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Inhalt / Indice

Rezensionen / Recensioni

Abstracts

Autoren und Autorinnen / Autori e autrici

Buenos Aires and the making of *italo-argentinidad,* 1915–1919

John Starosta Galante

Introduction

In 2013, the statue of Columbus that stood in Buenos Aires near the *Casa Rosada* presidential palace and the *Plaza de Mayo* central square was dismantled. There could hardly have been a more prominent place in all of Argentina for the statue, which would be moved to a little-trafficked strip of land between the Río de la Plata and a secondary airport used for domestic flights.[1] Prominent among the justifications for the statue's removal was the perception of it as a symbol of the ruthless European conquest and colonization of the Americas.[2] Missing from that justification, however, was full recognition that the statue was not built primarily to commemorate the Genovese explorer's arrival to the Caribbean in 1492, but to embody contributions to Argentina's development by Italian immigrants, who largely financed and built the statue in the 1910s, ahead of its unveiling in 1921. For current residents of Buenos Aires with strong connections to their Italian origins or Italian heritage, the statue's removal represented an offensive disregard of those contributions.[3] However, the only tepid resistance by most Argentines to the relocation might just as well represent the needlessness of Columbus as a symbol of influence of immigrants from Italy in Argentina's modern history. For those immigrants' contributions to that history and the formation of *argentinidad*, or Argentineness, are by now pervasive and undeniable. In this way, the statue's removal may represent not the death, but a culmination of *italo-argentinidad* as a transformative force in Argentina.

This article examines a critical period of time in the history of *italo-argentinidad*, during the late 1910s, when significant development occurred in its construction from an amalgam of actors and influences. Among those actors were the millions of immigrants who arrived to Argentina in large numbers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century from regions throughout Italy. They brought with them different traditions and diverse relations with a unified Italy, often based on when and from where they arrived to the port of Buenos Aires. Over time, Argentina-born children of immigrants from

1 Diputados convirtió en ley el proyecto para trasladar el monumento a Cristóbal Colón. In: La Nación, 6 August 2014.

2 The Columbus statue would be replaced by a monument to *mestiza* independence fighter Juana Azurduy. Silvia Gómez, La escultura de Azurduy le dará la espalda al río y mirará a la Rosada. In: Clarín, 15 May 2015.

3 Valeria Musse, Guardianes de Colón. Vecinos que resisten y cuidan la estatua. In: La Nación, 26 June 2015.

Italy also participated in formulations of *italo-argentinidad*. To be sure, the phenomena related to the formation of solidarity and notions of belonging related to common origins in Italy were present in Argentina and its capital throughout the period of mass migration. However, this article illustrates how the 1910s, and the years 1915 to 1919 in particular, were an important moment in the history of *italo-argentinidad*, in a number of ways. As a result, it sheds light on how, why and in what ways *italo-argentinidad* evolved and played a role not only in the placement of a statue of Columbus in the center of Buenos Aires, but the history of Argentina and Italian mass migration in the early twentieth century.

Following a discussion of the diverse regional Italian origins of immigrants in Argentina, this article addresses the making, hardening and expression of *italo-argentinidad* in the late 1910s.[4] It does so by outlining four mechanisms of international and domestic relations through which residents in Buenos Aires asserted hybrid notions of belonging to Italy and Argentina in order to advance social and political objectives. These mechanisms were (1) a significant pro-Italian and pro-Allied mobilization in Buenos Aires during World War I, (2) a sizeable anti-war movement in the city, (3) participation by Italo-Argentines in Argentina's Radical Civil Union political party and (4) their role in the expansion of the Syndicalist labor movement. Through these activities, notions of *italo-argentinidad* rushed toward to the fore within Argentine society and outshined notions of belonging among immigrants and children of immigrants who drew from region-based affiliations in Italy. Hybridity based on origins in one nation-state and residence in another was a defining social, political and cultural characteristic of Italo-Argentines of varying stripes, as other studies of "hyphenated" ethnic groups have shown.

The individuals and groups associated with the four articulations of *italo-argentinidad* reviewed below left a wealth of published material and other records of their beliefs, motivations and actions. This study benefits from the widespread publication (and archived collections) of periodicals by major immigrant media outlets, like the Italian-language *La patria degli Italiani*, political parties, like the ruling Radical Party's *La Época*, lesser-known Anarchist groups, like the *Fascio Rivoluzionario* Italiano's *La Canaglia*, and more prominent labor organizations, like the Argentine Regional Labor Federation's (FORA's) *La Protesta*. It is also hindered, of course, by the filters and biases employed by those publications. As a result, the article includes information from reports by institutions like the Italian War Committee and Italian Hospital in Buenos Aires; recorded minutes

4 This article finds equal inspiration from E.P. Thompson's analysis of the development of class consciousness among the English workers as well as Benedict Anderson's work on the manufacture and imagining of national characteristics and distinctiveness. Edward P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, New York 1963; Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London 1983.

from the meetings of the FORA executive committee; and other sources reviewed at archives in Buenos Aires and Italy.[5] Its sources are as Italo-Argentine as its subjects.

Through its analysis, this article illustrates that a variety of international and domestic stimuli helped drive the formation (and reformation) of *italo-argentinidad*. It shows how a collection of diverse actors, who held different relationships with Argentina and Italy, participated in the development of collective notions of belonging built precisely on the co-existence of those affiliations. It underlines the ways that social and political movements with different methods and objectives contributed to the formation of hybrid elements of solidarity associated especially with the assimilation of immigrants and their children into Argentina's mainstream, and the changes those immigrant families provoked in what it meant to be Argentine and Italian. It shows how and why notions of *italo-argentinidad* formed alongside, and even apart from, those of *argentinidad* and *italianità* as Italo-Argentines with ties to different regions in Italy managed varying social, political and other relations in Buenos Aires during the 1910s. Ultimately, the diversity of actors, institutions and stimuli associated with the making of *italo-argentinidad* produced a multiplicity of outcomes in its formation, articulation and significance, even amid the construction of unifying symbols like the statue of Columbus.

Regional Origins and the Pull of Nations

Taken separately, studies of *italianità* and *argentinidad* involve the management of significant complexities. Such complexities affect nearly any study of nations and nationalisms, the construction of which have required the dismissal of differences and imagining of community solidarity based on perceptions of shared histories, languages, races, religions, cultures or other attributes. Italy's *Risorgimento* in the mid-nineteenth century did not immediately give rise to the unified country's residents' self-identification as Italian. Scholars like Alberto Mario Banti have outlined how, alongside efforts toward political unification, intellectuals compiled a set of national symbols, personages, values and rhetorical expressions associated with *italianità* for residents of the peninsula and islands who did not hold notions of solidarity with many of their new

5 The author wishes to thank the many institutions, and archivists at those institutions, who facilitated the collection of sources for this project, including the Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, Archivio dello Stato, Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Ufficio Storico Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Asociación Italiana de Mutualidad e Instrucción "Unione e Benevolenza", Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Biblioteca Nacional de la República Argentina, Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos, Fondazione Paolo Cresci, Istituto Italiano di Cultura Buenos Aires, Società Dante Alighieri (Rome) and Società Geografica Italiana, among others.

compatriots.[6] He has addressed in particular the adaptation and adoption of conceptions of family, religious community and gender in the formation of an Italian "nation."[7] Silvana Patriarca's work as an author and editor has sought to unravel the discourses surrounding Italian patriotism and nationalism, and considered varying responses and experiences of men and women in the context of religion, the Mediterranean region and other European nationalisms.[8] Competing discourses associated with *italianità* remained present during the 1910s, as Rosario Gennaro's recent work on the poet Giuseppe Ungaretti indicates.[9] Ungaretti was *lucchese* due to his family's provincial origins in Lucca, Italo-Egyptian as a result of his birth in Alexandria and French in his intellectual formation, but also an Italian nationalist of a particular kind based on those experiences. Notions of *italianità* were not necessarily a concept that millions of emigrants from Italy took with them overseas, but they could form overseas, wich likely enhanced the diversity in their conception.[10]

In Argentina, after independence, consolidation of political control and administration under a central government based in Buenos Aires did not occur until the 1860s.[11] Still, the "conquest" and settlement of interior regions never subjected to Spanish colonial dominion continued through the late-nineteenth century. Elites especially competed to shape meanings of *argentinidad*, alternatively through emphasis on conservative, rural, republican, cosmopolitan or other influences.[12] As the work of World War I scholar María Inés Tato has illustrated, intellectual rivalries and diverse visions of *argentinidad* persisted into the 1910s and the period of the war.[13] Most pointedly, she has outlined disagreements among: *latinos*, who connected the country's identity to French-style modernity and "Latin" solidary in the face of "Teutonic" advances; *hispanos*, who had nationalist tendencies

6 Alberto Mario Banti, La nazione del risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita, Turin 2000.

7 Alberto Mario Banti, Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo, Rome 2011.

8 Silvana Patriarca, Italian Vices. Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic, Cambridge 2010; Silvana Patriarca/Lucy Riall (eds.), The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy, London 2012.

