University of Rhode Island

DigitalCommons@URI

Open Access Master's Theses

1960

Italian Irredentism, its Consideration at the Paris Peace Conference, and the Reaction of Italo-Americans with Special Reference to Those in Rhode Island

Domenic DiOrio Jr.

University of Rhode Island

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

DiOrio, Domenic Jr., "Italian Irredentism, its Consideration at the Paris Peace Conference, and the Reaction of Italo-Americans with Special Reference to Those in Rhode Island" (1960). *Open Access Master's Theses*. Paper 1792.

<https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses/1792>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@URI. It has been accepted for inclusion in Open Access Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@URI. For more information, please contact digitalcommons-group@uri.edu.

644
D5

ITALIAN IRREDENTISM, ITS CONSIDERATION
AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, AND THE REACTION
OF ITALO-AMERICANS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THOSE IN RHODE ISLAND

BY

DOMENIC DI ORIO, JR.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

1960

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Dr. Daniel H. Thomas, Chairman of the History and Political Science Department of the University of Rhode Island for his sincere and immeasurable assistance in the writing of this thesis.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. David D. Warren and Dr. William O. Martin for their suggestions and criticism of this work. To Dr. William D. Metz for his suggestions and guidance, the author is greatly indebted also.

Gratitude is also extended to the curators of the Rhode Island Historical Society and the staff of the University of Rhode Island Library for their co-operation and for access to their materials. To Messrs. Luigi Scala, Archille Vervena, Arthur Famiglietti, Antonio DeCesaris, and Michael Cardarelli, gratitude is extended for their useful information furnished in interviews.

Deep appreciation is also extended to my mother and father for their patience, understanding, and encouragement during my research. Thanks must also be given to my sister-in-law, Dorethea E. DiOrio, who, with the care of a home and three children, has unendingly assisted me. To my typist, Rosemarie Santoro, my sincere appreciation.

ABSTRACT

The object of this study is to review the Italian irredentist movement, the rejection of some of the claims of Italian Irredentists at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and the reaction of the Italo-Americans, with special reference to those in Rhode Island.

A brief sketch of national aspirations in Italy from 1870 to 1918 is given as a background for the Italian demands at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Attention is also paid to the settlement of Italians in Rhode Island and their development into a political factor of consequence. The Rhode Island "grass roots" movement in support of Italian claims is reviewed as is the opposition to the Senate ratification of the peace treaties.

Particular emphasis is given to the views of President Wilson as well as to those of the Republican Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Special attention is given to the significant influence of Italo-Americans on the election of 1920 and the defeat of the supporters of the treaties.

Italian language newspapers and personal interviews

are among the most important primary sources used, as are the Congressional Record and Senate Documents. There is a movement to record the history of the Italo-American, and secondary sources on this subject are relatively good.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.	Page vii
-------------------------	-------------

Chapter

I.	ITALY'S NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATIONS, 1870 - 1918.	
	The Rise of Italian Imperialism. .	1
	Italian Irredentism.	8
	Italy's Foreign Policy from 1882-1920	12
II.	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ITALIANS IN RHODE ISLAND.	21
III.	ITALO-AMERICAN REACTION TO WILSON'S VIEWS--INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND EDITORIALS	45
IV.	NATIONAL OPPOSITION	56
V.	THE ELECTION OF 1920--NATIONAL, LOCAL .	65
VI.	CONCLUSION.	76
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Composition of the Italian Population for the state and for counties in 1910	24
2	Composition and characteristics of the population of cities of 25,000 or more in 1919	25
3	Various factors illustrating the growth of Rhode Island population from 1880 - 1910.	28
4	The total qualified voters in the heavily Italian populated wards and districts in Providence in 1920.	73

CHAPTER I

ITALY'S NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATIONS, 1870 - 1920

The Rise of Italian Imperialism

Taken as a unit, Italy is neither rich nor poor. She is richer than the impoverished nations in south-eastern Europe but, on the other hand, poorer than those of northern and central Europe. The constitution of the Kingdom of Italy provided parliamentary institutions and centralization, introducing what is commonly called a modern national government.

Unified Italy made some progress economically and culturally in the period from 1870 to 1918. Since she had been politically divided for centuries, her progress in the eyes of the world was frustrated and limited. She was slow, for example, to join in the competition with the other major powers in the race for an empire. While other great powers of Europe were already constituted into national groups and turning their attention towards imperialism, Italy was occupied with the domestic problems of a developing new national state. Also, there existed among the Italian elite a false conviction that

their fatherland was endowed by Nature with every blessing of climate and fertility and that only evil government and the errors of

mankind had prevented them from exploiting their resources and becoming as rich or even richer than their neighbors.¹

Consequently, the possibility of securing new territories which the Italian government could use to its advantage was ignored at first. But Italy was experiencing a "population explosion" and lacked raw materials, good arable land, and proper irrigation. Later she began to look towards imperialism as the panacea for many dilemmas. Her convictions were that new colonies would be an excellent source for the acquisition of the needed raw materials as well as a new home for those in the overpopulated communities. Believing that "trade follows the flag," Italy's trade and industry were expected to increase, and perhaps achieve a favorable balance of trade. Italian prestige would eventually rise to a position of equal status with the other members of the European community.

From the beginning, it was realized that most of the desired territories had been annexed or claimed by her European sister states. However, there did remain certain available land in east Africa. In the early eighties, Italy had occupied certain ports on the Red Sea which appeared to be capable of good economic development. In 1860 a coaling station was established by the Italians in the Bay of Assab and was later annexed to Italy.

¹Luigi Villari, The Expansion of Italy (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 24 Russell Square, 1930), p. 33.

After exploiting the neighboring territories, these prizes were then merged into a single Italian colony in 1890 and called the "Colonia Eritrea"--the Red Sea Colony.

Because of the climate, the internal political affairs, and the Abyssinian conflict, the Eritrea venture proved to be a fiasco. It acquired the name of "white elephant." Later, it did achieve some importance due to its commercial influence upon the neighboring countries.¹

At the beginning of the present century, the idea of a colonial and economic expansion was revived. It was said that space for population should be found. Attention was not given to the Red Sea Colony but to the land in east Africa known as Somaliland. Early in the 1900's Italian exploration was extensive in this region. Immediately after the Italian occupation of Massawah in 1885, the Italians concluded a commercial treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and soon other favorable negotiations followed. In 1891 an Italian naval expedition secured the Somaliland coast, and by 1897 the port of this territory was, through international conventions, entrusted to Italy.² After putting down many local insurrections, Italy in 1913 had full control of this colony.

Tunisia had become an international problem in the meantime. Because of its nearness to the Italian coast,

¹Denis Mack Smith, Italy (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 186.

²Villari, Expansion, pp. 49-53.

relations with this small territory in north Africa dated back to the remotest ages. During the nineteenth century, there had been a constant flow of Italian immigrants to this land, which led to favorable economic and commercial developments as well as to the foundation of Italian institutions.¹ The Treaty of Establishments was the basis of the amicable relations existing between the natives and the Italian element.²

The French as well as the Italians had an active interest in this particular area, especially since France held Algeria.³ Friction developed between France and Italy by this time due to their economic rivalry. The moment seemed ripe for the French government to seize Tunisia. The Italian position would be jeopardized and the security of the southern Italian peninsula would be at stake, thereby producing greater isolation. Italy really wanted to have Tunisia remain as an independent state with equal spheres of influence for all; France, on the other hand, desired absolute control. While Italy attempted to obtain internal support, France compelled the Bey to sign a favorable treaty, The Treaty of El Bordo,

¹Barone Di San Severino, "Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy," Forthnightly Review (February, 1915), p. 248.

²This treaty was enacted between Italy and local Tunisian chieftans. The treaty was the extension of previous conventions between the local element and the former Italian maritime states. Villari, Expansion, p. 54.

³Bismarck, fearing revanche for the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, urged France to develop her colonies in north Africa.

in 1881 and obtained Tunisia as a protectorate.¹ It was primarily this incident that prompted Italy to engage herself in a treaty with her Teutonic neighbors in 1882.²

Because of the Triple Alliance, Great Britain and France began to distrust the motivations of Italy. To offset these hostile opinions, Tommaso Tittoni, the Italian Foreign Minister, stated,

Our policy is not a policy of equilibrium or dexterity, because such a policy would not be worthy of a great nation and could not last long. . . . [Italian Foreign Policy has] no reservations, no hidden meaning, no ambiguity.³

Tittoni contended that such an alliance⁴ was a definite advantage not only to Italy but also to Europe because it

¹Mack Smith, Italy, p. 131.

²The most important articles of the Treaty were as follows:

Article II. In case Italy, without direct provocation on her part, should be attacked by France for any reason whatsoever, the two other Contracting Parties shall be bound to lend help and assistance with all their forces to the Party attacked.

The same obligation shall evolve upon Italy in case of any aggression without direct provocation by France against Germany.

Article III. If one, or two, of the High Contracting Parties, without provocation on their part, should chance to be attacked and to be engaged in a war with two or more Great Powers nonsignatory to the present treaty, the "casus foederis" will arise simultaneously for all the High Contracting Parties. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Triple Alliance and Triple Entente (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934), p. 18.

³San Severino, Forthnightly Review, p. 249.

⁴Because of her naval supremacy and her geographical position, a declaration was included in the Alliance that it was not aimed at Great Britain. In 1882 the Mediterranean Agreement made it quite apparent that good relations still existed between these two countries.

avoided a major conflict with such powers as Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.¹ The significance of this alliance was that Italy was no longer isolated and was now recognized as a colonial power possessing equal status with other European powers.²

Nevertheless, Italy concluded with France a secret treaty in 1902 restoring amicable relations and ending the Tariff War of 1888.³ The European communities began to grow even more suspicious of Italy, especially when her troops had occupied portions of north Africa in 1911, which resulted in the Italo-Turkish War. Prior to the development of this conflict, Italy had economic and commercial interests in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Because of the Agadir Incident,⁴ the cordial friendship existing between Germany and Turkey, and the rise of Italian neo-nationalism,⁵ the Italian government sought equal interest in North Africa. The deterioration of the

¹San Severino, Forthnightly Review, p. 256.

²René Albrecht-Carrié, A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1950), pp. 186-89.

³This change of attitude was due to a new administration in the Italian government. Italy would be a neutral power if war were provoked between France and Germany. San Severino, Forthnightly Review, p. 257.

⁴This incident revealed the German interest in this strategic area.

⁵Because of the political decay, an expansionist movement began to take place in Italy by various organizations as the "Nationalist Association," which was founded in Florence in 1910, and by many Italian newspapers. Villari, Expansion, pp. 72-73.

relations between Italy and Turkey was climaxed by Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti's aggressive overtures to the Port in the form of an ultimatum. Subsequently, Italian expeditionary units seized Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

In view of revolutionary activities in Albania and warlike agitations prevailing in the Balkans, Turkey sued for peace. In 1912, by the Treaty of Lausanne, the Ottoman Empire renounced claim to the contested area. It was immediately organized as an Italian colony called Lybia. Italy was allowed to occupy the islands in the Aegean as long as Turkey maintained her forces in Lybia. As history reveals, Italy never departed from these islands and was able to obtain a stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean area as well as to gain Lybia as a colony.

Italian Irredentism

Most people naturally assumed that the absorption of Rome in 1870 had completed Italian unification. However, a new generation developed a spirit of strong nationalism as well as imperialism. Not long after 1870 the ex-Garibaldian, Imbriani, popularized the phrase Italia Terre Irredente, or Unredeemed Italian Territory.¹ The Terre Irredente consisted of territories claimed by Venice while they were still under the "iron hand" of the Hapsburg Empire.

The territory of Trentino was ethnically Italian. This area was composed of two sections representing both German and Italian inhabitants, which is commonly called the Venetia Tredentino.² Three-quarters of the population was Italian in such characteristics as language, and political, social, and educational institutions. Austria-Hungary attempted to eliminate the Italian nationality by replacing the inhabitants with both German and Slavic minorities. By 1910, out of 828 employees of Venetia Tredentino's state-controlled railroad, only 70

¹Mack Smith, Italy, p. 141.

