of an 'Italo-Australian' collective presence despite the odds against this. Pulè offered a program to assist migrants in expressing a shared italianità which was defined initially from the background and interests of the elite group to which he belonged, reflecting a patriotic sense of identity as a result. Pulè was, of course, a man of his times and restricted by the scope of the socio-political setting of his day. He also had his own family needs to meet and his business interests would have benefited from the foundation of a community of Italians. Although his journalistic program would have appealed more to the Italian migrant intending to stay in Australia, rather than returning to the homeland, Italian settlement in fact was increasing. Pulè's own professional ambitions do not cancel out the community-oriented journalistic guide that he delivered. That the 'self-made men' within the early Italian communities operated out of a sense of obligation towards their fellow immigrants', as Zucchi puts it, reflects Pulè's efforts. The Stella d'Italia and the Italian agricultural village scheme represent his commitment to the plight of all Italian migrants in the face of overwhelming political, social and economic difficulties. Influential between 1905 and 1915, Pulè knew that Italian migrants were to encounter fierce resistance to their presence from within various sectors of society. Such difficulties were not to disappear and over the twentieth century others were to defend Italian migrant rights and attempt to establish links within and between Italian migrants, not only via the foreign-language press. Pulè's newspapers therefore provide a valuable source for appreciating the issues affecting Italian migrants in Australia's early Federation history and signify a solid foundation on which Italo-Australians were to continue voicing their 'ethnic' concerns sporadically.

From diverse regions of origin and backgrounds, a unified sense of being both 'Italian' and part of an 'Italian' community were notions second to family and regional loyalties. But, Pulè's activities provide an early illustration in Italo-Australian history of Italian community leadership. He responded to the Italian migrant presence in a collective way to soften the assimilation process and to enable a smooth sistemazione (settling up home and work), as much as to affirm a unified italianità as an equal component of Australianness after Federation. While the Italian 'ethnic' issues of the early 1900s represent a backdrop to the Italo-Australian experience in ensuing years, a discussion of his journalistic efforts shows how he created a framework relevant to the experiences of many Italians that were to re-emerge over subsequent phases. He engaged in community leadership to highlight the merits of Italians within the broader Australian society, fighting against discrimination through concrete opportunities. The tone inclusive of Italo-Australians would bring business élite which could make. With the influence of the post-World War II, the financial assistance and their migration was recognised, contribu

Queensland University

Notes

5. Richard Bosworth, 35–42; p. 35.
For his death in 1920, he was buried within Australia, as Lubrano himself had wished, but the events that occurred throughout his life always fell on the deeds of his name, and the infrastructure that the

example of identity and the idea of the Oceania he

expressing a shared and the Storia d'Italia and the

right to the plight of all the

socio-political

interests of the Italian

migrants were

ut the community-

men within the

n his nation towards their fellow

in Italy. The

ones who have

and between

other papers

a sense of being

second to family and

a cause in Italy-

ended to the Italian

process and to

as much as to affirm a

s the Federation. While

not just the gradual process of the

s that were

unity leadership to

society, fighting

against discrimination, and addressing Australia’s agricultural and migration needs through concrete proposals that attempted to provide them with employment opportunities. The nature of his leadership reflected business-like direction with a tone inclusive of Italian diversity. Without people like Pulè or his newspapers, Italo-

would have lacked an infrastructure already available to the Italian business elite which recognised the worthwhile contributions that all Italians could make. With the influx of Italian migrants over the twentieth century, particularly in the post-World War II phase, many of the same issues emerged later to become acknowledged as the Italian success story. In light of the history of Italo-Australians and their migration, Pulè’s ‘courage, drive and tenacity’, attributes Scucsa once recognised, contributed to the early pioneering of Italian ethnicity.82

Queensland University of Technology

Notes

1 This article began as a conference paper, presented at ‘The Importance of Italy’ International Conference of the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies (ACIS), sponsored by the Fondazione Cassamarca, in Canberra, September 21-23, 2001. I am indebted to and most grateful to the conference convenors, Professor David Moss and Dr Gino Moliterno. I am equally thankful to Associate Professor Gary Ianuzzi for his comments on this article and to Dr Drina Oldroyd for her assistance in my translations. I also acknowledge the financial assistance of the School of Humanities and Human Services, Queensland University of Technology (QUT) which enabled me to attend the ACIS conference.

2 Cf Vittorio Briani, La stampe Italiana all’estero dalle origini ai nostri giorni, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Roma, 1977, pp. 155-156.

3 There are few biographical histories on prominent Italians of this period, although some, like Gianfranco Cresciani’s work on Francesco Scucsa, represent significant contributions to Italo-Australian history. See Gianfranco Cresciani, ‘The Making of a New Society: Francesco Scucsa and the Italian Intellectual Reformers in Australia 1876-1906’, in J. Hardy (ed), Stories of Australian Immigration, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1988, pp. 83-97. Yet, a substantial history of Italian migrant pioneering leaders group of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has yet to be written.


Donna Gabaccia, Italy's Many Diasporas, UCL Press, London, 2000, p. 120.

See Jock Collins, 'Cappuccino capitalism: Italian immigrants and Australian businesses', in Castles et al. (eds), Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society, pp. 73-84; pp. 82-83.

Personal communication in 1996 by the late Yolanda Pullè-Sampson, granddaughter of Giovanni Pullè, who had travelled to Italy in 1954 and spoken with Pullè's youngest brother, Felice Pullè.