9 Rosario Gennaro, La Grande Guerra e l'italianità. Il discorso nazionale di Giuseppe Ungaretti. In: Forum Italicum 50 (2016), 1, pp. 69–86.

10 For a review of Italian government efforts to construct a sense of *italianità* among emigrants see Mark Choate, Emigrant Nation. The Making of Italy abroad, Cambridge 2008.

11 Ariel de la Fuente, Children of Facundo. Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853–1870), Durham 2000; For a classic text originally published in 1845, see Domingo Sarmiento, Facundo. Civilización y barbarie, Madrid 1988.

12 Pilar González-Bernaldo, Civility and Politics in the Origins of the Argentine Nation: Sociabilities in Buenos Aires, 1829–1862, Los Angeles 2006; Lilia Ana Bertoni, Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas. La construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX, Buenos Aires 2001.

13 María Inés Tato, Nationalist Political Culture in the Maelstrom of the Great War. In: Anuario del Instituto de Historia Argentina 16 (2016), 2, e020; María Inés Tato, Pasiones germanas, pasiones españolas. La actividad intelectual de Gonzalo de Reparaz en Argentina durante la Gran Guerra. In: Anuario IEHS 31 (2016), 2, pp. 103–120; María Inés Tato, Luring Neutrals. Allied and German Propaganda in Argentina during the First World War. In: Troy Paddock (ed.), World War I and Propaganda, Leiden 2014, pp. 322–344.

and viewed Spanish colonial traditions and the rural *gaucho* as the true origins of the Argentine nation; and *americanos*, who favored a form of Pan-Americanism that eschewed the inclusion and leadership of the United States.[14]

In Italy and Argentina during the 1910s national cultural forms and symbols – not to mention political and economic systems – were more firmly established than in the second half of the nineteenth century, even if they remained contested. They had also been complicated by the departure of millions of emigrants from the former and the arrival of millions of immigrants to the latter. In Buenos Aires, as a result, the formulation of *italo-argentinidad* would be equally – perhaps doubly – complex relative to that of *italianità* and *argentinidad* in Italy and Argentina, respectively. The study of "hyphenated" immigrants and children of immigrants has attracted significant attention among scholars of contemporary migrations in North America, particularly alongside the so-called transnational turn.[15] This trend has influenced migration history as well.[16] Among scholars of Italian migration, Christa Wirth's oral history-driven analysis of assimilation and self-identification among three generations of Italian-Americans in Worcester, Massachusetts, provides evidence of the construction and evolution of diverse hybrid ethnic identities across generations, classes and forms of forgetting.[17] Gerald Gems' work focuses on the use of sport by Italian Americans to maintain notions of ethnic solidarity among themselves while seeking to assimilate into dominant Anglo-American society.[18]

The study of hybridity along these lines has infiltrated the historiography of Italian immigration to Argentina, somewhat. Where it is most prominent is in the study of culture, language and the Italian-language press. Federica Bertagna's landmark study of the size and influence of the country's most widely read Italian-language periodicals illustrates the importance of these institutions in the formation of *italo-argentinidad*.[19] Meanwhile, Pantaleone

14 María Inés Tato, ¿Latinos, hispanos, americanos? La Gran Guerra y la "cuestión nacional" en la Argentina. In: Presentation at the *América Latina y la Primera Guerra Mundial* colloquium, Biblioteca de México, Mexico City, June 26, 2014.

15 Dominika Baran, Language in Immigrant America, Cambridge 2017; May Friedman/Silvia Schultermandl (eds.), Click and Kin. Transnational Identity and Quick Media, Toronto 2016; Kassahun Kebede, Twice-Hyphenated. Transnational Identity among Second-Generation Ethiopian-American Professionals in the Washington, DC, Metropolitan Area. In: African and Black Diaspora. An International Journal 10 (2017), 3, pp. 252–268; Sebastian J. Jayakiran, 'Wandering Arameans?' Interrogating Identity in a Diasporic Society. Dalitness in Indian Hyphenated Americans. In: Exchange 45 (2016), 1, pp. 21–37.

16 Maria Lauret, Americanization Now and Then. The "Nation of Immigrants" in the Early Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries. In: Journal of American Studies 50 (2016), 2, pp. 419–447; Mario García, Literature as History. Autobiography, Testimonio, and the Novel in the Chicano and Latino Experience, Tucson 2016; Megan E. Geigner, Performing the Polish-American Patriot. Civic Performance and Hyphenated Identity in World War I Chicago. In: Theatre History Studies 34 (2015), 1, pp. 59–78.

17 Christa Wirth, Memories of Belonging. Descendants of Italian Migrants to the United States, 1884–present, Leiden 2015.

18 Gerald Gems, Sport and the Shaping of Italian American Identity, Syracuse 2013.

19 Federica Bertagna, La stampa italiana in Argentina, Rome 2009.

Sergi has used study of the press to illuminate methods of collectivization and the establishment of a *seconda patria* (or second homeland) by immigrant groups.[20] Alejandro Patat has worked similarly through the study of Italian literature in Argentina, while both Patat and Sergi, alongside Vittorio Cappelli, have expanded the geographic scope of their scholarship to consider Italian experiences in Latin America more broadly.[21] Much of this work focuses on the manifestations of Italian culture and *italianità* in Argentina rather than having an explicit focus on the hybridization of cultural expression and production. Their subjects are Italians residing in Argentina more than Italo-Argentines. This approach mirrors the perspectives found in some of the fundamental historiographical texts of immigration to Argentina that favor the community's treatment and categorization as "Italian", even if they are cognizant of Argentina's influence on immigrant society and of the diversity of regional origins in Italy.[22]

A review of historical data illustrates the size of migratory movements between Italy and Argentina, and some aspects of their diversity. Argentina was among the leading destinations for migrants who left Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to data published by the *Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione*, an agency of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nearly 1.8 million people from the Italian peninsula and its nearby islands left for Argentina from 1876 to 1914.[23] This represented about 13 percent of total departures from Italy, while around 29 percent travelled to the United States and 9 percent to Brazil. Argentina was the destination of some 24 percent of the residents of Italy who emigrated to the Western Hemisphere during this period. But the population of migrants who travelled to Argentina was hardly uniform, varying in terms of skills, socio-economic position, literacy, gender, language, cultural norms and other factors.

A particularly distinguishing feature of immigrants in Argentina was their diverse regional origins. A variety of regions from the northern, central and southern parts of Italy contributed at least 5 percent of the migrants who

20 Pantaleone Sergi, Patria di carta. Storia di un quotidiano coloniale e del giornalismo italiano in Argentina, Cosenza 2012; Pantaleone Sergi, Stampa migrante. Giornali della diaspora italiana e dell'immigrazione in Italia, Soveria Mannelli 2010.

21 Alejandro Patat, Un destino sudamericano. La letteratura italiana in Argentina, 1910–1970, Perugia 2005; Alejandro Patat, Vida nueva. La lingua e la cultura italiana in America Latina, Macerata 2012; Vittorio Cappelli/Pantaleone Sergi, Traiettorie culturali tra il Mediterraneo e l'America Latina. Cronache, letterature, arti, lingue e culture, Cosenza 2016.

22 Seminal works by Fernando Devoto, Samuel Baily and Herbert Klein address the diverse origins of Italian immigrants in Argentina. They primarily highlight socio-economic distinctions between broad categories of immigrants from the North and South Italy. They place little emphasis on distinctions between immigrants from particular regions of Italy. Fernando Devoto, Historia de los italianos en la Argentina, Buenos Aires 2006; Samuel Baily, Immigrants in the Lands of Promise. Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914, Ithaca 1999; Herbert Klein, The Integration of Italian Immigrants into the United States and Argentina. A Comparative Analysis. In: American Historical Review 88 (1983), 2, pp. 306–329.