²This German territory--known as the Tyrol--means Welchtirol, the Italian part of this province. Marie Alberti, Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations (Milan: Alfieri and Laoroix, 1917), p. 87.

were Italian.¹

The region known as Venetia Giulia had from the time of Pliny been regarded within the sphere of Venice. Documents of the Middle Ages and since establish the Julian Alps as its true boundary. More important was the attitude of the inhabitants who continued to identify themselves with Venice.² During the movement of the "Risorgimento," the frontier was proclaimed along this natural boundary.

Venetia Giulia was inhabited by Slavs as well as Italians, the larger of the two groups, but this area was affected by the denationalization by Austria. Political aspects of this seaport were vital to Austria for Trieste was the bridge between central Europe and the Near East. Since 27% of Austria's trade was represented, the commercial activity of this port was significant. Austria maintained garrisons in this province to squelch Italian irredentism.³

Fiume, located on the eastern shore of the upper end of the Istrian Peninsula, belonged geographically to Istria and, therefore, to Venetia Giulia. Except for a brief period of time, this entire area had belonged to Hungary. Hungary and the Italian states at one time were united against Austria in their quest for independence. This was the

¹San Severino, Forthnightly Review, pp. 261-63.

²Alberti, Italy's Great War, p. 101ff.

³Villari, Expansion, p. 167.

main reason why Italy had never pressed for Fiume. Since the formation of the Dual Empire in 1867, the Magyars had assumed the same repressive policy as Austria.¹

From both a political and economic standpoint, Fiume² had been closely connected to Trieste. This whole area grew to be important because of its geographical position and its trade. For these reasons, powers such as Germany and the Dual Monarchy had genuine aspirations for this natural outlet to the Adriatic. As long as this area was under foreign control, it would be a definite threat to the Italian economic ambitions, although these were not high at this stage.

According to the census of 1914, 30,000 inhabitants in Fiume were Italian as compared to 15,000 Slavs and 6,000 Magyars. If a plebiscite were to be taken, it would undoubtedly be favorable to the Italians.³ Regardless of whichever powers ruled, the Italian names, language, customs, and culture were kept intact.

With regards to the Dalmatian coast, whoever controlled this strategic area eventually controlled the Adriatic. For twenty-two centuries Dalmatia had been dominated by the Latin culture and institutions as well as its language. In the Treaty of Pressburg in 1806,

¹Alberti, Italy's Great War, pp. 152-53.

²Italian claims to Fiume go back to the days of the Roman Empire when there existed a city--Tarsactia--where Fiume now stands.

³Alberti, Italy's Great War, p. 152.

Dalmatia was united to the first Kingdom of Italy; however, the situation was soon reversed because of the Napoleonic designs.¹

¹For a brief period of time, this territory was under the Venetian jurisdiction, but the tragedy of 1815 enabled Austria to control it. Alberti, Italy's Great War, p. 175.

Italian Foreign Policy from 1882 to 1920

From 1882 to 1914 Italy was nominally an ally of Austria-Hungary. The Irredentist movement became intensified by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia in 1908 and the unfriendliness of the Teutonic Powers during the Lybian War of 1911-1912. The secret agreement between France and Italy in 1902 was not in accord with the Triple Alliance.¹ Animosity developed more so in 1909 when a secret Russo-Italian agreement was enacted at Raoccanigi.² Italy was drifting from the Teutonic Alliance and was placing herself in the position of falling in the most favorable direction.

The relations between Italy and her allies had deteriorated by 1913. This was due to the various crises beginning with the Moroccan Incident of 1905 and the formation of the Triple Entente. The situation became more critical when Prince Hohenlohe of Austria ordered the dismissal of all Italian speaking civil employees in the Adriatic area in August of 1913.³

¹Italy promised to maintain neutrality in the event France, as a result of direct provocation, should be compelled to go to war with Germany in defense of her honor or security.

²Russia agreed to recognize Italy's claims in Tripoli, and she, in turn, would recognize Russian claims in the Straits.

³Mack Smith, Italy, p. 269.

After the Sarajevo Incident in which Austria, supported by Germany, sent the ultimatum to Serbia, Italy did not support the Dual Empire. Had Italy done so, the forces of irredentism, nationalism, and even the "Risorgimento" itself would have been betrayed. Italy, internally divided at first, decided to venture on a policy of benevolent neutrality in July, 1914.¹ Attempts were made by the Italian government under the leadership of Marquis Di San Giuliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to seek territorial compensation from Austria if she annexed any land in the Adriatic.² With the promise of satisfying all her demands in the Adriatic except Fiume, England, France, and Russia persuaded the Italians to join the Entente Powers. On April 25, 1915, Italy signed the famous London Pact. Later, claiming that Austria had violated the Triple Alliance, the Government renounced that Treaty, resumed complete liberty of action,³ and declared war on the

¹One faction under the leadership of Sonnino and Missuoli, a newspaper editor, supported Austria; whereas such men as Salvemini, editor of Unita and Secolo, favored alignment with the Triple Entente. However, it was the leadership of Gioiotti who was able to persuade the Italian government to follow such a policy of neutrality, because he was convinced that Austria would be defeated in the event of war--thus, the subject people in the realm of the Empire would be freed.

²This was according to the provisions of the Triple Alliance. The request was for a part of the Terre Irredente. Austria would not satisfy Italian demands. However, late in 1915 Austria, fearing Russian advancement in Galicia, was willing to negotiate. Walter G. Langsam, The World Since 1914 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 8.

Central Powers.

During the war, the Italian government continued to pursue alliances. After the revolution in 1917, Russia revealed the secret Pact of London and accused Italy of imperialistic designs, especially in the Adriatic.¹ Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando, therefore, was motivated by the desire to restore the confidence of the Slavic people in the Italians. Also, Yugoslavs, fearing Russia's attempts to separate Roman Catholic Croatia from Orthodox Serbia and Bosnia, sought to improve their relations with Italy. In 1918, at a foreign minister's conference in Rome, the Pact of Rome was enacted by the two powers. The Italian government declared that "the unity and independence of Yugoslavia" was "of vital interest" to Italy.²

The Paris Peace Conference, which convened in January, 1919, was in no way a concert of nations but merely the assemblage of victorious powers who were determined to seek their own particular ends. At this international conference, President Wilson won a major victory when the members of the assembly accepted his Covenant of the League of Nations. He also supported the principle of self-determination.

When he reviewed the conditions of the secret

¹History of the Peace Conference of Paris, ed. H. W. V. Temperley (London: Henry Fowde and Hodder & Staughton, 1921), p. 292.

²Ibid., p. 293.

agreements, Wilson declared on many occasions that he would not be bound to these pacts. He concluded further that "The League of Nations would do away with these Treaties."¹

Upon Wilson's return to Paris in March, 1919, Italy began to challenge the validity of the ninth of Wilson's Fourteen Points, which called for the re-adjustment of Italian frontiers "along recognizable lines of nationality." It became evident that a main issue would develop over the Treaty of London and the principle of nationality.

Italy was not satisfied with the provisions of this Treaty and demanded the annexation of Fiume and a part of the Dalmatian coast. The Italians, who had chosen to engage in the war for a price, now declared it to be inadequate. They did not foresee that their enemy's collapse² would produce still another enemy on the Adriatic--Yugoslavia.³

Wilson had stated on numerous occasions that he could not consent to Italy receiving Fiume, but he did consent to the Brenner Line.⁴ England and France would support

¹George Creel, The War, The World, and Wilson (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1920), p. 195.

²The Austro-Hungarian Empire.

³Paul Birdsall, Versailles Twenty Years After (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), p. 268.

⁴This is the famous Wilson Line which compensated Italy with the region known as Tyrol in addition to the Pact of London. However, he recognized the valid claims of the new state of Yugoslavia to Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia. Charles Seymour, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1928), p. 268.

none of this¹ and still remained firm on the Pact of 1915.²

Italy's Orlando, fearing the pressure of his government and people, would not yield. Because of President Wilson's attitude, Orlando regarded Yugoslavia in much the same way that France had regarded Germany. There were many offers suggested in the light of compromise only to be rejected by either Orlando or Wilson. One was the offer of internationalizing Fiume³ and another was that of allotting Istria to Italy.⁴ The Italian delegation refused to give its approval.⁵

One of Italy's greatest fears was the economic competition on the Adriatic. As one Italian delegate stated, "It would be very difficult for us to keep up the commerce of Trieste unless we controlled Fiume and were able to divert its trade to Trieste."⁶ Because the additional territory the Slavic militia captured during the war enabled Yugoslavia to control Fiume, Italy regarded her neighbor as another Austria and abrogated the Pact of Rome of 1918.⁷ With still greater vigor, Italy sought to

¹The reason was that they had promised Tyrol to Austria.

²Seymour, The Intimate Papers, p. 268.

³It was a suggestion of Colonel House that it be placed under the jurisdiction of the League.

⁴Seymour, The Intimate Papers, p. 444.

⁵Herbert Hoover, The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), p. 205.

⁶Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1927), II, 135.

⁷Ibid., II, 145.

gain Dalmatia because it was a potential Gibraltar; under the rule of a strong state, it would be a definite threat to her economic livelihood.¹

On April 19, 1919, Wilson delivered an important diplomatic address which angered the Italians to such an extent that they withdrew from the Paris conference. The famous statement which was indirectly an appeal to the Italian people was as follows:

While Italy entered the war, she entered upon the basis of a definite understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the Pact of London. Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered. Many other powers, great and small, have entered the struggle, with no knowledge of that private understanding.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire . . . no longer exists . . . Parts of that Empire . . . it is agreed now by Italy and . . . her associates, are to be erected into independent States . . . They are . . . among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as scrupulously as . . . the most powerful States.

If these principles [which set up a new order of right and justice] are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and the northeast . . . To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put that part . . . in the hands of a power not . . . identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the part must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but these definitely assigned to the Croats [later a part of Yugoslavia].²

¹Robert Lansing, The Paris Peace Negotiations (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 228.

²New York Times (New York, N. Y.), April 24, 1919, p. 1.

Fearing unpopular international criticism which was soon felt by Wilson because of his statement, David Lloyd George and George Clemenceau, who had pledged to support Wilson, allowed the President to be the scapegoat. It is reported that Wilson was "white with anger" when his colleagues failed to fulfill their promises.

The Italian delegation which withdrew from the Conference was handed the Balfour Memorandum, which declared the position of London and Paris, invoking the Pact of London.¹ Italy, which had believed that she could rely on her allies, was disappointed. However, due to pressing problems of reconstruction at home, her economic dependency on the United States and Great Britain, and the encouragement of Clemenceau, Italy returned to the Peace Conference under the leadership of her new foreign minister, Francesco Nitti.² When he assumed his position at the Peace Conference, Nitti declared that Italy would respect the Pact of London. Although Italy could not possess Fiume, she returned to the conference in order to conclude the peace treaties.

Lloyd George took the initiative to bring about a rapprochement by offering Italy some territorial compensation, such as part of Turkey and parts of the north African

¹Baker, World Settlement, III, Document 37.

²He replaced Orlando who had been defeated in the recent elections in that country. René Albrecht-Carrié, Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, p. 123.

coast. Since Great Britain and France had already claimed this territory, Lloyd George then proposed that Fiume go to Italy. The Adriatic Question was once again opened, but Wilson stood firm against it.¹

After the peace treaty was signed in May, Wilson, successful in Europe, departed for America to witness the biggest defeat of his political career. The election of 1920 indicated that the American people were not avid supporters of Wilson and desired isolation as opposed to Wilson's internationalism. It was this defeat that led to the final adjustment of the boundaries between Yugoslavia and Italy by their acceptance of the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920. Italy received the frontier promised in 1915. She acquired some islands adjacent to the Dalmatian coast, and Fiume became internationalized.