Personal communication in 1998 by both Lina Pullè and Enrico Pullè, grandchildren of Felice Pullè.


MS, QSA: SURA (1882), No. 6822.

The information on Giovanni Pullè's life and career forms part of a fuller discussion in my current PhD thesis, Ethnic Identity in Italo-Australian Family History: A Case Study of Giovanni Pullè, his Legacies and the Transformations of Ethnicity over 125 Years, at the School of Humanities and Human Services, QUT. I am grateful to the Pullè family of Italy for information relating the family's Italian history and to Margaret Ryan for her genealogical work on the Italo-Australian family.

The Queenslander, 4 August 1877, p. 7; and Pugh's Almanac, 1878–1881.

Michael A. Gurden, Australian Attitudes to Italy and Italians, 1922–36: with Special Reference to Queensland, B.A. Honours Thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, St Lucia, 1970, p. 16.


John E. Zucchi, It Queen's University.

Brian Murphy, It Melbourne, 1993 and Community.

Oswaldo Bonuto, 1920s–1960s, Uni.

Douglass, From Randazzo and Mi AE Press, Melbourne.


Borrie, Italians at.


Australian Comm.

L. Favero and (a)all'Emigrazione', .

Pascoe, in Castles Society, p. 89.

Alastair Davids, Century, Cambrid Templeton, Source University of Melb.

Ellie Vasta, Gaeta, community on the Community in a C.

Cohen, The Symbol, pp. 91–92.

See Brian, La star.

Caroline Alcorso, institutions', in C Changing Society, .

Miriam Gilson and Australian Nation.
unrest over the notion of contract systems had resulted in two Royal Commissions: on Foreign Contract Labour in Western Australia in 1901–02; and on Immigration of Non-British Labour in 1904. Both commissions established the respect that Italian workers had for union conditions in the mining and timber-cutting industries. See Borrie *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation*, pp. 146–147. See also Lack and Templeton, *Sources of Australian Immigration History*, 1901–1945, p. 10. The later Royal Commission into alien labour in North Queensland (in 1924), triggering the Ferry Report of 1925, while biased against the newer settlements of Southern Europeans including Southern Italians, praised the older and more established Northern Italians. See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 205.


31 Pasco, in Castles et al. (eds), *Australia’s Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, p. 89.


34 Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, p. 102, p. 110, p. 117; see also pp. 76–77, pp. 91–92.

35 See Briani, *La stampa italiana all’estero dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, p. xiv.


Giovanni Pullé


41 Murphy, *The Other Australia*, p. 40. See also Alcorso, in Castles et al. (eds), *Australia’s Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, p. 7.


46 MS, State Records of New South Wales, Companies Ref. 3/5763, No. 2451.


49 Samples are taken from *L’Italo-Australiano*, 22 April 1905 and 12 May 1906, as well as the *Oceania*, 22 November 1913.

50 *L’Italo-Australiano*, 22 April 1905.

51 *L’Italo-Australiano*, 1 September 1906.

52 *L’Italo-Australiano*, 17 November 1906.


55 *L’Italo-Australiano*, 31 August 1907.


57 The *Oceania*, 23 August 1913.

58 Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 208 and n. 16.


62 See ibid., p. 74, n. 44.

63 Douglass, *From Italy to Ingham*, p. 40.

64 Ibid., p. 294.


Author’s details
Catherine Dewhirst, Australian Services, Queensland University of Technology, reviews in the *Australian Quarterly*, *Journal of European Studies*, and *ConVivio*. c.dewhirst@student.qut.edu.au
Catherine Dewhirst

67 L’Italo-Australiano, 2 March and 27 April 1907.
68 The Queenslander, 30 January 1892, pp. 207–208. Comments by L. Cervetto, Secretary of the Italian Democratic Club in Brisbane reveal concern about statements made by Sceusa’s society, which had been sent to the Trades and Labour Council, against Italian immigration in Queensland. According to the article, Sceusa’s society denounced Italian immigration through contract labour schemes as ‘slavery’. The Italian Democratic Club felt this view not only brought unnecessary bad publicity to Italians as a whole, but was also far from the truth.
69 L’Italo-Australiano, 20 April 1907.
70 Douglass, From Italy to Ingham, p. 295.
71 Leopoldo Zunini, Western Australia: as it is today, 1906, M. Melia and R. Bosworth (eds., trans.), University of Western Australia, Nedlands, W. A., [1906] 1997, p. 40.
72 Lack and Templeton, Sources of Australian Immigration History, 1901–1945, p. 16. See also L’Italo-Australiano, 2 November 1907.
73 L’Italo-Australiano, 9 November 1907.
75 Ibid.
76 The Italian government’s Bollettino della Società pel Patronato degli Emigranti Italiani (1876–1879) had been instigated to provide information about countries for Italians contemplating emigration, and the government continued to act in this role through its Istituto Coloniale di Roma. The Australian Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 (3b) prohibited immigrants without some means of financial independence.
77 L’Italo-Australiano, 30 November 1907.
79 See Zunini, Western Australia: as it is today, 1906, p. 8.
80 Ibid., p. 10.
82 See L’Italo-Australiano, 25 January 1908.

Author’s details
Catherine Dewhirst is a PhD student at the School of Humanities and Human Services, Queensland University of Technology. She has published articles and reviews in the Australian Journal of Social Issues, the Italian Historical Society Journal, and Convivio. She can be contacted by email at.
c.dewhirst@student.qut.edu.au