23 Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, Annuario statistico della emigrazione italiana dal 1876 al 1925, Rome 1926.

travelled from Italy to Argentina in the 1876–1914 period, and no region was the origin of more than 20 percent of migrants. As the table below indicates, migrants arrived to Argentina in roughly equal numbers from the South and the North of Italy, with about 45 percent, or 800,000, leaving from southern regions and 43 percent, or 775,000, from northern regions. From the South, migrants set off in particular from Calabria, Sicily and Campania, while Piedmont and Lombardy were the regions from which most migrants departed in the North. The Center of Italy sent a relatively small number of migrants to Argentina, about 210,000, or 12 percent, however about three-fourths of this figure, some 145,000 migrants, were from the Marche region.

Piemonte	321,822	18.0 %
Calabria	225,228	12.6 %
Lombardia	206,768	11.6 %
Sicilia	184,044	10.3 %
Marche	143,997	8.1 %
Campania	141,175	7.9 %
Veneto	112,269	6.3 %
Abruzzi/Molise	111,825	6.3 %
Liguria	86,463	4.8 %
Basilicata	78,444	4.4 %
Toscana	52,667	2.9 %
Puglia	45,836	2.6 %
Emilia	45,568	2.5 %
Sardegna	18,085	1.0 %
Lazio	7,460	0.4 %
Umbria	5,503	0.3 %
Italy	**1,787,154**	**100.0%**

Figure 1: Regional Origins of Migrants to Argentina, 1876–1914.

South	804,637	45.0 %
North	772,890	43.2 %
Center	209,627	11.7 %
Italy	**1,787,154**	**100.0 %**

Figure 2: Origins of Migrants to Argentina from Italy's South, North and Center, 1876–1914.

Such diversity in migrants' regional origins was present throughout this period. However, the regions from which significant percentages of migrants arrived to Argentina varied over time. Evidence of such variability emerges from the division of migration data between the late nineteenth century (1876–1899) and the early twentieth century (1900–1914). In the earlier period, nearly 57 percent of some 760,000 migrants departed from the North of Italy, with Piedmont and Lombardy the top two regions of origin, contributing

roughly 21 percent and 16 percent, respectively, while the Veneto and Liguria were the origins of another 10 percent and 7 percent, respectively. Notably, Sicilians were just 2.2 percent, or 17,000, of the migrants from Italy in the late nineteenth century. In the subsequent period, 1900 to 1914, Sicily was the region of origin for the largest number of migrants that travelled to Argentina, making up nearly 170,000, or 16 percent, of the 1.02 million total. During the early twentieth century, prior to the significant slowdown in migration that occurred in 1915 because of World War I, the South of Italy provided 53 percent of the country's migrants to Argentina. Only 33 percent departed from the North of Italy. Marche continued to represent the origin for the vast majority of migrants from the Center.

Origins of Migrants to Argentina, 1876–1899			Origins of Migrants to Argentina, 1900–1914		
North	431,271	56.7 %	**South**	544,308	53.0 %
South	260,329	34.2 %	**North**	341,619	33.3 %
Center	69,369	9.1 %	**Center**	140,258	13.7 %
Italy	**760,969**	**100.0 %**	**Italy**	**1,026,185**	**100.0 %**

Figure 3: Origins of Migrants to Argentina from the South, North and Center of Italy during the Late Nineteenth Century (1876–1899) and Early Twentieth Century (1900–1914).

Origins of Migrants to Argentina, 1876–1899			Origins of Migrants to Argentina, 1900–1914		
Piemonte	158,854	20.9 %	**Sicilia**	167,014	16.3 %
Lombardia	117,793	15.5 %	**Piemonte**	162,968	15.9 %
Calabria	83,318	10.9 %	**Calabria**	141,910	13.8 %
Veneto	77,276	10.2 %	**Marche**	107,268	10.5 %
Campania	70,222	9.2 %	**Lombardia**	88,975	8.7 %
Liguria	54,918	7.2 %	**Campania**	70,953	6.9 %
Abruzzi/Molise	45,892	6.0 %	**Abruzzi/Molise**	65,933	6.4 %
Basilicata	37,876	5.0 %	**Basilicata**	40,568	4.0 %
Marche	36,729	4.8 %	**Puglia**	39,920	3.9 %
Toscana	30,738	4.0 %	**Veneto**	34,993	3.4 %
Emilia	22,430	2.9 %	**Liguria**	31,545	3.1 %
Sicilia	17,030	2.2 %	**Emilia**	23,138	2.3 %
Puglia	5,916	0.8 %	**Toscana**	21,929	2.1 %
Lazio	1,519	0.2 %	**Sardegna**	18,010	1.8 %
Umbria	383	0.1 %	**Umbria**	5,120	0.5 %
Sardegna	75	0.0 %	**Lazio**	5,941	0.6 %
Italy	**760,969**	**100.0 %**	**Italy**	**1,026,185**	**100.9 %**

Figure 4: Regional Origins of Migrants to Argentina during the Late Nineteenth Century (1876–1899) and Early Twentieth Century (1900–1914).

The differences in the regional origins of migrants from Italy, as well as change in those origins over time, meant that immigrants in Argentina carried with them varying cultural practices, social norms, languages, occupational skills, levels of education and other attributes. They might also have different relationships with Italian nationalism and the Italian state based on the manner in which their region was incorporated into Italy during its unification in the mid-nineteenth century, or the extent to which a given region's characteristics matched (or not) those of the fledgling Italian mainstream. This is largely because political unification – and subsequent cultural, social and economic integration – of regions in Italy was concurrent with mass migration to Argentina. In short, notions of belonging associated with Italy and Italian nationalism were not necessarily deep-rooted or durable among migrants who travelled to Argentina and settled, mostly, in metropolitan Buenos Aires.

Scholars have used varying methods to confront contradictions in the study of Italian migration and those migrants' diverse regional origins and region-based (or sub-national) identification and solidarity. Donna Gabaccia has underlined migrant diversity in her study of "many diasporas" that were Italian in their origins but varied based on immigrants' immediate social relationships, institutions of civil society, relationships with nation-states and positions relative to macroeconomic phenomena.[24] Anthropologist Arnd Schneider has highlighted the variety and varying degree of Italian immigrant connections to their homeland through ethnographic case studies.[25] Equally, the degree of immigrant integration into receiving societies like Argentina could diverge with age, gender, education, occupation, class, marital status and other characteristics, as work by Herbert Klein and others suggests.[26] The publication dates of the work referenced above illustrates that the recognition of complications surrounding migrant relations with nations, nationalisms and national belongings is long-standing, including in the study of relations immigrants from Italy had with both Italian and Argentine varieties.

In response to such complexity, the historiography of mass migration from Italy has turned especially, and for some time, toward a focus on immigrants in Buenos Aires, Argentina and other parts of Latin America as *Friuliani*,

24 Donna Gabaccia, Italy's Many Diasporas, London 2000.

25 Arnd Schneider, Futures Lost. Nostalgia and Identity among Italian Immigrants in Argentina, Oxford 2000.

26 Klein, The Integration of Italian Immigrants; Samuel Baily, Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882–1923. In: Hispanic American Historical Review 60 (1980), 1, pp. 32–48.

Veneziani or *Calabresi*, rather than Italian.[27] Or scholars have tended to look at even smaller groups, among them *valdesi* religious minorities, *paesani* from the same village, members of families like the Cusi, groups of "doctors" and "leaders," and even individuals.[28] Such work has made important and vibrant contributions to the study of migration from Italy to Latin America and underscored its diversity. It has also, perhaps intentionally, moved to the margins of historical analysis Italian nationalism and any immigrant solidarity or notions of belonging connected to it, thereby deemphasizing the inclusion of *italianità* as an influential element in migrants' lives. The limits, however, of this type of analysis are that it does not help explain the construction and (formerly) central location of the Columbus statue in Buenos Aires, the presence of a robust Italian-language press or other features of or events in the history of Argentina that were "Italian" in character.

Scholars of Latin American history, nevertheless, continue to do important work that deals with the incorporation of immigrants into nations through processes such as political enfranchisement and acculturation.[29] In such analyses, immigrant groups and children of immigrants typically become codified based on nations of origin like Italy as they become incorporated into the mainstream social, cultural and political configurations and institutions of countries like Argentina. Regional or other sub-national elements of immigrant diversity somehow dissolve, although generally without thorough explanation.