Wilson, who desired from the beginning a speedy settlement of Italian claims, actually caused the development of more confusion among the Italians. After his careful observation of the Adriatic Question, he concluded that the Yugoslavians needed Fiume more than the Italians since they had no suitable port for commerce. On the other hand, it was indeed difficult for him as an American to conceive what this dispute really meant to the Italians. America was secure because of her geographical position. Italy, in the name of security, demanded control of the Adriatic. Yugoslavia also needed this area. Unfortunately,

¹Lansing, Peace Negotiations, p. 230.

there was bound to be disappointment in the peace settlement. Italians who had emigrated were following the matter of the territorial acquisition almost as closely as their families in the old country. Wherever they were, Italians considered the matter of vital interest; those who came to Rhode Island were no exception.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ITALIANS IN RHODE ISLAND

Although Italians did not settle in America in large numbers until the New Immigration period, there is evidence that from the age of discovery members of this group came to America.¹ Not only were they among the first explorers; many were also traders and missionaries. Father Eusebio Chini, a native of Trento, Italy, was active as a missionary in lower California in 1681. Father Salvaterio at Loreto, California, founded the first California mission in 1697.² Henry Tanti (Enrico Tonti), who aided LaSalle in the Mississippi Valley,³ was one of the many Italian explorers in this period. In 1720 four hundred Italians were inhabiting Virginia.⁴

Some Italians have lived on the North American Continent from early colonization. They contributed greatly to the development of art and music. Many names

¹Giovanni Schiavo, Four Centuries of Italian-American History (New York: The Vigo Press, 1957), p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 77ff.

³Illinois Catholic Historical Review, III, 197, as cited in Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 85.

⁴Historique des Corps de Troupe de l'Armée Française, 1569-1900, Paris, as cited in Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 93.

that appear to be English or French were really Italian. The custom of changing names is not a new thing as it is generally supposed. This does not mean that the Italian immigrant changed his name himself. It was changed by clerks or recorders who, not knowing how to spell it, recorded it phonetically. Therefore, a name such as Paca might be spelled as Peckers and Taliaferro as Tolliver or Tailfer. A priest called Father Kelly was really Father Mazzuchelli. Other changes which occurred involved such names as Ross, Fox, Pickering, Gillam, and Pitcher.¹

Perhaps this faulty recording could very well have been the case in Rhode Island, for many native Rhode Islanders did employ Italians as plasterers, musicians, and the like. Furthermore, some Italian sailors deserted their ships, later married local girls, and settled down to a normal life. Rhode Island being on the Atlantic coast might have been affected from this form of Italian immigration.

After the Civil War there is evidence of Italians in substantial numbers in Rhode Island. Although the movement was sporadic and small from the onset, it assumed larger proportions by the 1880's. From this period on the Italian immigrant is rated as the most numerous group to enter the United States.

From 1889 to 1910 the population of Rhode Island was almost doubled. The rate of increase at this time in

¹Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 12.

Rhode Island exceeded that of the United States.¹ This fact is attributed to the great invasion of Italians into this state. By 1910 Providence had a total of 22,223 Italians and the entire state 27,236. This group of immigrants constituted one-tenth of the population in Providence.² Tables 1 and 2 on pages 24 and 25 represent a cross-section of the Italian population in the various cities and towns in Rhode Island.

In order to understand this mass movement, one must visualize the internal conditions of Italy, especially after her unification. The Italian was heavily burdened with taxes for the development and maintenance of a large national army and navy in the competition to make his country a first-rate European power. However, since the economy of southern Italy is based on land, the agricultural depression in the latter part of the nineteenth century reduced large portions of southern Italy to poverty. Here the peasants were plagued with poor arable land. In areas where the land was productive, the problem of malaria from the nearby swamps was apparent. The new state was hampered by vast areas of barren mountains. In addition, the Kingdom had gained no new territory which would have given relief to the excess population. Faced with these factors, the Italian had to choose between emigration or

¹Kurt Mayer, Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island (Providence: Brown University Press, 1953), p. 52.

²_____, "The Italian Colony in Providence," The Providence Board of Trade Journal (April, 1910), XXII, 152.

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF THE ITALIAN POPULATION
FOR THE STATE AND FOR COUNTIES IN 1910^a

	Italian Population	Total Population
Bristol	1,578	17,602
Kent	1,548	36,378
Newport	626	39,335
Providence	22,223	424,353
Washington	1,314	24,942
State	27,286	542,610

^aU. S., Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States. Abstract of the Census: 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 58.

TABLE 2

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION
OF CITIES OF 25,000 OR MORE IN 1910

	Total Italians	Total in Cities
Newport	573	27,149
Pawtucket	717	51,622
Providence ^b	17,305	224,326
Warwick Town	1,339	26,629
Woonsocket	483	38,125
Total Cities Named	20,417	367,851

^aU. S., Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States; Abstract of the Census: 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 58.

^bParts of Cranston and Johnston towns annexed between 1890 and 1900.

hunger.¹

It is evident that a definite economic motivation and not just a vague instinct caused the "poor Meridionale" to migrate. The immigrant came to America realizing that unskilled labor was needed. The market for unskilled labor determined the character of Italian immigration. The southern Italian was the most mobile supply of labor this country has ever known. The Italian emigré was the "flower of her peasantry." This national group was healthy and ambitious. When they arrived in America, the Italians heard the common expression, "Non c'e piacere nella vita."² Yet, they came and became permanent residents, for the country represented to them a land of opportunity. Their realistic approach to life helped them overcome their new hardships.

Rhode Island received the full impact of this new wave of immigration in the 1900's. Again, the Italian represented the largest group among other contingents from England, Portugal, Poland, and the east-central European countries. So great was this invasion that by 1910 the descendants of the Rhode Island colonial settlers constituted a diminishing minority. Almost seven out of ten Rhode

¹Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), p. 29.

²They found no pleasure in the American life. Ibid., p. 31.

Island residents were of foreign stock.¹ In 1840 the total population of this state was 59,678, which was largely due to the great flood of Irish immigration. With the onset of the French into Rhode Island in 1860 and the bulk of the Italians after the 1880's, the population by 1910 was 542,610.²

The first Italian known to take up residence in Rhode Island was a Joseph Maurana, a native of Villafranca, Italy.³ He had been an impressed sailor in a British man-of-war and fled with the aid of friends from New London, Conn. to Barrington, R. I.⁴ in 1762.⁵ Eventually, he was employed by a Joshua Bicknell as the caretaker of his farm. It is reported that Joseph Maurana married Olive Bicknell, the daughter of Joshua. For their wedding gift, Joseph and Olive Maurana received a tract of land on the Barrington River. Because of his experience as a mariner, Maurana soon became commander of the American gunboat "Spitfire" and subsequently the "Washington" during the Revolution.⁶

¹Earl Tanner, Rhode Island, A Brief History (Providence: Rhode Island State Board of Education, 1954), p. 117.

²Mayer, Economic Development, p. 52.

³Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 108.

⁴The territory today is Warren, Rhode Island.

⁵Ubaldo Pesaturo, Italo-Americans of Rhode Island (Providence: The Visitor Printing Co., 1940), p. 9.

⁶Ibid., p. 10.

TABLE 3

VARIOUS FACTORS ILLUSTRATING THE GROWTH OF
RHODE ISLAND POPULATION FROM 1880 - 1910^a

Period	Natural Increase	Number of Foreign Immigration	Number of Internal Migration	Total Number of Immigrants	Total Population Growth
1880 - 1890	13,751	32,312	22,912	55,224	68,975
1890 - 1900	26,595	28,214	28,341	56,555	83,050
1900 - 1910	34,300	44,622	35,128	79,754	114,054

^aMayer, Economic Development, p. 8.

A George Arduini lived in Rhode Island during this period, but very little is known of this Italian.¹ In 1720 a John Garnardi married Sara Draper and had six children.² Another Italian who volunteered to serve in the Colonial Army was Pascal Charles Joseph DeAngelis.³ He joined the army in 1776 at the early age of thirteen.⁴ Joseph Maurana's son, Joseph Jr., was one of the first Italians to be graduated from Brown University; this was in 1816. Upon his graduation from a New York medical school in 1819, he became a practicing physician in Rhode Island.⁵

In Rhode Island many sections of Italy were represented. Prior to the Civil War, the major group came from northern Italy. In 1854 Frank Marroni and the Iacceri family settled in Providence, later to be followed by the Rondini family.⁶ These people were from Tuscany. After this period the southern faction of Isernia, Capriate al Volturno, Ischia, Lucca, Orlandi, San Giovanni, Frosolone were represented. Ferdinando Avallone,⁷ a Neapolitan barber by trade, established his business on Federal Hill. The

¹Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, p. 10.

²Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 106.

³He was the son of a Neapolitan father and a French mother.

⁴Schiavo, Four Centuries, p. 139.

⁵Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, p. 13.

⁶Evening Bulletin, January 1, 1934, p. 11.

⁷Ibid.

name Federal Hill is not an Italian name nor has it any connection with the nationality. It is one of the seven hills upon which the city of Providence is founded. Its name is derived from the honor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the State of Rhode Island.¹

At this early date the Hill was predominately an Irish section. However, in the 1870's twelve Italian families were inhabiting the Hill, and by the 1900's the Irish element began to move from this section.²

In 1872 Thomas Mancini of Frosolone established his trade as a tailor on the Hill at Acorn Street and Tefft Street. Due to his skill, Mancini became the official tailor of the Providence Police Department.³ Also, the first Italian bakery⁴ was established in this section in the 1870's by Leopaldo Castiglione and was known as "Castiglione and Juliane Bakery."⁵

In this same period Frank DeGrado and Louis Meanl, who had served in the Civil War, became the first Italians to serve on the city's police force. Due to the rising Italian population, Luigi Mainella established the first Italian grocery store on Spruce Street. By this time

¹Peter Donnelly, "A Study of the Background of the Pupils of Bridgham Junior High School" (Providence: The Department of Education, Graduate School of Brown University, 1933), p. 1.

²Providence Trade Journal, p. 152.

³Evening Bulletin, December 12, 1934, p. 12.

⁴The present owners make the famous Giusti Bread.

⁵Evening Bulletin, September 9, 1934, p. 19.

streets such as Spruce, Bond, Brayton, and Dean had a heavy concentration of Italians.¹ They settled here mainly because of the proximity to the city and because of the nearness to the railroad tracks, which meant lower rents. Then also desired to be near their relatives or friends. In a short time Federal Hill became Rhode Island's first "Little Italy." As New York has its Mulberry Street and Boston has its Hanover Street, so too did Providence have its Spruce Street, which became the cradle of the Italian colonists in Rhode Island. The majority of the inhabitants of this section were Margonesi, Fosolini, Forelli, Ischians, and others of the Meridionale group. The census of 1905 reports that the Hill, which was the old ninth ward in Providence,² had a population of 6,651.³

In the 1900's the first pharmacy, the Florence Drug Store, was at 341 Atwells Avenue.⁴ Soon many other stores, bakeries, and markets were established and eventually developed into the present shopping district. Thus, the Federal Hill district flourished due to the Italians; in fact, even the commercial area of Providence, which was affected, changed dramatically.

Due to the enormous population, the Italians began an

¹Evening Bulletin, September 9, 1934, p. 19.

²Today it is the thirteenth ward.

³William Kirk, A Modern City (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909), p. 46.

⁴Ibid., p. 158.

inter-city migration in the 1890's. An average family included the parents, relatives living with the family, boarders, and lodgers--all inhabiting one tenement or apartment. The average number in an Italo-American family in Providence was seven, but the range was anywhere from two to eighteen.¹ The sections of Providence affected by this inter-city migration were the North End and Silver Lake. Many Italians also moved to the outlying areas of Rhode Island, including Thornton, Hughesdale, Simmonsville, Knightsville, Barrington, Bristol, Natick, and even Westerly.

The second largest "Little Italy" was established in the North End district of Providence. This area included such streets as Charles, Hawkins, Ledge, Russo, and Branch Avenue. North End also comprised the section called Eagle Park, which included Admiral Street, Douglas Avenue, and River Avenue. The inhabitants within this area were largely from Capriate al Volturno, Venafro, Rocchetta al Volturno, and Caserta. The census in 1905 stated that the total population in this area which is the old third ward² was approximately 3,137.³ Formerly a residential section, it became heavily settled following the same patterns as Federal Hill. By the 1900's some portions of North Providence were annexed to the city of

¹Donnelly, "Bridgham Junior High," p. 6.

²Today it is the fourth ward.

³Kirk, Modern City, p. 340.

Providence to meet the needs of the North End community.

The North End became heavily populated, especially the Branch and Douglas Avenue section, due to the rise of the Wanskuck Mill.¹ Some of the names of the pioneer settlers of this area with descendants living today are the Barone's, Riccardi's, Cimorelli's, Angelone's, Montaquila's,² Cardarelli's, and Pontarelli's. The Charles Street community was established by Teodora DeNicola in 1879.³ The Italian community in Eagle Park was founded by Michael Cardarelli around this same period.⁴

In the late 1890's the Italians developed Providence's third "Little Italy." The particular community was on the western side of the city. This area had a small beautiful lake "edged by an abundant verdant growth" which cast a silver-like reflection across this body of water. Thus, the people attached the name "Silver Lake." However, in due time the "Silver Lake" dried up but its name continued. It is a predominately Italian section which constitutes the old eighth ward of Providence. The Latin people who inhabited this area were from various sections of Italy such as Naples, Benevento, Frosinone,

¹Reddatori; Rev'mo John F. Sullivan, D.D. e Padre Vincenzo F. Kunberger, O.P., "Storia Della Parrocchia Di S. Anna In Occasione Del Giubileo D'Argento Sacerdotale del Parroco, 1900-1925" (Providence, R. I.), p. 9.

²They later changed their name to McKendall and founded the McKendall Lumber Company.

³Evening Bulletin, October 31, 1934, p. 17.

⁴The present City Treasurer of the City of Providence, Michael Cardarelli, is a descendant of Michael Cardarelli.

and Caserta. Over 2,000 people inhabited this area in 1902,¹ and by 1910 there were over 5,000.

In a short span of years the Italians through natural increases and accretion from Italy became a significant factor both politically and economically. In 1905 there were 285 Italian marriages and 1,233 births. In 1907 a total of 383 marriages were reported and 1,915 births. By 1910 the Italians owned in real estate \$5,500,000 in Providence and in the state \$8,000,000.²

In each "Little Italy" there was eventually founded an Italian language church. Although the state of Rhode Island had already established Catholic parishes, the Italo-Americans, in view of the language and social barriers, insisted on the development of their own.

The first Italian priest in Rhode Island to administer his duties to this group was a Reverend Anthony Cassesse, a native of Palma, Naples. He served as a curate in Pawtucket in 1867. Soon others followed individually to labor among the Italians. However, the first Italian language parish in Rhode Island was the Holy Ghost Church founded in 1899. By the invitation of Bishop Harkins of the Diocese of Providence, Father Luigi Paroli established a Mission Church on Brayton Street. Later it became a chapel to meet the spiritual needs of the colony on Spruce Street. With the rise of the number of immigrants, the church was dedicated to the Holy

¹"St. Bartholomew's Parish-Golden Jubilee, 1907-1957" (Providence, R. I.), pp. 12-14.

²Providence Trade Journal, p. 153.

Ghost in 1890 on the corner of Knight Street and Atwells Avenue, and by 1910 the present structure of the church was completed.¹

St. Ann's Church began as a Mission Church in 1895 in an old building in North Providence under the guidance of the pastor of Holy Ghost Church. In 1898 it became a chapel because of the increase of Italians in Eagle Park, Charles Street, and North Providence and ultimately was established as an independent church in 1906. Its first pastor was Father Anthony Bove.² The present structure is located on Hawkins Street and Russo Street opposite Hopkins Park. Its dedication was in 1910.³

In view of the rise of the Italian population in Silver Lake, the Church of St. Bartholomew was established under the guidance of the clergy of the Holy Ghost Church as a Mission Church in 1902. It later became a chapel in 1907 and was formally dedicated as an independent church in 1910. Its first pastor was the Rev. Nicolino Armento.⁴ In 1901 St. Rocco's was established and in

¹Giovanni Schiavo, Italian-American History: The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America (New York: The Vigo Press, 1949), p. 1021.

²He was elevated to the rank of a Domestic Prelate in the Catholic Church with the title of Rt. Rev. Monsignor. Msgr. Bove was well known along the Atlantic coast as a missionary preacher in Portland, Maine, Fall River, Mass., Pennsylvania, and upper state New York. In 1918, because of his work among the Italians, he was honored with the title of the Italian Chevalier of the Crown of Italy.

³"Storia Della Parrochia," pp. 31-36.

⁴"St. Bartholomew," p. 8.

1912 came the Church of the Holy Angels in Barrington. Others were Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol in 1916 and the Immaculate Conception in Westerly in 1907. After 1920 various other churches were developed in Providence, North Providence, Pawtucket, Woonsocket, and Cranston.¹

For the most part, the Italians were predominately active members of the Roman Catholic Church. However, there was a strong movement of the Protestants to convert the immigrant Italians with the idea of "Americanizing" them. In order to meet the social and spiritual needs of those converted, several Protestant churches were established.² In 1897 the Italian Baptist Church was founded on Dean Street. It later moved to Marietta Street in the Charles Street section of North End, and by 1925 it was relocated on Charles Street under Rev. Vincenzo DiDomenica. The oldest Methodist Church for the Italians was established in 1900 as the Broadway Methodist Church. Soon others followed such as the Federal Hill Baptist in 1904 and the First Presbyterian Church in East Providence.³

Michale Pesaturo established in 1895 the first weekly Italian language newspaper called L'Aurora. The old edifice, incidently, still exists on Spruce Street.⁴

¹Rev. Thomas F. Cullen, The Catholic Church in Rhode Island (North Providence, R. I.: The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, 1936), pp. 247-50.

²Lawrence Frank Pisani, The Italian in America--A Social Study and History (New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1957), p. 168.

³Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, pp. 21-23.

⁴Ibid., p. 181.

According to the general trends, this paper was established in the very heart of the "Cradle Colony" in Federal Hill. L'Aurora was replaced in 1896 by L'Aurora Novella under editorship of Alphonso La Ricca. L'Echo Del Rhode Island, replacing L'Aurora Novella, was founded in 1897 by Federico Curzio. Originally this paper was an Italian weekly, but it soon became an English-Italian weekly as it is today. There came similar papers--The Italo-American Tribune in 1902 under Antonio Pace and Il Courriere Del Rhode Island in 1908. These had a tremendous effect on the Italian element. They published customary local news of births, deaths, and club meetings. Another feature was a set of questions with answers to guide the reader in understanding the naturalization process. In addition to the local news, happenings in Italy were reported with appropriate editorial comments. This actually was the principal means of the continuance of the Italian language, culture, and customs. The Italian newspapers endeavored to maintain the cohesive spirit among the Italo-Americans.¹

From the earliest periods of the immigration, the social isolation of this group was apparent. Most people never moved out of their areas, and some never saw other places in Rhode Island. In fact, traveling from one section to another was like traveling from state to state. many of them left their own neighborhoods for brief visits with friends and relatives. Many of these people never

¹Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, pp. 181-82.

learned English well enough to speak it correctly. This form of isolation contributed greatly to the Italian's sense of insecurity. Even when they did acquire a substantial amount of money, they purchased homes either in the same "Little Italy" or in others, still keeping in the confines of their own group. These districts protected the Italian who was unaware of his social differences such as religion, customs, and habits. It was only when the second generation became educated that a social integration became evident. For example, former residents of Federal Hill have moved into Mount Pleasant, North Providence, Cranston, and elsewhere. In Rhode Island it is common to find a Whelan, a Monti, and a LaFarge on the same street.

Despite many social obstacles, a handful of Italians were graduated from professional schools and gave rise to a new class. The elite were able to accumulate large savings. This element purchased homes from prominent Rhode Islanders such as the Gladdings, Pecks, Barnabys, and McGabes. Thus, a new aristocracy was developed, replacing the "Yankee Aristocracy" on Broadway. About 1905 the first Italian to settle on Broadway was Dr. Vito L. Raia. Vito Famiglietti came in 1909, and, from Knightville, Meriano Vervana occupied the old Brownell mansion. Dr. Pasquale Maiello occupied the "Old Barnaby Castle" on Sutton and Broadway. The Broadway district soon supplied the Italian with many social and cultural

clubs. The Broadway Hospital was established in the former mansion of the Maltison family. Professional Italian men and artists moved into neighboring streets such as Vinton, Sutton, and Knight.¹

Within the confines of this area, various organizations were established by the immigrants themselves with the idea of banding together to keep the memories of the "paese." This led to the rise of the mutual aid societies. The Italians worked zealously and earnestly to acquire some money to send to their relatives. In turn, when they settled in America, they followed the same pattern. Hence, many of the same "paesani" came and banded together, and the development of an organization resulted. The various groups that did appear differed from one another in either religious customs or dialects. The various organizations were then named after such Italian regions as the Teanese and the Calabresi. Still others assumed the name of their particular "paesi" such as the Societa' Volturmo, and others named themselves after a patron saint such as Incoronata di Puglia.

These organizations were the forums of the immigrant Italians. The Italo-American Club is the oldest Italian organization in Providence or in Rhode Island, coming into existence on March 2, 1899. This club attempted to solve such problems of the emigré as shelter, food, and clothing. Money was given when there was a death or

¹Evening Bulletin, February 13, 1935, p. 12.

a wedding in the immigrant family, and many social activities were provided. There existed other clubs such as the Italian Benevolent Society founded by the inhabitants from Lucca, Italy. Another was the Societa di M. S.¹ Trenacria which was organized in 1908 and devoted primarily to the care and assistance of its members in times of sickness and death.² Another was the Cittadini di Pico, which was founded in 1911.³ The Society Victor Emmanuel existed in the North End area in 1905. The Order of the Sons of Italy was developed in 1914.⁴ The first organization for Italian women was Lodge Maria Montessori in 1916 in Silver Lake. The aims of this organization were to promote the moral and cultural progress of its members and the advancement of the Italo-Americans of Rhode Island.⁵

The early banks catering to the special need of the Italian immigrants were largely one-man institutions. When the emigr desired to save his earnings, he might seek out a trusted fellow Italian called a "padrone" to take care of it for him. In the transaction, the "padrone" would sometimes take advantage of the illiterate.⁶

¹M. S. stands for Mutual Assistance.

²Evening Bulletin, March 6, 1936, p. 19.

³Ibid., March 5, 1936, p. 12.

⁴Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, p. 187.

⁵Ibid., p. 184.

⁶Interview with Archille Vervana, Manager of the Mt. Pleasant Branch of the Citizens Savings Bank, December 5, 1959.

The first Italian to start a private bank on the Hill was Pasquale Mastrantuono in 1878.¹ The first foreign exchange bank was established by Nicola Caldarone in 1894. Located on Spruce Street, it was also a steamship ticket agency. Even to this day it is remembered as "The Bank of Federal Hill."² The Italian Consul at this time was Mariano Vervena who schooled Italians in the ways of banking. Because of the trust the people had in him, he too became a private banker. When the immigrant laborer handed over his envelope for safe keeping, Vervena issued a passbook to keep an accurate record. Due to his success, Vervena established in 1900 the Columbus Exchange Bank which functioned as a private bank until 1910 when it was granted a charter by the state.³

Motivated by the abuses of the Italians by the local banks, Antonio DeCeasaris,⁴ in the North End district, and Luigi Cippolla,⁵ in Silver Lake, established private banks.