This study seeks to highlight that process of dissolution through its focus

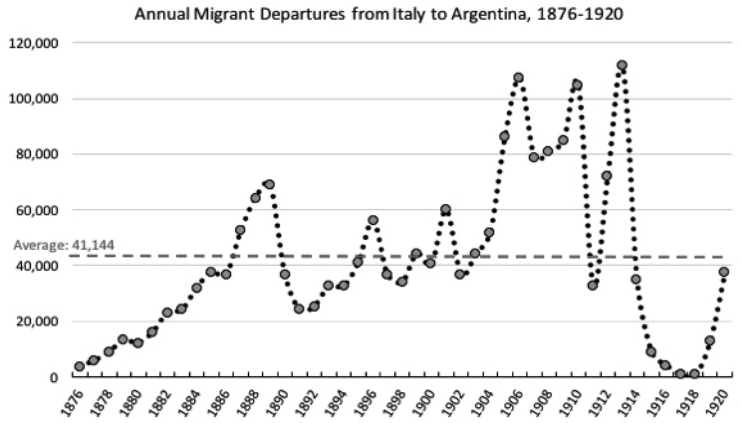
27 Scholarship on immigration from the perspective of Italian regional ethnic groups includes Silvana Serafin, Immigrazione friulana in Argentina. Syria Poletti racconta..., Rome 2004; Fiorenzo Rossi/Silvia Meggiolaro, Gli emigrati dal Veneto negli anni cinquanta del XX secolo. In: Studi Emigrazione 161 (2006), pp. 131–152; Emilio Franzina, Memoria familiar y región en las migraciones italianas a Brasil. Apuntes sobre el caso 'Padano-Veneto' (1875–2005). In: Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos 58 (2005), pp. 461–482; Carina Frid, Perspectivas regionales de las migraciones españolas e italianas al Cono Sur, siglos XVIII a XX. In: Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos 58 (2005), pp. 439–459; Teresa Fava Thomas, The Reluctant Migrants. Migration from the Italian Veneto to Central Massachusetts, Amherst 2015.

28 Riccardo Ponti, Le colonie agricole valdesi in Uruguay e Argentina (1856–1914). In: Studi Emigrazione 150 (2003), 40, pp. 277–300; Bettina Favero, El análisis de tres grupos inmigratorios a través de las redes sociales. Los italianos de Acireale, Duronia y Vedelago en Mar del Plata. In: Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos 59 (2006), pp. 155–172; Martino Contu, L'emigrazione in America del Sud da un piccolo paese della Sardegna centrale attraverso fonti scritte e orali. Il caso del comune di Sedilo. In: AMMENTU – Bollettino storico e archivistico del Mediterraneo e delle Americhe 5 (2014), 2, pp. 122–140; Beatrice D. Gurwitz, Italian Immigrants and the Mexican Nation. The Cusi Family in Michoacán (1885–1938). In: Immigrants & Minorities 33 (2015), 2, pp. 93–116; Maria do Rosário R. Salles/Luiz A. de Castro Santos, Migração e médicos italianos em São Paulo na primeira república. In: Estudos de Sociologia 10 (2001), pp. 63–95; Alicia Bernasconi/Carina Frid, De Europa a las Américas. Dirigentes y liderazgos, 1880–1960, Buenos Aires 2006; Emilio Franzina (ed.), Giulio Lorenzoni. Memorie di un emigrante italiano, Rome 2008; Emilio Franzina, Traversate. Le grandi migrazioni transatlantiche e i racconti italiani del viaggio per mare, Foligno/Perugia 2003.

29 Noteworthy scholarship on South America includes Jeffrey Lesser, Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present, New York 2013; May Bletz, Immigration and Acculturation in Brazil and Argentina. 1890–1929, New York 2010; Cristina Escobar, Immigrant Enfranchisement in Latin America. From Strongmen to Universal Citizenship. In: Democratization 22 (2015), 5, pp. 927–950; Jürgen Buchenau, Immigration, Identity, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1850–1950. In: Nicola Foote/Michael Goebel (eds.), Immigration and National Identities in Latin America, Gainesville 2014, pp. 66–90.

on the particularly transformative period of 1915–1919, even if the making of *italo-argentinidad* began before and continued after. In 1914, according to the Argentine census, the 2.36 million foreigners in Argentina represented about 30 percent of the country's 7.88 million total residents.[30] The 929,000 immigrants from Italy in Argentina were 11.8 percent of the population, while those from Spain represented 10.5 percent. Those totals put residents with origins in Italy at nearly 40 percent of the foreign-born population and those from Spain at around 35 percent. The balance of the immigrants in Argentina came from some 50 other countries and territories. In the city of Buenos Aires, the 312,000 immigrants from Italy were about 20 percent of the population, according to the census, and the 285,000 in the surrounding province of Buenos Aires were almost 14 percent of the provincial population. Meanwhile, less than 40,000 immigrants from all immigrant groups in the entire country became naturalized citizens of Argentina in the decade through 1915, slightly over 12,000 of whom were of Italian origins. The children of immigrants from Italy would, of course, have been citizens of Argentina at this time. According to one estimate, immigrants and children of immigrants with Italian origins represented 28 percent of the Argentina's residents in 1910.[31]

By the late-1910s, Italo-Argentine communities had certainly reached a size and degree of development that makes a study of the period worthwhile. Moreover, during World War I, migration slowed to a near halt, with arrivals to Argentina from Italy falling to an annual average of roughly 5,400 in the period 1915–1919 from an average of about 72,000 each year in 1910–1914. At the same time, authorities around the Atlantic basin (and beyond) sought to strengthen their residents' – or former residents' – ties to nations and nationalisms. The Italian and Argentine states were not exceptions, even as notions of *italianità* and *argentinidad* remained the subject of ideological rivalries.



30 Comisión Nacional del Censo, Tercer Censo Nacional. Levantado el 1º de Junio de 1914, Buenos Aires 1916.

31 Samuel Baily, The Italians and Organized Labor in the United States and Argentina. 1880–1910. In: International Migration Review 1 (1967), 3, pp. 56–66, p. 59.

Broadly speaking, despite Italo-Argentine diversity, the war and other events in the late 1910s contributed to moves by migrants from Italy and their children away from their regional origins in places like Piedmont or Sicily. Instead, as the analysis below illustrates, notions of belonging built around common origins in Italy were critical components of advocacy in a number of forms and by a variety of social groups in Buenos Aires. During this time, that solidarity was used in prominent ways as immigrants and immigrant children continued efforts toward social, political and economic advancement in Buenos Aires. Still, such efforts had features that were particular to Argentina and their disposition seems, ultimately, less an expression of a generic *italianità* linked to Italian unification and nationalism than Italo-Argentine activism that produced a surge in expressions of *italo-argentinidad* that were rooted in the duality of their allegiences and hybrid notions of belonging. The variety of forms those expressions took between 1915 and 1919 sheds valuable light on the general character of the Italo-Argentine community, and the different people and points of view within it.

Practices of *italo-argentinidad* in late 1910s Buenos Aires

By the late-1910s, the communities in Buenos Aires of immigrants from Italy and their sons and daughters were exceedingly diverse, with residents ranging from indigent new arrivals to prominent owners of industry and from liberal republicans to radical anarchists, not to mention a significant middle class of shop owners, skilled artisans and service sector employees. Women in these communities stood in significant numbers as workers, members of institutions of civil society and participants in social mobilization. Indeed, because mass migration from Italy to Argentina had persisted for decades, it is rarely possible to classify this group as one community of Italo-Argentines. This is less, as the following pages will show, because of their different origins in Italy, however, and more because of the social stratification, generational shifts, ideological divides and competing aims that shaped diversity among Italo-Argentines during this period. Nevertheless, each of these Italo-Argentine communities used their interstitial position between Italian and Argentine notions of belonging to advance social and political advocacy.

a. The reach and limits of Italian nationalism in Argentina

Historian Mark Choate's study of the Italian government's efforts to build support for Italian nationalism and national objectives among immigrant communities remains a seminal work in the history of relations between post-unification Italy and the millions of emigrants who left the country during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Yet much work remains to be done on the bottom-up social history of the responses to those efforts. In Greater Buenos Aires, which along with metropolitan New York and São Paulo received some of the largest populations of immigrants from Italy in the

Americas, that response is partly visible through reactions by Italo-Argentines to the Italian military mobilization during World War I.