¹Evening Bulletin, October 3, 1934, p. 14.

²Providence Journal, February 22, 1959.

³In 1933 this bank closed its doors because of the financial collapse of the country and was liquidated. In its place a new bank emerged--The Columbus National Bank. Interview with Archille Vervena, January 14, 1960.

⁴DeCeasaris later established the Garranty Loan in 1921. Interview with Antonio DeCeasaris, February 20, 1960.

⁵Interview with Archille Vervena, January 14, 1960.

During this period, the Italians began to advance themselves and entered many fields of endeavor. In so doing, these individuals, whether in politics, medicine, or law, greatly aided the prestige of the Italians and led to the gradual decline of the maltreatment of this group. The Italian no longer had to depend on the Irish as interpreters to aid him in his legal matter. About 1905 Antonio Capotosto,¹ Anthony Pettini, and Luigi DePasquale² were prominent in the legal arena. The first Italian to serve on the Providence School Committee was John Barone in 1908, and Guistino Benedictus became the first Italian to be elected to the Common Council of Providence in the same year. Others were active in local politics and later became members of the council and the Rhode Island House of Representatives--Adamo Aiello, Vito Famiglietti, Frank Alber, Michael Cardarelli, and the Mariani Family.

By 1895 Drs. F. Cergo, Vairano, and Pricio were tending to the medical needs of the Italo-American communities. Other men were Dr. Luigi Scotti, Dr. Tito Angeloni, who also was an alderman from the third ward, and Dr. Vito L. Raia. There were many who became prominent dentists such as Rocco DeFeo, Dr. Angelo DeConti,

¹He was the first Italian to be graduated from Harvard University School of Law. He also taught at this institution. The crowning moment of his career was when he became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in Rhode Island.

²He died recently, and the main thoroughfare on the Hill--Balbo Avenue--is now named DePasquale Avenue honoring the famous judge.

Dr. Vincent DeConte, and Dr. Saverino Pennine.¹

Italo-Americans went into business and industry also. The Uncas Manufacturing Company was founded by Vincent Sorrentino. Uncas is one of the largest ring industries in the world. Trifari of Rhode Island, internationally known today, was started in New York in 1908 and later moved to this state.² There was also the establishment of the Imperial Knife Company. By 1920 the California Artificial Flower Company³ was established by Michael D'Agnillo, who came to Providence in 1910 from Argentina.⁴ Still many other families such as the Ricciardi's, Mariani's, and the Pennine's are known locally as morticians.

The development of the Italians in Rhode Island is largely colored by their language and culture. Their solidarity was preserved by their language church, papers, societies, and banks. Individually, the Italians have attained a position of prestige and respect and have collectively contributed to the general welfare of the state of Rhode Island in the social, political, and economic arenas. They were affected by American institutions in their process of becoming good citizens. Likewise, the Italian contributions have affected the

¹Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, pp. 27-30.

²Evening Bulletin, November 21, 1934, p. 14.

³Pesaturo, Italo-Americans, p. 31.

⁴Evening Bulletin, December 5, 1934, p. 10.

American environment. As time passed, they became more and more important in political affairs.

CHAPTER III

ITALO-AMERICAN REACTION TO WILSON'S VIEWS-- INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND EDITORIALS

The Italo-American's bitter resentment of Wilson did not start with the Paris Peace Conference where he persistently denied Fiume to Italy. Instead, it dated back to the year 1902 when his book entitled History of the American People was published. In this work, Wilson displayed a contemptuous attitude toward immigrants from central and eastern Europe and advocated the restrictions on the immigration of this group. Since the Italian element was the largest faction within this group of immigrants, they took this as a direct insult. His uncomplimentary opinion of the Italians is plain from the following passage:

But now there came multitudes of men of lowest class from the south of Italy . . . Men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population, the men whose standards of life and of work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of.¹

The Italians as well as other nationals of this group

¹Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902), pp. 212-13.

were further injured when he compared the Chinese to the "new immigrant." "The Chinese were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports."¹

In the beginning Wilson, the scholar, did not sense the resentment of these people. When he aspired to the presidency in 1912, he took the initiative to purge himself of the remark made a decade before. Realizing that opposition might hurt his opportunities for the nomination, Wilson made several attempts to rectify his error--especially when various newspapers of these immigrant groups began to criticize him. Italian newspapers recorded such headlines as "Woodrow Wilson contro I Cittadini Forestieri."²

Although the Italians did offer some form of protest, they failed to become effective because basically they were not organized as an active pressure group. The majority were not citizens and could not utilize the right of franchise. The Italo-American did not burden himself with national issues, for he had his own peculiar sectional and regional problems. These problems extended to social, economic, and religious matters. As a minority group already abused, they decided to remain inactive against

¹Wilson, History, pp. 212-13.

²Woodrow Wilson is against foreign citizens.
Louis L. Gerson, Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 59.

Wilson.

However, by 1919 the Italians had progressed in many areas to such an extent that leaders of national and local governments became aware of their value.

Despite earlier hostility to Wilson, the Italo-Americans appear to have supported the President, since he was the leader of the Democratic Party and promised to re-adjust the boundaries of Italy.¹ But his declaration of April 23, 1919, refusing Fiume to Italy, caused the alienation of this hyphenated group--above all in Rhode Island. Wilson's refusal to allow Fiume to be annexed to Italy resulted in the organization of Italo-American opposition to him. This was one of Wilson's greatest mistakes in his career in politics.

When Gabriele D'Annunzio seized Fiume, the Italians in Rhode Island looked to this patriot as another Garibaldi; many were of the opinion that he would restore Fiume to Italy through divine assistance.² Because of appeals of the local Italian newspapers, many Italo-Americans not only gave their moral support of D'Annunzio but also financial contributions.

One group was sponsored by the Sons of Italy of Rhode Island in joint-cooperation with their member units throughout the United States. Locally, it was under the leadership of Vito Famiglietti, President of the organiza-

¹Interview with Luigi Scala, President of the Columbus National Bank, December 3, 1959.

²L'Alba (Newport, R. I.), November 29, 1919, p. 1.

tion, and Luigi Cipolla, Grand Venerable. There were other groups, including the Loggia Carducci, La Loggia D'Annunzio,¹ Loggia G. Mazzini #509,² a religious society of Manton, R. I.--La Madonna Dell Defesa--under the leadership of Father Vittorio Cangiano, and the Italian Baptist Church of Federal Hill. Various individuals in Providence canvassed houses for money.³

The Italo-Americans of Rhode Island were so successful that they commanded the admiration of the Times of Rome, Italy, which praised various local--especially the Teanese Society of Providence--groups for their financial assistance and other activities in their attempts to aid the Italians.⁴

Unable to convince Wilson, the Italians of Rhode Island resorted to pressuring their congressmen through petitions. The Rhode Islanders were able to gain the support of Senator Le Baron Colt and Representatives Clark Burdick and Ambrose Kennedy.⁵ Senator Colt received petitions asking for self-determination of the people of Fiume.⁶ One petition represented 5,000 Italo-Americans

¹L'Echo Del Rhode Island, October 2, 1919, p. 1.

²Il Courriere Del Rhode Island (Providence, R. I.), November 22, 1919.

³L'Echo Del Rhode Island, October 23, 1919, p. 1.

⁴Ibid., June 28, 1919, p. 1.

⁵Senator Colt of Bristol was elected on the Republican Ticket in 1918. Representative Kennedy of Woonsocket and of the Third District was also a Republican. Representative Burdick was a native of Newport, representing the first Congressional district.

⁶U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1919, LVIII, Part 2, 11425.

of the Sons of Italy in Rhode Island.¹ A petition representing the Board of Aldermen of Providence and the 54,000 Italians of Rhode Island urged the Senator in the name of justice to settle the Fiume question favorably for Italy.² As Il Courriere Del Rhode Island expressed it in one of its headlines, "Giustizia, non Elemosina."³

The aldermen of the Ninth Ward passed still another resolution on October 3, 1919 protesting the interference of the United States in European affairs. The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, there is a large number of American citizens of Italian parentage who have bravely and loyally served and died for the self-determination of small nations and to make the world free for democracy, and

Whereas, Italy, as an allied country, has heroically and efficiently performed her task in bringing about the downfall of our common enemies, and

Whereas, the Italian people, both in and out of Italy, deem the city of Fiume as their own, both from historical and national reasons, be it hereby

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Representatives of this State in the United States Senate.⁴

Senator Colt received other petitions from such societies as the Teanese Society and the Societa Ceasare

¹L'Echo Del Rhode Island, July 26, 1919, p. 1.

²U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1919, LVIII, Part 7, 6428.

³Justice and not charity. Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, November 8, 1919, p. 1.

⁴Evening Bulletin, October 3, 1919, p. 7.

Baptista.¹ He responded that he would fully support their request by submitting these petitions to the Committee on Foreign Relations for further consideration.² A petition opposing United States support of Yugoslavia was also received by Representatives Ambrose Kennedy and Clark Burdick.³

Professor Vincent Cinquegrano, editor of Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, was one of the more influential individuals to arouse public reaction; he held numerous public rallies in Providence and Westerly and in Worcester, Massachusetts. He urged the development of "Patriotissimo Italianita" and the granting of Fiume to Italy.⁴

In gatherings for various purposes--such as preparations for Columbus Day banquets--prominent Italo-Americans began to seek the support of the Italians to campaign against Wilson.⁵ Irrespective of their political affiliations, many Italo-Americans condemned him. The general feelings expressed were that Fiume belonged to Italy not

¹Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, July 12, 1919, p. 1.

²L'Echo Del Rhode Island, July 26, 1919, p. 1.

³U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1919, LVIII, Part 1, 723.

⁴Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, November 8, 1919, p. 1.

⁵At these meetings were such men as Luigi DePasquale, Representative of the 14th District, Antonio Ventrone, Councilman of the 9th Ward, Adamo Aiello, Representative of the 11th District, Michael Cardarelli, Representative of the 6th District, Antonio Capotosto, and various aldermen and school committeemen. They usually met in the Sons of Italy Hall on Spruce Street.

only because the inhabitants desired to be annexed but also as a reward for Italy's services during the war.¹ The contention was the one that England and France would have lost the war if Italy had not joined them. Italy's imperialistic motives were camouflaged by allegations that she could have remained neutral and had been a former member of the Triple Alliance. Finally, these Italo-Americans argued, since Croatia had always aided Austria, why not give Fiume to an ally? These were the facts, they concluded, that Wilson had overlooked.²

At several Columbus Day banquets³ held on the Hill, Providence's Mayor Gainor praised the Italian for his co-operation and spirit of Americanization.⁴

There were other groups opposing Wilson in his stand on Fiume. A small representation of the faculty at Brown University, and the Rhode Island Foresters Association,⁵ openly supported the Italo-American movement to attempt to influence Wilson.

When the problems of the Adriatic area were under consideration, L'Echo Del Rhode Island questioned the motives of Wilson and denounced him for "attempting to

¹Evening Bulletin, October 2, 1919, p. 8.

²Ibid., October 3, 1919, p. 7.

³These banquets in 1919 honored not only Columbus but also D'Annunzio in an attempt to raise funds for his campaign.

⁴Evening Bulletin, October 13, 1919.

⁵Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, November 8, 1919, p. 1.

give Danzig to Poland" but changing his policy in the case of Fiume, which he promised to Yugoslavia.¹ The President said, "This government [United States] cannot accept a settlement the terms of which have been admitted to be unwise and unjust."² In granting Fiume to Yugoslavia, Wilson justified his actions. Italy had not been granted Fiume in the Pact of London, and in view of the commercial and economic aspects, this port would be a suitable outlet to the Adriatic for the Slavs.