In May 1915, the Italian military's "decree of general mobilization"[32] arrived to the port of Buenos Aires. It led the Rome government's consul, Davide de Gaetani, to reach out to the Argentine capital's "young and old, men and women, all of us Italians" and command their assistance in a conflict against Austria-Hungary meant to annex to Italy "unredeemed" territories beyond Italy's north and east.[33] Conscription orders came for reservists (*riservisti*) and re-called soldiers (*richiamati*) required to report for enlistment processing to Italian mutual-aid societies and a decommissioned building of the city's Italian Hospital, which reopened to help manage the recruits.[34] The Italian Navy, meanwhile, organized the use of ships from the Italian-owned merchant marine to transport enlisted soldiers back to Italy. In 1915, 20,784 registered recruits left from Buenos Aires.[35] Over the next three years, another 11,556 enlisted soldiers departed from the capital, some of them residents of distant Argentine provinces, Uruguay, Chile and Paraguay.[36] These recruits represented about half of the roughly 60,000 who joined the Italian army from *Il Plata*, a term the Italian government (and others in Italy) often used to represent Argentina and Uruguay.

Socio-economic, citizenship and other characteristics of the recruits, including how much time they had spent in Argentina before their return, remains difficult to determine. Nevertheless, a review of the community of Italo-Argentines who organized and publicized the recruitment and led other parts of the pro-war mobilization in Buenos Aires indicates that they were often upper and middle-class residents born in Italy who had resided in Argentina for some time. On 27 May 1915, nine self-appointed leaders of this Italo-Argentine community, led by wealthy businessman Antonio Devoto, gathered at Teatro Victoria to form the Italian War Committee. Devoto arrived to Argentina from Liguria in the 1850s and came to own one of Buenos Aires' largest financial institutions, which would host the headquarters of the war committee. Other members included representatives from the Italian Hospital and the main federation of Italian mutual-aid societies as well as committee secretary general Giovanni Rolleri, one of the most active members of the Italian war effort.[37] Rolleri, alongside Nunzio Greco of Italian-language daily

32 Il decreto di mobilitazione generale. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 24 May 1915.
33 R. Consolato Generale d'Italia in Buenos Aires. In: Bollettino della Società 'Italia Unità' di Mutuo Soccorso, Istruzione e Beneficenza, June 1915, p. 1.
34 Società Italiana di Beneficenza in Buenos Aires 'Ospedale Italiano', Rendiconto amministrativo. Dati statistici e relazioni del corpo medico, Esercizio 1914–1915, p. 6.
35 Arturo Arigoni/Santino Barbieri, Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla Guerra 1915–1918, Buenos Aires 1922, p. 213.
36 Ibidem, pp. 213–218.
37 Giovanni Rolleri, Relazione del segretario generale Avv. G. Rolleri all'assemblea annuale, Buenos Aires 1917, pp. 3–4.

Giornale d'Italia and nationalist columnist Silvio Brecchia, was among the most prolific propragandists of pro-war activities in Buenos Aires. The profiles of these leaders of the Italo-Argentine mobilization effort led even the pro-war *L'Italia del popolo* to make reference to the war effort's bourgeois leadership.[38]

A retrospective volume published in Buenos Aires in 1922 about the war effort, and entitled *Gli italiani nel Sud America ed il loro contribuito alla Guerra 1915–1918* (The Italians of South America and their contribution to the War, 1915–1918), underlined the important role the Italian-language press played in publicizing pro-war activities.[39] Those activities included the organization of rallies, speeches and cultural performances to raise money for the local families of enlisted soldiers; the sale of Italian government war bonds to help finance the war; and the collection of wool for soldiers at the front. In 1915 and 1916, the Society of Patronage and Repatriation for Italian Immigrants facilitated the repatriation of over one thousand immigrants, provided legal help to roughly the same number, helped many find work or receive healthcare services, and distributed over 34,000 letters for families with members in both Italy and Argentina.[40] Transatlantic interactions were otherwise highly constrained by the conflict, and increasingly as the war wore on and German submarines trolled Atlantic shipping lanes with greater belligerence.

Fundraising events often took place on Italian patriotic anniversaries like 20 September, the birthday of King Vittorio Emanuele III, and Columbus Day. Enthusiasm for these efforts was strong especially upon Italy's entry into the conflict in May 1915 and following the Italian military's devastating defeat at the Battle of Caporetto in November 1917, when Austro-Hungarian and German forces drove the front line deep into Italian territory. After Caporetto, the Italian ambassador to Argentina, Vittorio Cobianchi, said that "Italy asks all its children" to meet their "sacred filial duty" and contribute to a fifth loan program to support a turnaround in the Italian army's momentum.[41] He believed that the Italo-Argentine community "should be the best in the world in terms of the amount of capital subscribed."[42] That community was not only large. Portions of it were quite wealthy, including members of the Italian Chamber of Commerce that championed the effort.[43] In Buenos Aires, 7,500 loan subscribers contributed a combined 93 million *lire*, while just over 3,100 subscribers in Buenos Aires province purchased eleven million worth of bonds.[44]

38 Ai reduci tutti vecchi e giovani. In: L'Italia del popolo (Buenos Aires), 28 March 1919; A propósito di liquidazione del Comitato di Guerra. In: L'Italia del popolo (Buenos Aires), 18 April 1919.
39 Arigoni/Barbieri, Gli italiani nel Sud America, p. 228.
40 Società di Patronato e Rimpatrio per Gli Immigrati Italiani, Giorno dell'immigrato Natale di Roma, Buenos Aires 1917, p. 9.
41 Comitato di Propaganda, Il V° Prestito Italiano di Guerra, Informazione e commenti, Buenos Aires 1918, p. 3.
42 Ibidem.
43 Relazione del Presidente e risconto del Tesoriere. In: Bollettino ufficiale mensile della Camera Italiana di Commercio ed Arti di Buenos Aires, August-September 1918, pp. 7–8.
44 Arigoni/Barbieri, Gli italiani nel Sud America, p. 501.

Around 600 organizations – mutual aid societies, newspapers, Italian schools and others – participated in pro-war activities around Argentina.[45] Among these, were the Italian War Committee's 43 sub-committees set up in the neighborhoods of Buenos Aires. Most of them had a Women's Auxiliary, or *Sezione Femminile*, that engaged especially in the collection of goods for and provision of medical assistance to the wives and children of soldiers. Many societies coordinated activities with associates in other provinces of Argentina, making Buenos Aires the center of a country-wide effort. Italo-Argentine intellectuals based in the capital, such as Emilio Zuccarini, travelled the interior to stir up patriotic support.[46] As with all pro-war efforts, newspapers like *La patria degli italiani* reported heavily on propaganda tours to provincial capitals like Cordoba and San Juan.[47]

The number of these organizations should not, however, suggest they were very diverse in their makeup. The Women's Auxiliary of the Italian War Committee struck a familiar pose during one fundraiser, sitting for a photograph that showed members standing on a gilded staircase dressed in floor-length evening gowns and elaborate hats.[48] The Progeny of Italy association, a group of children of immigrants that received publicized support from Italy's Queen Elena, posed for a photograph similar to most pro-war groups, with bedecked members surrounded by Italian nationalist symbols.[49] Even soldiers' portraits that appeared in the newspaper next to their letters or death notices suggested they were often of middle-class origins.[50]

Collectively this group of pro-war Italo-Argentines was quite assertive in their support of Italy and Italian nationalism from Buenos Aires.[51] Italian-language newspapers filled their pages with reports of nationalist lectures and propaganda films, pro-war poems and pronouncements of "Latin" superiority against the barbarism of Germanic opponents.[52] Pro-war Italo-Argentines' attacked not only Germans in Argentina, but any perception of Germanophilia.[53] Among pro-war advocates' greatest expressions of interest in Argentina's affairs was their repudiation of the steadfast neutrality of President Hipolito Yrigoyen. Italian-language newspapers railed against pro-neutrality rallies, anti-war activities of

45 Rolleri, Relazione del segretario generale, p. 11.
46 Per il prestito d'onore, La propaganda nelle provincie, Emilio Zuccarini a Córdoba. In: La patria degli italiani, 14 April 1916; L'arrivo di Zuccarini a San Juan. In: La patria degli italiani, 18 April 1916; Emilio Zuccarini a Baia Blanca. In: La patria degli italiani, 20 April 1916.
47 Per l'italianità e per la vittoria, Note-Impressioni-Cronaca-Problemi-Commenti, Mendoza e San Juan. In: La patria degli italiani, 11 May 1916.
48 Arigoni/Barbieri, Gli italiani nel Sud America, p. 199.
49 Progenie d'Italia, Origine, scopo e mezzi di un'associazione. In: La patria degli italiani, 30 July 1916; Arigoni/Barbieri, Gli italiani nel Sud America, pp. 251–254.
50 Lettere dal fronte. In: La patria degli italiani, 9 March 1916; I caduti sul campo dell'onore. In: La patria degli italiani, 16 March 1919; I nostri combattenti. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 26 April 1917; I nostri figli al fronte. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 4 November 1917.
51 Il supernazionalismo. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 7 August 1917.
52 I figli dei tedeschi. In: Il Roma, 14 February 1916; La seconda invasion/La responsabilità a chi tocca. In: L'amico del popolo, 18 November 1917.
53 Contro la lista nera. In: Il Roma, 5 September 1916.

the local proletariat and opposition by the most widely circulated Buenos Aires newspapers to Argentine's entry into the conflict.[54]

Nevertheless, the tone of the statements about neutrality was rarely a rejection of Argentina by Italo-Argentine residents of Buenos Aires who favored the Italian cause. It was most often disappointment that their adopted country would not side with the Allies against the Central Powers. This was especially the case in 1917 and 1918 when the increase in German submarine attacks against neutral country commercial vessels encouraged the United States, Brazil and others to enter the conflict, while countries like Uruguay cut diplomatic ties with Germany. Perceptions of the Argentine government's Germanophilia ran against expectations by this community that a union of "Latin" countries could be forged, in part through Italo-Argentines, to combat Teutonic and even Anglo-American influences. Members of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires worried that Italy would seek closer commercial relations with immigrants in Sao Paulo and Montevideo after the war because of Argentina's neutrality. In fact, an Italian diplomatic delegation's tour of South America in 1918 did not visit Argentina, forcing leading pro-war Italo-Argentines to travel to Montevideo to meet with him.[55] They returned to Buenos Aires and continued their efforts, which included a fundraising campaign that provided the largest "foreign" contribution in the world to the post-Caporetto Italian war bonds program.[56] This was the most they could do, perhaps, and it was facilitated by the economic successes of Italo-Argentines in Argentina.

b. The Italian side of Argentina's anti-war movement

Argentine historian Juan Suriano has written extensively about the Anarchist movement in Argentina. In his foremost work, which covers Anarchism's apogee from 1890 to 1910, he outlines the influences of immigrants from Italy and Spain in this movement, its large federations but decentralized cultural institutions, and the response of Argentine authorities against Anarchism and its leaders through repressive police tactics and legislation that targeted radicalized foreign workers in particular.[57] Anarchist elements and influences within the working classes of Buenos Aires persisted into the late 1910s and took particular interest in organizing the anti-war movement at that time. Because of their significant presence within Argentina's Anarchist circles and due to Italy's participation in the war, Italo-Argentine workers assumed

54 I germanofili argentini. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 15 April 1918; Imbecilli o malvagi? In: L'Italia del popolo, 20 January 1918; Il Roma e la stampa italfobia. In: Il Roma, 29 September 1916; Le pubblicazioni ingiuriose de 'La Razón'. In: Il Roma, 29 July 1916.
55 Pellegrini d'amore. In: Pro Patria (Montevideo), 8 September 1918.
56 Prestito e riffa. In: Giornale d'Italia (Buenos Aires), 31 May 1918.
57 Juan Suriano, Paradoxes of Utopia. Anarchist Culture and Politics in Buenos Aires, 1890–1910, Edinburgh 2010.

a prominent position in the organization of anti-war activities and propaganda in Buenos Aires. As a result, the protests against the war, while often influenced by working-class internationalism, took on an "Italian" character. Italo-Argentine Anarchists opposed not only Italy's war, but the pro-war mobilization perpetrated by other Italo-Argentine residents of Buenos Aires. Anti-war Italo-Argentines essentially expressed their *italianità* through their specific hostility to Italian nationalism, even as they participated in a broad anti-war movement.

Within a working-class ideological milieu that included influences from Socialist, Anarchist, Syndicalist and proto-Communist thought,[58] a vocal anti-war movement emerged in Buenos Aires during World War I. Four days after the start of the conflict, *La Protesta*, the leading Anarchist daily in Buenos Aires, published a manifesto from the Argentine Regional Labor Federation (FORA) calling for a "virile protest against the war."[59] The manifesto, to be circulated around Argentina and "neighboring countries," declared that, "Workers! Russians, Austrians, Germans, Serbs, Englishmen, Belgians, Italians, Montenegrins, Frenchmen and Portuguese…we are brothers, and we do not have reason to defend the interests of politicians and bankers." This vehement anti-war position had deep roots in class conflict and a vitriolic hatred by Anarchists of the institutions and values of the establishment. Contributors believed that those institutions and values were leading causes of the ongoing "slaughter."

In direct contrast to the rhetoric employed by pro-war advocates, the terms "nation", "nationalism", "*patria*" and "patriotism" were the most common targets of anti-war derision. On one occasion, *La Protesta* addressed "the idea of the *patria*, that after the idea of God, is what has caused the most suffering to mankind," and referred to the nation as the subject of "superstitions."[60] It argued that notions of collectivism related to racial or national identities were abstract constructs built on violence.[61] *La Obra*, the illustrated biweekly of *La Protesta*, described patriotism as a "cult", Anarchists as "antipatriots … desecrating the sanctuary", and military officers being "gradually pushed toward moral anesthesia". Anarchist writers saw nations as the foremost source of working-class repression. The FORA publishers of *La Protesta* formed an anti-war committee in 1914 to organize collective efforts against the war, including a general strike in May 1917 opposing the conflict.[62]

58 See, for example, Cristina NOBLE/Juan B. JUSTO, El patriarca socialista, Buenos Aires 2006; Geoffroy DE LAFORCADE/Kirwin SHAFFER (eds.), In Defiance of Boundaries. Anarchism in Latin American History, Gainesville 2015; Hernán CAMARERO, A la conquista de la clase obrera. Los comunistas y el mundo del trabajo en la Argentina, 1920–1935, Buenos Aires 2007.

59 La organización obrera/Ante la guerra. In: La Protesta, 6 August 1914.

60 La idea de patria. In: La Protesta, 20 April 1915.

61 La patria y la guerra. In: La Protesta, 22 April 1916; Patriotismo grotesco. In: La Protesta, 7 November 1916.

62 A la huelga general – Contra la guerra/Pro-Comité contra la guerra. In: La Protesta, 8 May 1917.

Anarchists, the FORA and its newspaper often sought to erase lines drawn between ethnic groups to create a united anti-war movement. Italian-language labor periodicals also spoke out in general terms against the war in 1914 and 1915. On May Day in 1915, *La canaglia*, the mouthpiece of the Anarchist Fascio Rivoluzionario Italiano (FRI) in Buenos Aires, emphasized the need to organize workers collectively against the war.[63] One contributor at Italian-language Anarchist weekly *La rivolta* wrote of the "brutal killing" and "disgrace" that affected working-class women and children particularly, regardless of their ethnicity or country of residence.[64]

However, despite the internationalist ideas purported by Italo-Argentine Anarchists, anti-*italianità* seemed to consume their anti-war propaganda and activities after Italy's entry into the conflict. They protested in two ways: against Italy's involvement in the war and in opposition to pro-war Italo-Argentines in Buenos Aires. There was a strong anti-irredentist protest within the anti-war movement. Italian-language labor periodicals believed that suffering by working classes would be the same under the Austro-Hungarian or Italian government. They described the Italian king as awkward, illegitimate and backward-looking, and attempted to undermine the idea of Italy, notions of *italianità* and Italian expansionism. They even called for the appearance of another Gaetano Bresci, who assassinated the king's father, Umberto I, in 1900.[65] For anti-war Italo-Argentines, the image of men like Bresci and deceased anarchist hero Pietro Gori were deployed in opposition to nationalist images of men like Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini used by the mainstream Italian-language press in Buenos Aires.

The above points of view led to attacks by anti-war Italo-Argentines on war-related goods collections, loans programs and enlistment drives. *La canaglia*'s propaganda against military mobilization in 1915 was particularly severe. The newspaper's contributors upturned pro-war discourse by arguing that it was immigrants' *dovere*, or duty, to encourage desertion.[66] It referred to soldiers killed in action as *nostri morti*, or our dead, rather than *nostri caduti*, or our fallen [soldiers], as the pro-war press did.[67] *La canaglia* highlighted poor conditions on ships carrying recruits from South America to Italy and the hunger of troops experienced at the front.[68] It connected these conditions to the circumstances of working classes in Italy, reminding potential recruits that those conditions had led them or their parents to migrate. These protesters claimed to have succeeded by encouraging passive resistance that led many Italo-Argentines to

63 Ai riservisti italiani residenti nell'Argentina. In: La canaglia, 1 May 1915.
64 Vittime della guerra. In: La rivolta, 9 September 1917.
65 Per l'onore e la gloria d'Italia. In: La canaglia, 1 June 1915.
66 Oggi, domani e sempre. In: La canaglia, 1st Half of July 1915.
67 I nostri morti. In: La canaglia, 13 October 1915.
68 Riservisti italiani in guardia! In: La canaglia, 28 July 1915.

ignore the calls for enlistment by the Italian government and pro-war groups in Buenos Aires.