Defending the elements of isolation, The Italian Echo expressed its opinion that Wilson was not fulfilling the principles handed down by George Washington and was embarking upon a new form of diplomacy which in itself was revolutionary. The newspaper labelled him a "spirited colt."³ The Echo did stress that Wilson's Fourteen Points were good sound principles, but the President had "crucified" himself in the application of his principles. Moreover, because of his political beliefs, Wilson was charged with ignoring the consultations of the Republican dominated congress. Even at this early stage, the editor of the paper, quoting the Italian nationalist, Count Cavour, predicted the future political suicide of Wilson. Cavour observed that, "In order to govern people, one must have brains and reason. A brain that lets itself be destroyed

¹L'Echo Del Rhode Island, January 11, 1919, p. 1.

²U. S., Senate Documents, 66th Cong., 2d Sess., XV, 7671.

³L'Echo Del Rhode Island, April 24, 1919.

by ambition becomes a good piece of dough to make pastry."¹
As some critics states, Wilson ignored Republican opposition and comments and was determined to get his own way.

The Italian Echo bitterly attacked the Providence Evening Tribune and the Providence News as Democratic outlets which confused and defaced the real issues because of party solidarity, and it urged the Italo-Americans to vote by conviction in the forthcoming election.²

In an open letter to the editor of the New York Times, which had favored Wilson, Cinquegrano attempted to correct the editor. He stated that as long as traditions, culture, and language were considered intrinsically a part of history, these very facts reveal to what country the Adriatic belonged.³ The Providence Journal stated in an editorial, "To force it [Adriatic] upon the hands of Yugoslavia would be an unnatural act." As a possible alternative, the paper did recommend giving some African possessions to Italy to compensate for the way she had been denied that which rightfully belonged to her.⁴

In an editorial dated June 7, 1919, Il Courriere Del Rhode Island stressed that the actions of Wilson would alienate the Italian hyphenate group. In 1919 the Fiume question did cause the loss of the Italo-American support.

¹L'Echo Del Rhode Island, June 19, 1919.

²Ibid., October 2, 1919.

³Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, February 1, 1919.

⁴Providence Journal, July 3, 1919

This was particularly evident in Rhode Island.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, President Wilson, as reported in the Providence Journal, now desired the assistance of Senator Colt of Rhode Island to win support for his League of Nations. In the election of 1918, Wilson had urged the people of Rhode Island to defeat Colt, but it was primarily the Italo-American vote that secured the Rhode Islander his position in Congress. President Wilson attempted to gain the friendship of the Senator from Rhode Island in the hope that he would also acquire Rhode Island Italo-American support.¹ He invited a select group of Congressmen, including Senator Colt, to a White House Conference. The President's aim was to have these men sponsor him in their native states. Senator Colt stated, "This does not mean that I reached a decision that the League should be ratified in the precise form in which it is now presented."² The Senator, realizing the repercussions locally as well as nationally, belonged to the group that favored an international organization, but only if certain compromises were made. Colt never actually supported Wilson.

A strong opposition to Wilson grew in the country as a whole and in Rhode Island in particular. By the end of the year, 1919, largely through the initiative of the leader of the Republican Party, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge,

¹Providence Journal, July 19, 1919.

²Ibid., July 20, 1919.

the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles with the League of Nations was delayed. It was primarily the Republican Italo-Americans who persuaded the Italians to oppose Wilson and his Democratic supporters.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL OPPOSITION

Among the staunch opponents of Wilson were the majority of Republicans and Lodge, in particular, who smarted over the defeats in 1912 and 1916. Wilson's failure to appoint any outstanding Republican political leaders to the Paris Peace Commission aroused still greater indignation on their part. When the League of Nations was proposed, the Republicans, to restore their own popularity, began a campaign to dampen their opposition's.

The "round robin" in March, 1919, declared openly the hostility of thirty-seven Republican Senators to the League of Nations. In 1912 the Republicans were not a united group, but after Wilson's successes, a carefully planned campaign of reorganization began with the purpose of defeating the incumbent and his party.

Senator Lodge called for a diplomatic policy which should be "without bluster and without cringing." He advocated that the strength and position of the United States as a member of the community of nations could be maintained only when coupled with justice and fair dealings concerning Fiume.

Senator Lodge, along with Theodore Roosevelt, was

the strongest nationally known politician to support a "League to Enforce Peace" until Wilson took the same position in 1916. It must have been his opposition to the President that made him revolt against the decisions of Versailles. In his speech of August 12, 1919 before the Senate, Lodge defended the forces of isolationism and opposed the Covenant of the League of Nations. In essence the speech is as follows:

National I must remain, and in that way I, like all other Americans, can render the amplest service to the world. The United States is the world's best hope; but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come, as in the years that have gone. Strong, generous, and confident, she has nobly served mankind. Beware how you trifle with your marvelous inheritance, this great land of liberty, for if we stumble and fall, freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin.¹

Senator Lodge once stated to his colleague Senator Borah of Idaho that he hoped to defeat Wilson's Treaty even if it had to be by a single vote in the Senate.² His determination was such that Lodge was willing to veto any of Wilson's proposals. It was in this frame of mind that the able politician from Massachusetts capitalized

¹U. S., Senate Documents, Memorial Addresses on Henry Cabot Lodge, 68th Cong., 2d Sess., 1925, Sen. Doc. 232, pp. 16-17. As cited in an address by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, Monday, December 1, 1924.

²Buhl L. Bartlett, The League to Enforce Peace (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 133.

on the many immigrant groups as one method of strengthening the opposition to Wilson. It is said that the Senator was an ardent advocate of Americanism rather than partisanship. His support of the war was wholehearted as was his opposition to the President's policy after the war. During the war, because national security was endangered, Lodge compromised with Wilson; but later his personal animosity towards the man overcame him.

The forces of the hyphenates--Italian, Irish, German, Polish, etc.--believed that the Senate could redress their grievances. Senator Lodge felt that the only way he and the Republican party could aid them was by bringing all forms of pressure on Wilson and his party.

In a telegram to the Italo-American societies of Boston, which must have been known to similar Providence groups, he stressed that he would support their movement to annex Fiume to Italy because Italy's national security was at stake and any contrary movement favoring the Slavs was "purely commercial and economic." Comparing the city of New Orleans to that of Fiume, he noted that if the former city were under a foreign power, the United States' security would be jeopardized; so too would be Italy's if she did not obtain Fiume. Although Lodge did introduce his own "reservations" to the League, he knew from the beginning that they would not be accepted by the originator.

The cause of the Italian was greatly accented when Senator F. B. Brandegee introduced into the Senate a

newspaper article which purported to illustrate how Wilson had discovered the problems of Europe. It questioned the President's experience as a diplomat compared to that of the Europeans. The conclusion arrived at demonstrated how Wilson had strengthened the enmity existing between Italy and the Slavs and now including the United States.¹

In a similar manner, Senator Philander C. Knox quoted an article from the Philadelphia North America. It stressed that if the Adriatic were allotted to Yugoslavia as Wilson contended, Italy would suffer economically. Fiume should not be given to Italy because of the Pact of 1915 but should be given on the grounds of self-determination.² The Senator remarked that the peace of the world was endangered by Wilson's action.³ Thus the Republicans were now on their "bandwagon" in a strong anti-Wilson campaign.

There were other congressmen who protested. Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois sympathized with the Italo-Americans. He illustrated this by presenting documentary evidence⁴ that the people of Fiume four days before the signing of the Armistice desired to be a part of Italy. He declared in Congress that "Fiume is Italian by the

¹U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 4, 3658, citing an article of Frank Simmonds of the New York Tribune.

²Ibid., 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 4, 3661.

³Ibid.

⁴He used as his sources the personal interviews of those who formerly inhabited Fiume.

blood that flows in her veins, the words of her mouth, and the burning desire of her heart."¹ He also cited the many individuals who were a part of the American delegation to the peace commission and had resigned their positions because of their loss of faith in the President.² He quoted the letter of resignation of William Bullitt. It is as follows:

Therefore the duty of the Government of the United States to its own people and to mankind is to refuse to sign or ratify this unjust treaty, to refuse to guarantee its settlement by entering the League . . . to refuse to entangle the United States further. . . . [To Wilson] I am sorry you did not fight our fight to a finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men like myself, in every nation, who had faith in you.

Congress now began to feel the pressure of the newly organized Italian-Americans. It adopted a resolution which reads as follows:

Whereas, the census of Fiume shows an Italian population of 28,911 and a Slav population of 10,927, an Italian majority of 17,984; and

Whereas, the population of the village of Sussek, which is separated from Fiume and to which no claim for annexation is made by Italy, is composed of 3,871 Slavs and 658 Italians; and

Whereas, the two sections, even when taken together, show a total population of

¹U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 3, 3299.

²Here Senator Sherman cited The London Star of April 14, 1919, which noted the names of the members of the American delegation.

³U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 3, 3299.

29,569 Italians and 14,798 Slavs, or a clear Italian majority of 14,771 in both the city of Fiume and the village of Sussek; and

Whereas, certain Jugo-Slav officers changing these figures to confuse impartial and disinterested parties in furtherance of their avowed purpose of creating opposition against and attempting to prevent the annexation of Fiume to Italy; and

Whereas, it is the desire of the Senate of the United States to mete justice to all parties concerned without fear or favor, when the treaty of peace between the United States of America and its Allies on one part and the Austro-Hungarian Government on the other part shall be presented to the United States Senate for ratification; and

Whereas, it is the desire of the Senate of the United States to be properly advised as to the population of the city of Fiume and of the village of Sussek, so that its judgment or decision may be not rendered difficult on account of false and unsupported claims; therefore be it

Resolved, that the President of the United States to be requested if not incompatible with public interest, to instruct the delegation of the United States of America at the Peace Conference at Versailles to secure, in conjunction with the representation of our Allies--Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan--and under their joint impartial, and personal control a correct census showing the correct population of Fiume and the village of Sussek separately, and its division according to race, color, or nationalities, and to forward the same to the Senate for its advice and guidance at the earliest possible moment.¹

Other petitions such as the resolution from the House² and a joint resolution from Congress³ were adopted.

¹U. S., Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 4, 3299.

²Ibid., 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 6, 5887.

³Ibid., 66th Cong., 1st Sess., LVIII, 1919, Part 1, 554.

Lodge's committee began to hold public hearings in early September, 1919. At one of its sessions, there appeared several persons who embraced Italy's cause. Congressman Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York, representing the Sons of Italy in America, stated that while at Paris he talked with Colonel House and came to an understanding which would solve the Adriatic problem. This agreement would unite Fiume and Sussek as a collective unit to Italy; it urged that the parts of Fiume as well as Zara and Sebenico should be free sections. Finally, Italy would relinquish certain islands in the Aegean.¹

In the same meeting before this body, Senator S. A. Cotillo of New York, representing the Italo-Americans of the United States, re-affirmed to the committee the Fiumeans' right to self-determination, referring to Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Declaration of Emperor Charles I of Austria which guaranteed this principle. Senator Cotillo then presented to the committee the October Declaration of the Fiumeans, which had originally been forwarded to the Commission in Paris. The resolution reads as follows:

The Italian National Council of Fiume, assembled today in full session, declares that by reason of that right whereby all the nations have attained independence and liberty the city of Fiume, which up to now was a "separate body" constituting an Italian National Commune, also

¹U. S., Senate Documents, Hearings before the Committee of Foreign Relations, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., X, 1109ff.

claims for itself the right of self-determination. Taking its stand on this right, the National Council proclaims Fiume united to its mother land, Italy. The Italian National Council considers as provisional the state of things that commenced on October 28, 1918, and it places its rights under the protection of America, the Mother of Liberty and of Universal Democracy. And it awaits the sanctions of this right at the hand of the peace congress.¹

The Senator from New York urged the committee members to support such an international cause and hoped that they in turn would request the American government to negotiate with this National Council of Fiume. In closing he reiterated the plea of Senator R. L. Owen, "Shall we question Italy when the Italians by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands died for a common cause with us?"² Senator George H. Moses, a member of the committee, questioned those testifying. Would the League of Nations be influential in attaining Fiume's annexation to Italy? The Senator from New York responded that the fulfillment of the Fiumeans' aspirations lay in the hands of the United States, and this was recognized to be their only hope.³

¹U. S., Senate Documents, Hearings, p. 1120. This National Council sent a delegation to the Peace Conference but was not admitted. To the Fiumeans this was a violation of their declaration of October 28, 1918. The Fiumeans sent a telegram to the Peace Commission stating, "We are Italians and not a savage tribe, and . . . are men who cannot believe that nations of Washington, of Victor Hugo, of Gladstone dare to shoot their cannons against a little indefensible town . . . We are now and forever more proud of our liberty and our Italianity." This telegram was also forwarded to Senator Lodge.

²Ibid., as stated before the U. S. Senate, July 31, 1918.

³Ibid., p. 1141.

Dr. L. Vaccaro of Delaware denied Wilson's contention that Yugoslavia needed the port of Fiume in view of the many good natural ports she already possessed.¹ The Slavs had an excellent railroad system running from these ports to Sarajevo and Belgrade.²

Although there were many testifying, one made a favorable impression on the senators--W. H. Fields. He revealed the sentiments of the minority members of the American delegation to the peace conference, which had favored House's idea of giving Fiume to Italy, and submitted their signed statements to the committee in a form of a declaration.³

In reality, Lodge was as unconcerned about the Italian problem in the Adriatic as was Wilson. However, he observed the reaction of the Italo-Americans and exploited it. Wilson overtly opposed them; Lodge said he agreed with them and led them to believe that he could help them. He knew that this would be an impossibility; but in view of the forthcoming election, Lodge, the politician, needed their support to defeat the Democrats.

¹He referred to the ports of Buccari, Carlo Page, Spalato, Morcassa, etc.

²U. S., Senate Documents, Hearings, p. 1145.

³Ibid., p. 1148. Mr. Fields was also a member of the delegation to Paris.

CHAPTER V

THE ELECTION OF 1920--NATIONAL, LOCAL

Benjamin Franklin once stated that America was a nation of politicians. Politics has always been one of its greatest indoor and outdoor sports. Inevitably, politics has had a great influence in the making of American foreign policy. A spectacular illustration of politics in foreign affairs occurred during the period of 1919-1920. Senator Lodge declared at one time that politics should "stop at the three-mile line." However, Lodge did not even stop at this international boundary. Instead, he gave an unprecedented demonstration of how partisan advantage may be put above the nation's welfare.¹

The supporters of Lodge predicted from the beginning that the Senate would engage in "one of the great debates in the history of popular government."² Lodge himself stated that the League would be the "biggest Republican issue since the Civil War."³

¹Thomas A. Bailey, The Man in the Street (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), p. 88.

²Karl Schriftgiesser, The Gentleman from Massachusetts: Henry Cabot Lodge (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1944), p. 304.

³Ibid., p. 305.

The forces of partisanship became more acute when Wilson's views were voiced at the Jackson Day Dinner on January 8, 1920.

We cannot rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then after the rest of the World has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate treaty with Germany.¹

Joseph Tumulty, the President's secretary, was aware of the uncompromising objectives of the opposition and believed that a milder attitude on the part of Wilson concerning his Adriatic stand might revive his popularity in the forthcoming election.²

The presidential secretary repeatedly urged Wilson to seek political support by touring the country, especially in sections such as New England where the hyphenate groups were concentrated. Tumulty was responsible for Wilson's visit to Providence on February 25, 1919.³ At first, the predominately Republican Rhode Island House refused to extend an invitation to Wilson. Later it became bitterly divided over the wording of the original resolution inviting the President. The phrasing of the draft praised the President's success at Paris and promised assistance in

¹New York Times, January 9, 1920, p. 1.

²John M. Blum, Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1951), p. 183.

³Prior to this address, the President spoke at Boston on the 24th of that month.

the furtherance of his policies "in behalf of humanity and Democracy."¹ However, a compromise resolution was later adopted. It read as follows:

Resolved, that his Excellency, the Governor, in behalf of the people of the State of Rhode Island, be and is hereby requested to extend a cordial invitation to the President of the United States to visit and address the people of the State of Rhode Island at such time as may suit his convenience while en route from the Peace Conference in France, and, be it also

Resolved, that two members of the Honorable Senate, to be appointed by His Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and three members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Honorable Speaker, shall constitute a joint select Committee to receive the President of the United States in a manner appropriate to the character of the distinguished guest and the dignity of the State of Rhode Island.²

However, because of political developments in Washington, the President made only a brief stop in Providence at Union Station and gave a four-minute speech.

My fellow citizens: I only hope you are as glad to see me as I am to see you. It does my heart good to get such a welcome. I feel very homesick. I ought not to say that when I think how the people of the World have come to trust the people of America. It is up to us never to disappoint that trust, the heart of the World would be broken. We have no axe to grind and the world knows it. When the nations of the world want to get an unselfish opinion, they turn to America.³

There were thousands of spectators present at Union Station

¹Providence Journal, February 20, 1919, p. 1. This resolution was defeated by a vote of 58-30.

²Ibid., February 21, 1919, p. 1.

³Ibid., February 26, 1919, p. 1.

who, hoping to hear something enlightening and inspirational, were disappointed. The President was ill-prepared for his Rhode Island audience.¹

Tumulty had hoped to make the President's return to America, between trips abroad, a reception for a hero. Instead, because of the President's inflexibility, which caused the further deterioration of his popularity, the Republican propaganda, and the harsh senatorial attacks on the League by Republican aspirants for the presidential nomination, Tumulty's attempt to save the President failed. As one Southern newspaper remarked, "Patience, Europe, we can't bother with these little world problems until we decide who is to get the office."²

In the election of 1920, the paramount issue in Rhode Island, on which the Republicans and Italo-American factions gave their efforts, centered on Wilsonism. In many editorials, the Italo-Americans' newspapers openly displayed their support of the entire Republican slate, except the incumbent Democrat, Mayor Joseph Gainor of Providence.³ The newspaper L'Alba stated in one of its

¹Providence Journal, February 26, 1919, p. 1.

²Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), 48-49.

³Interview with the Providence City Treasurer, Michael Cardarelli, February 9, 1960. Mayor Gainor was born and raised among the Italians in the North End. A peculiar relationship existed between Gainor and the Italo-Americans, since it was this individual who enabled Guistino Benedictus to be the first Italian on the City Council in 1908 and John Barone in the same year to be a member of the School Committee. He was also responsible for the activity of other Italians in local government.

editorials that Italo-Americans should not vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, Governor James Cox of Ohio, since he was reported to be "absolutely at one" with the President and was no friend of the Italian.¹ L'Alba then urged the Italians to vote for the Republican candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio.²

Il Courriere Del Rhode Island, in one of its headlines, labelled Wilson as an enemy of the people--"A Wilsoniano Foedere Gentium: Libera Nos Domine"--then urged the Italo-Americans to vote Republican.³ The Italian element was greatly influenced by such rhetorical expressions, and it is quite understandable why they would be so motivated.

Public rallies were another means of influencing the Italo-Americans. Many were held in key locations in the Italian community by those who sought election. The politicians desired to achieve their own ambitions by capitalizing on the national issue.

There were also opportunities to see and hear national leaders. At Infantry Hall in July, 1919, Senator Hiram Johnson of California spoke to two thousand Rhode Islanders. In view of the large representation of Italo-Americans, he was effective in stirring up animosity against Wilson by condemning the entire Covenant of the League of Nations.

¹L'Alba, October 23, 1920.

²Ibid., October 30, 1920.

³"Wilson is an enemy of the people, deliver us from him O Lord." August 14, 1920.

Appealing to the mothers of Rhode Island, he stated, "Do you American mothers want your boys to have to go over and die fighting for . . . Yugoslavia?"¹ On November 1, the day before the election, Senator Lodge spoke at Faneuil Hall in Boston. In his noon-day address, Lodge stated that the Democrats would repudiate Wilson and that they would vote Republican because they were tired of Wilson's tactics.²

There were other motives for the people of Rhode Island to vote Republican. Governor R. Livingston Beechman of Rhode Island, who formerly opposed Senator Harding but who was said to have been assured of a political appointment,³ was influential in insuring Harding's nomination. The Rhode Island Republican leaders used the possibility

¹David Patten, "The Greatest Story" series which appeared in the Providence Journal, January 5, 1954, No. 10. Mr. Patten, a well-known author in the local area, was formerly the managing editor of the Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin. The series began on December 6, 1953 and was completed on May 14, 1954.

²Providence Journal, November 2, 1920. This statement appeared on the morning of the election, thereby giving confidence to the Italo-Americans to vote against Wilson.

³He had aspired to the vice-presidency but rumors speculated that he might be the future Ambassador to the Court of St. James in England. He then pledged \$20,000 to \$50,000 to aid Harding. Patten, "The Greatest Story," Providence Journal, January 8, 1954, No. 11.

of Beechman's being nationally honored as an argument to gain public support of their party.

Wilson's crusade came to an end on November 2, 1920, when some twenty-six million American voters cast 16,152,000 votes, an unprecedented plurality of 7,000,000, for the advocate of "normalcy," Harding. This was a popular vote of 60.35 percent and had never been equalled since the days of George Washington.¹ The prediction of Lodge that the Americans would repudiate Wilson came true when Cox failed to carry even his own state.²

In an editorial, the Providence Journal stated that the results of the elections indicated that the American people did not desire the "supra-government" at Geneva and that the "American people will not tolerate in any public servant the offensive attitude of superiority." Senator Lodge, exulting in his victory over Wilson, stated that the Republican success was in reality a victory for the American people and that it "would put the Government back to its Constitutional forms and limitations."³

The Republican landslide was also felt locally, for every one of the thirty-nine cities and towns in Rhode Island⁴ succumbed to the conservative element. It was the greatest single victory in the history of Rhode Island.

¹In the election of 1916, Wilson defeated his Republican opponent, Charles Evans Hughes of New York, by a plurality of 387,681.

²Bailey, The Great Betrayal, p. 334ff.

³Providence Journal, November 3, 1920.

⁴Patten, "Greatest Story," Providence Journal, January 8, 1954, No. 11.

The Republican candidate for Governor, Emory San Souci, defeated the Democratic candidate, Alfred Sullivan, by an impressive plurality of 50,000 votes.¹ Many Democratic strongholds such as Central Falls, Cumberland, Burrilville, and Providence voted Republican. Governor-elect San Souci received a plurality of 18,000 votes from Providence alone. The city of Woonsocket, normally Democratic, had a Republican plurality of 2,000. Cranston supported the Republicans by a three to one majority, while Newport and Pawtucket gave a two to one majority.²

The fact must not be overlooked that the Republican party earnestly strove to gain the Italian vote in order to counteract the effect of the Irish vote upon which the Democrats usually relied. However, the Irish were politically divided over Article X of the Covenant and many of them also voted Republican.

The total number of votes cast for the Republican presidential nominee in Rhode Island was 107,463 as compared to 55,062 for the Democratic nominee, a plurality of 52,401.³ This was indeed a significant victory for the Republicans, for in the election of 1912 Wilson received a plurality of 2,709.⁴ Mayor Gainer was the only Democratic incumbent to be re-elected, which indicated the increased strength

¹Patten, "Greatest Story," Providence Journal, January 8, 1954, No. 11.

²Providence Journal Almanac of 1921, p. 115.

³Providence Journal Almanac of 1913, p. 42.

⁴Providence Journal Almanac of 1921, p. 157.

TABLE 4

THE TOTAL QUALIFIED VOTERS IN THE
HEAVILY ITALIAN POPULATED WARDS AND DISTRICTS
IN PROVIDENCE IN 1920^a

Wards ^b	Heavy Italian Voting Districts	Total qualified voters of these Districts	Total Qualified Voters of Wards
3	First, Fifth, and Sixth	7,086	29,477
8	First, Second, and Fifth	8,367	26,845
9	First, Third, and Fifth	5,602	29,414

^aProvidence Journal Almanac of 1921, pp. 115,120.