Underlying anti-war efforts was a deep-seated class-based abhorrence for the leaders of the pro-war camp. Contributors to *La rivolta* referred to Italian War Committee leader Giovanni Rolleri's nationalistic comments as "Mazzinian mistifications" delivered to an "imbecile public."[69] When Antonio Devoto received a countship from the Italian king for his support of the war, *La canaglia* called him "a sucker of the Italian colony". The paper denounced the "big wigs of the Italian Colony", who assembled at the Teatro Vittoria to form the Italian War Committee, as "*castrati*", or the castrated ones.[70] It described the *cesti*, or baskets, given to families of soldiers in Buenos Aires as *cestini*, or trash cans. It said that in exchange for the lives of their husbands and sons, families received "bread, a *peso*…and a piece of meat"[71]. The vitriol in this rhetoric increased after the loss at Caporetto in 1917.

Even as Italo-Argentines came out expressly against Italy's war, they remained affected by their presence in Buenos Aires. Linguistic hybridization was visible in publications like *La rivolta*, which occasionally "yelled" its anti-war propaganda in Spanish in its columns to confront "the ignorance" of opponents who did not understand Italian.[72] The native Argentine-led FORA and the immigrant-led FRI collaborated to organize rallies, according to the latter's *La canaglia*.[73] When that newspaper closed (and the FRI disbanded) in 1917, the FORA's *La Protesta* began to publish a section in Italian.[74] That section portrayed Italy not as a "Fatherland" but an abusive stepmother.[75] Prior to that, *La Protesta* had already published a series of letters from Italian soldiers who wrote of the uselessness and brutality of the war.[76] It was relentless in its opposition to the recruitment effort in Buenos Aires, writing in 1916 upon the departure of a steamship with 500 reservists on board:

„¡Chao amigos! Kill yourselves quickly, since the bread that you eat is lacking for those that in the future will be more conscious, more rebellious, more masculine, than you have been. Leave, there are more of you in the world; you are not worth even the coal that is used for the crossing that carries you to the slaughterhouse."[77]

Italo-Argentines' opposing the war specifically targeted Italy and other Italo-Argentines, but also embraced their place in an Argentine struggle that was multi-ethnic and multi-denominational in terms of ideological outlook. They expressed their hybrid notions of belonging through the juxtaposition and

69 I festiggiamenti pel XX Settembre. In: La rivolta, 23 September 1917.
70 Il comizio del Teatro Vittoria il giorno 27. In: La canaglia, 1 June 1915.
71 Miserabili! Traditori! In: La canaglia, 1 September 1915.
72 Los días históricas. In: La rivolta, 14 October 1917.
73 Contro la guerra: In: La canaglia, 1st Half of January 1916.
74 Il Fascio Rivoluzionario Italiano/Necessità di riorganizzarlo. In: La Protesta, 29 March 1917.
75 Ibidem.
76 Carta de una reservista. In: La Protesta, 22, 24, 26 and 27 October 1915.
77 Los reservistas. In: La Protesta, 29 April 1916.

blending of these efforts. Their *italo-argentinidad* was present in their opposition to nationalism, war, militancy, patriotism – and the capitalist bourgeoisie, some of whose members were pro-war Italo-Argentines whose similar hybridity had pulled them in very different directions. To anti-war Italo-Argentines, Italy's war was still "ours" even if they despised it.

c. Syndicalists in the making of Argentine organized labor

The above section references the disbanding in 1917 of the FRI, the most prominent Anarchist labor federation built by immigrants from Italy, and the group's (and its newspaper's) incorporation into the FORA. These changes represented a shift in labor mobilization in Buenos Aires toward the dissolution of divides within Anarchism based on language and national origins. Yet this transition was also a response to generational changes in the labor movement that was undercutting the influence of Anarchism in favor of Syndicalism during the late 1910s, a subject that remains greatly influenced by the work of Ruth Thompson.[78]

Anarchism gained influence in Argentina in the late-nineteenth century through Anarchist proselytizers like Pietro Gori and Errico Malatesta, from Italy, and Antonio Pellicer Paraire, from Spain, who were among the immigrants arriving to Buenos Aires.[79] Anarchism's decentralized organization matched the structure of the relatively isolated neighborhoods and small artisan shops in turn-of-the-century Buenos Aires. Such decentralization did not prohibit Anarchists from organizing general strikes, encouraging revolutionary agitation, and establishing schools, cultural centers and periodicals throughout the city.[80] Despite their ethnic diversity, including among those with varying origins in Italy, Anarchists were united in their opposition to nation-states, the capitalist bourgeoisie and other structures of social, economic and political order.[81]

Socialism also emerged in Argentina, in the 1870s, via immigration. Yet by the 1890s Argentine-born, middle-class intellectuals and professionals led the movement.[82] Founded in 1894, Buenos Aires-based Socialist newspaper *La Vanguardia* had a widespread readership throughout Argentina, with contributors including prominent thinkers Juan B. Justo and Nicolás Repetto.[83] Socialist Alfredo Palacios was elected to Congress in 1904, but events like these caused upset in the party as radical factions abhorred collusion with the

78 Ruth THOMPSON, Argentine Syndicalism. Reformism before Revolution. In: Marcel VAN DER LINDEN/Wayne THORPE (eds.), Revolutionary Syndicalism. An International Perspective, Aldershot U.K. 1990, pp. 167–183.

79 Ibidem, p.169.

80 SURIANO, Paradoxes of Utopia.

81 For a description of the variability within Anarchist thought see Peter MARSHALL, Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism, London 1992.

82 For additional history of the Socialist Party, see Richard WALTER, The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930, Austin, TX 1977.

83 Ronaldo MUNCK/Ricardo FALCÓ/Bernardo GALITELLI, Argentina: from Anarchism to Peronism. Workers, Unions and Politics, 1855–1985, London 1987, p. 40.

political elites from the ruling National Autonomist Party (PAN).[84] Influenced by the radical ideas of Syndicalist founder Georges Sorel and Italian Syndicalist Arturo Labriola, a faction led by Julio Árraga, a lawyer, and Gabriela Laperriere de Coni, a French-born activist, split from Argentina's Socialist Party in 1906.[85] These Syndicalists formed the Argentine Regional Workers' Confederation (CORA) in 1909.[86] The CORA meant "to take up in the bosom of the proletariat a position of a combatant organization, renovator of revolutionary energies of the workers that long for greater welfare and freedom"[87]. During the 1910s, Syndicalists would make certain advances toward these goals.

Árraga, a prolific writer and contributor to Syndicalist publications, challenged reformist Socialist thinking and strategies as he believed, "the social problem is economic, not political"[88]. Yet he and other Syndicalists also positioned themselves against the "sterile individualist struggles of the Anarchists."[89] Syndicalists in 1910s Buenos Aires believed that Anarchist-style decentralization was insufficient to foment revolutionary change, while their violent tactics and calls for social revolution had proved counter-productive.[90] Instead, Syndicalists believed that collective action should target material improvements – higher wages, more benefits and better working conditions – that could gradually lead to workers' seizure of factors of production. This required more centralized and coordinated action within the federation. This ideology proved attractive to many members of Argentina's working classes, who were increasingly employed in large-scale industries such as meatpacking and railroads. Syndicalism was also more attractive to the children of immigrants who participated in these industries and were averse to Anarchism's associations with foreign-born radicals and government repression.[91]

In line with an ideological dedication to the Marxist principle that workers, not intellectuals, should lead working-class activism, Árraga was never a member of Syndicalist labor federations. Instead, the leaders of the Syndicalist executive committees and main contributors to Syndicalist newspapers included Juan Cuomo, Luis Tortorelli and Cristóbal Montale, whose Spanish given names and Italian surnames indicate they were Argentines with family origins