^bProvidence City Manual, Prepared by the City Clerk,
William E. Clark (Providence: The Providence Press, Snow &
Farnham, City Printers, 1905), p. 180.

of the Italo-American vote. Predominately Italian Wards Three, Nine, and Eight gave 3,263, 2,418, 4,122 votes respectively. The Mayor received, in toto, 34,080 votes.¹ Another indication that the Italo-American voted Republican was the fact that many Democratic candidates of this nationality were defeated.² Luigi DePasquale was seeking to be elected as the Congressman of the Second District. Nevertheless, many Italians were elected on the Republican ticket. In the House of Representatives, such men as Louis V. Jackvony of the 14 Representative District of the Third Ward, Benjamin Cianciaruto of the 14 Representative District of the Ninth Ward, and Joseph Veneziole of the 17 Representative District of the Ninth Ward. Louis Cella of the Ninth Ward was elected to the Board of Aldermen in Providence. In the Common Council, Rocco Famiglietti was the representative of the Third Ward and Peter J. Caldarone and Frank J. Rivelli represented the Ninth Wards. On the Providence School Committee, Michael Cardarelli of the Third Ward and F. Arthur DeBlasio of the Ninth Ward were elected.

The great majority of Italians were still newcomers in 1920. They were unaccustomed to the political aspects of American society. It was natural for them to seek guidance from the more educated, influential, and experienced fellow Italian as well as the local Italian newspaper. These were Republicans. Already instilled with a deep

¹Providence Journal Almanac of 1921, p. 157.

²Ibid., p. 150.

affection for their native land, Italy, they were receptive to arguments against Wilson. They voted Republican.

The elite Italians, as few as they were, helped to organize an effective pressure group--the Italo-Americans. In 1912, the socio-economic barriers as well as the language difficulties made the "bloc" of the Italian votes insignificant. However, by 1920, education and the many social advancements achieved by Italians made possible a strong hyphenate group.

CONCLUSION

The decisions as to Italian national policy, like those of any other national state, are much more the result of geography than they are of any particular racial character. Since she was the weakest of the great powers, Italy could not assume a dominant role in the power politics of the European continent. Instead, she constantly played on the rivalries of others.

Italy entered the First World War as the result of a deliberate bargain. Neutral at the outset, Italy negotiated actively with both sides to obtain the maximum price for intervention. The Italian delegation entered the Paris Peace Conference demanding all that had been comprised in the Treaty of London and more too. Not content with the degree of control of the Adriatic which the Treaty of London gave, the Italian delegates proposed the extension of the strategic line to include Fiume-- which the Treaty had specifically awarded to the Austrian province, Croatia, now a part of the new state of Yugoslavia.

Although Wilson in 1919 conceded the Brenner Pass to Italy, he was unyielding in his refusal to grant Italian claims to Fiume. The steadfastness of President Wilson on his policy concerning the Adriatic was a significant factor, for not only did it arouse the Italians in Europe

but also led to the organization of the Italo-Americans as a pressure group.

In the period from 1918-1920, the United States witnessed the emergence of the Italo-Americans as an influential political factor. During the election of 1912, the Italian hyphenates had been a disorganized minority unable to exert pressure. The new Italian immigrant had social, cultural, and economic barriers with which to contend. Moreover, he was ignorant of American political institutions and tended to remain inactive. With the advent of Americanization and social and economic progress, he was able to assume a more definite role in political questions.

In the election of 1920, political leaders, realizing this growing significance, gave a de facto recognition of these important constituents. The Italians became aware of the ways to arouse the support of the populace. Rallies, editorials, and petitions were employed. Individuals, societies, and newspapers urged the local congressmen to support self-determination for the people of Fiume. Many other organizations also came to the defense of the Irredentists in America. Spirited opposition to Wilson was apparent by 1919.

Although he had been a staunch supporter of a league to enforce peace, Senator Lodge, Wilson's personal and political enemy, understood fully the uncertainty of the Republican position in the forthcoming election. Noting the dissatisfied hyphenate groups which had been rejected

by Wilson, Senator Lodge utilized their complaints for his own objective--the restoration of a Republican to the White House and the personal triumph over Wilson. In the light of partisanship, one would suspect that the Republicans and Lodge defended the Italian position on Fiume. However, as far back as 1891 when there was a movement to restrain the Italian immigration, Lodge stated that it was a "miscarriage of justice to the Italian" race.¹ Such examples of Republican aid were constantly brought to the attention of the Italian during election time.

Resulting from the election of 1918, the Senate was controlled by a narrow margin by the Republicans. Consequently, Lodge became head of the Foreign Relations Committee, and he went to great pains to see that the newly appointed members of his committee were not too kindly disposed to the League. When the Treaty of Versailles was forwarded to the Foreign Relations Committee, Lodge adopted the strategy of strangulation. Had the Treaty been presented to the Senate immediately upon Wilson's return from the conference, it is probable that it would have been ratified. However, Lodge thwarted a speedy vote. One of the means of delaying ratification was the

¹There had been a movement in New Orleans demanding the execution of eleven Italians who were members of the secret organization called the Mafia for their part in the slaying of the city's Chief of Police. At this time, public opinion urged the curtailment of the Italian in the United States. It is interesting to note that the accused were acquitted. H. C. Lodge, "Lynch Law and Unrestricted Immigration," North American Review (May, 1891), CLII.

holding of lengthy hearings before Lodge's Foreign Relations Committee. Representatives of various national groups were able to find some American citizens to plead their cause. Fiorello H. LaGuardia headed a delegation favorable to Italo-Americans. The height of absurdity was reached when an Irishwoman, Mrs. Marion Curry, urged the claim of Italy to Fiume. Lodge's clever tactics were developed to such an extent that by the time of election in 1920 it was obvious that Wilson's crusade had failed.

There were various other reasons why the Italian voted Republican in 1920. The most important one is that the wealthy Italians tended to be Republican because of social and political affiliations. It was primarily this element that was able to obtain the support of the illiterate Italians to vote Republican. Since the factory owners were strong supporters of the party, the Italian laborers were urged to vote Republican also. The Republicans also offered more Italian political representation on the state ticket than the Democratic Party. It was only natural that the Italians would vote for one of their own nationality. Also to be considered is that when the Italians arrived they began to invade the working areas of the Irish. Animosity developed between the two. If the Irish voted Democrat, it would follow suit that the Italian voted Republican. Equally as important was the role of the Italo-American newspapers which were Republican. Not only were they a means of keeping the Italian culture intact, but since they were Republican they also were instrumental

in influencing the Italo-Americans to vote for that slate. Nevertheless, the Italians did not forget their indebtedness to many individuals who had played an important part in their development. It was largely the Italian vote which enabled the Democratic incumbent, Mayor Gainor, to be re-elected in 1920.

The Italians, as one of many elements, were instrumental in the overwhelming Republican victory in 1920. In reviewing the election, the Italo-Americans were victorious in their attempt to defeat Wilson. The outcome of the Harding-Cox election was hailed as a mandate to keep out of the League of Nations, for the great crusader had appealed to the nation for "a great and solemn referendum." Cox, his potential successor, was defeated. In the election it was Wilson and not Cox who was running. The result was a vote against the minority party and Wilson's slate. It was this defeat that actually paved the way for the ratification of the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 between Italy and Yugoslavia, whereby Fiume was internationalized.

As a result of the Peace Conference and Wilson's position concerning Fiume, Italy felt great indignation; this was one important reason for the intense national movement which soon followed. If it did not precipitate the Fascist movement itself, it is certain that it contributed to it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents

- U. S. Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census of the United States. Abstract of the Census: 1910.
- _____. Congressional Record. Vols. LVIII, LVIX.
- _____. Senate Documents. 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1919. Vol. XIII.
- _____. Senate Documents. Memorial Addresses on Henry Cabot Lodge. 68th Cong., 2d Sess., 1925. Sen. Doc. 232.
- _____. Senate Documents. Hearings before the Committee of Foreign Relations. 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1919. Vol. X.

Books

- Alberti, Marie. Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations. Milan: Alfieri and Lacroix, 1917.
- Albrecht-Carrie, René. A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.
- _____. Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
- Bailey, Thomas A. A Diplomatic History of the American People. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957.
- _____. The Man in the Street. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948.
- _____. Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945.
- Baker, Ray Stannard. Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1921. Vols. II, III.

- Bartlett, Ruhl L. The League to Enforce Peace. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944.
- Birdsall, Paul. Versailles Twenty Years After. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941.
- Blum, John M. Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1951.
- Creel, George. The War, The World and Wilson. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920.
- Cullen, Rev. Thomas F. The Catholic Church in Rhode Island. North Providence, R. I.: The Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, 1936.
- Gerson, Louis L. Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Handlin, Oscar. Immigration As a Factor in American History. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959.
- Hoover, Herbert. The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson. New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958.
- Kirk, William. A Modern City. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907.
- Langsam, Walter G. The World Since 1914. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946.
- Lansing, Robert. The Paris Peace Negotiations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Mack Smith, Denis. Italy. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- Mayer, Kurt. Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island. Providence: Brown University Press, 1953.
- Pesaturro, Ubaldo. Italo-Americans of Rhode Island. Providence: The Visitor Printing Co., 1940.
- Pisani, Laurance Frank. The Italians in America--A Social Study and History. New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1957.
- Providence City Manual. Prepared by the City Clerk, William E. Clark. Providence: The Providence Press, Snow & Farnham, City Printers, 1905.

Providence Journal Almanac. Providence, R. I.: Published by the Providence Journal Co. 1913, 1917, 1921.

Schiavo, Giovanni. Four Centuries of Italian-American History. New York: The Vigo Press, 1957.

. Italian-American History: The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America. New York: The Vigo Press, 1949.

Schmitt, Bernadotte E. Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934.

Schriftgiesser, Karl. The Gentleman from Massachusetts. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1944.

Seymour, Charles. The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1928.

Tanner, Earl. Rhode Island, A Brief History. Providence: Rhode Island State Board of Education, 1934.

Temperley, H. W. V. (ed.). History of the Peace Conference of Paris. London: Henry Froude and Hodder & Staughton, 1921.

Villari, Luigi. The Expansion of Italy. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 24 Russell Square, 1930.

Wilson, Woodrow. A History of the American People. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902.

Unpublished Materials

Donnelly, Peter. "A Study of the Background of the Pupils of Bridgham Junior High School." Providence: The Department of Education, Graduate School of Brown University, 1933.

Reddatori. Sullivan, Rev'mo John F. e Kunberger, Padre Vincenzo F. "Storia Della Parrocchia Di S. Anna In Ocasione Del Giubileo D'Argento Sacerdatalo Del Parroco, 1900-1925." Providence: Rhode Island.

"St. Bartholomew's Parish-Golden Jubille, 1907-1957." Providence, R. I.

Articles and Periodicals

L'Alba (Newport, R. I.), 1919, 1920.

Il Courriere Del Rhode Island (Providence, R. I.), 1919, 1920.

L'Echo Del Rhode Island (Providence, R. I.), 1919, 1920.

The Evening Bulletin, 1919, 1934.

_____. "The Italian Colony in Providence," The Providence Board of Trade Journal, XXII, April, 1910.

Lodge, H. C. "Lynch Law and Unrestricted Immigration," North American Review, CLII, May, 1891.

The Providence Journal, 1919, 1920, 1959.

Patten, David. "The Greatest Story," The Providence Journal, 1954.

San Severino, Barone Di. "Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy," Forthnightly Review, February, 1915.

Interviews

Personal interview with Michael Cardarelli, Providence City Treasurer. February 9, 1960.

Personal interview with Antonio DeCeasaris, former Manager of the now defunct Garrenty Loan Company in Providence. February 20, 1960.

Personal interview with Luigi Scala, President of the Columbus National Bank. December 3, 1959.

Personal interview with Archille Vervana, Manager of the Mt. Pleasant Branch of the Citizen Savings Bank. December 5, 1959 and February 20, 1960.