84 Alejandro BELKIN, Sobre los orígenes del sindicalismo revolucionario en la Argentina, Buenos Aires 2006, p. 28.
85 Horacio TARCUS (ed.), Diccionario biográfico de la izquierda argentina de los anarquistas a la 'nueva izquierda', 1870–1976, Buenos Aires 2007, pp. 354–355 for de Coni; pp. 26–27 for Árraga.
86 THOMPSON, Argentina Syndicalism, pp.169–171.
87 Confederación obrera regional argentina. In: Confederación obrera regional argentina, 15 March 1910.
88 Julio ÁRRAGA, Nociones del sindicalismo, Buenos Aires 1913, p. 10.
89 ÁRRAGA, Nociones del sindicalismo, p. 20.
90 Some contemporaries, especially enemies, referred to Syndicalists as Anarcho-Syndicalists, a popular term in Europe. Argentina's Syndicalists shunned the label in an effort to disassociate themselves from Anarchism.
91 See Hugo DEL CAMPO, Sindicalismo y peronismo. Los comienzos de un vínculo perdurable, Buenos Aires 2005; Ruth THOMPSON, The Limitations of Ideology in the Early Argentine Labour Movement Anarchism in the Trade Unions, 1890–1920. In: Journal of Latin American Studies 16 (1984), 1, pp. 81–99.

in Italy. By 1918, Sebastián Marotta, the son of Italian immigrants born in the Barracas neighborhood of Buenos Aires, led the largest Syndicalist organization. A year earlier, he wrote that the Syndicalist takeover of a faction of the FORA represented a move by the labor movement "to liberate itself from all exterior influences" and advance "the moral and material progress of the national institution of the country's workers". His use of the words "national" and "country" revealed a commitment to greater Argentinization of working-class activism.[92]

After failed attempts by the Syndicalist CORA to merge with the Anarchists' FORA, in September 1914, the CORA dissolved itself and encouraged member unions to join the FORA.[93] There was an electoral contest for FORA leadership at its ninth congress in 1915 and the Syndicalists took control of the executive committee following the vote.[94] Anarchist hardliners dissatisfied with the change broke away to form the FORA V, who held onto the Anarchist principles of the fifth congress of 1905 (and publication of *La Protesta*). The majority that stayed became the FORA IX, which adhered to the Syndicalist principles (and leadership) agreed to during the ninth congress. On May Day 1916, the newly established FORA IX periodical *La Organización Obrera* underlined a strategy for an "integral" emancipation of the workers that involved linking the "revolutionary concept" with the "reformist criteria of the majority."[95] A more moderate and more Argentine faction had procured the leading position in the labor movement.

This change did not, however, represent a full break with foreign connections, or workers' ethnic origins in Italy, but a hybridization of the workers movement that included significant Italo-Argentine influences. The language and coverage in Syndicalist newspapers included manifestations of this hybridity. From 1910, the CORA's *La Acción Obrera* included articles in Spanish that used Italian in headlines or blended Italian phrases into the body of an article.[96] The Syndicalist port workers' *La Unión del Marino* closely monitored Italian labor news. Front-page stories focused on events in Genoa and voiced support for maritime laborers there.[97] Other contributions expressed solidarity with mobilizing workers in Turin factories and reported on an Italian delega-

92 Sebastián MAROTTA, La federación obrera regional argentina. In: Almanaque 1918 (Publisher unknown), September 1917.
93 MUNCK/FALCÓN/GALITELLI, Argentina.
94 Diego ABAD DE SANTILLÁN, La F.O.R.A. Ideología y trayectoria del movimiento obrero revolucionario en la Argentina, (Publisher unknown) 1932, pp. 241–250.
95 Consideraciones de actualidad. In: La Organización Obrera, 1 May 1916.
96 For example: Entre compinches. In: La Acción Obrera, 24 December 1910, which includes the phrase "i colpi non si danno á patti"; Venne, s'arresto e sparve. In: La Acción Obrera, 14 January 1911, which was written in Spanish, but had an Italian title.
97 Conferencia internacional de Genova. In: La Unión del Marino, August 1920; La conferencia económica de Genova. In: La Unión del Marino, May 1922.

tion's visit to the Soviet Union.[98] Labor news from other European countries could only be found in short briefs on the back pages. At times, *La Unión del Marino* published a section in Italian, which in one case encouraged solidarity "without distinction of races or nationalities"[99]. Part of the Syndicalist effort to unify Argentina's working classes was the incorporation of Italian speakers into their movement. Such centralization proved useful in the FORA IX relations with the government discussed below.

d. Italo-Argentine influence in party politics

Because of its origins in immigrant working classes, the labor movement in Buenos Aires, during the 1910s, drifted toward a closer association with *italo-argentinidad* as it became more Argentine, and the children of immigrants from Italy incorporated their hybrid notions of belonging into the Syndicalist-led labor movement. The opposite was the case for politics in Argentina's capital. In the late 1910s, political reform, increased popular participation in elections and a generational shift toward greater influence of children of immigrants led to the incorporation of Italo-Argentines into Argentina's domestic political processes, especially through the 1916 election of Radical Party candidate Hipólito Yrigoyen, who created the first mass political party in Latin America, historian Joel Horowitz has argued.[100]

The elite-run PAN had held power from 1880 and sat atop a political system that was "impeccably republican, though designed to distance voters from the most important decisions, removing them somewhat from the 'popular will'"[101]. The party's leaders had little interaction with middle and working classes and preferred to deal with immigrants through positivist-driven social programs that could "resist new forms of barbarism" in the country's expanding proletariat of foreign-born workers.[102] The relationship between labor and the PAN government was confrontational, involving repressive legislative action that blocked working-class organizing (and often encouraged more volatile mobilization), outbreaks of violence and little-to-no dialogue.[103]

Radical Party origins dated back to political opposition that emerged in

98 Huelga en los buques italianos. In: La Unión del Marino, June 1920; Los consejos de fábrica en Italia. In*: La Unión del Marino,* June 1920; De la delegación socialista italiana en Rusia. In: La Unión del Marino, November 1920.

99 Solidarità. In: La Unión del Marino, 1 June 1912.

100 Joel HOROWITZ, Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization, 1916–1930, University Park, PA 2000).

101 Luis Alberto ROMERO, A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century, University Park, PA 2002, p. 13.

102 Julia RODRÍGUEZ, Civilizing Argentina. Science, Medicine, and the Modern State, Chapel Hill, NC 2006, p. 5.

103 Ronaldo MUNCK, Cycles of Class Struggle and the Making of the Working Class in Argentina, 1890–1920. In: Journal of Latin American Studies 19 (1987), 1, pp. 19–39, p. 27; Roberto KORZENIEWICZ, Labor Unrest in Argentina, 1887–1907. In: Latin American Research Review 24 (1989), 3, pp. 71–98, p. 75.

the 1890s.[104] After a failed insurrection in 1893 and an unsuccessful electoral campaign, the Radicals disbanded in 1897, but were resurrected by Yrigoyen in 1903.[105] A failed coup attempt in 1905 produced renewed popular support for the Radicals from sectors, particularly middle classes, excluded from full political participation.[106] Subsequent public demonstrations and high-profile election boycotts by the disenfranchised eventually forced the PAN to enforce, through a 1912 law, universal male suffrage provisions already in the constitution. The Radicals and the Socialist Party made gains in subsequent legislative elections and in 1916 Yrigoyen won the first presidential contest after the reform. According to David Rock, the Radicals had "acquired a locally based intermediate leadership composed mainly of the sons-of-immigrants group," while after the 1912 electoral reforms, Yrigoyen "tailored his appeal to the native-born sons-of-immigrants groups employed in the tertiary sector"[107]. Italo-Argentine political influence had now reached the presidency.

Articles in late 1916 in *La Época*, the leading Radical Party daily, illustrated the new government's view of itself as a supporter of democratic practices, an outgrowth of popular opinion and a force for moderation. The day before Yrigoyen's inauguration, the newspaper argued: "For the first time in the history of Argentina's institutions, the Executive is a direct product of popular sovereignty."[108] *La Época* encouraged different sectors of society to voice grievances and resolve issues "tranquilly," and by seeing the government as an unaligned arbiter.[109]

To help it build widespread popular support for the Yrigoyen government, *La Época* covered events organized by Italo-Argentines and occasionally voiced its adoration for those communities. Its pages were also filled with the activities of high-level Radical officials and legislators of Italian origin. The Radical Party and Yrigoyen are at times associated with pan-Hispanism, a sentiment linked to the country's colonial past and contemporary solidarity with Spain and Spanish America (particularly in the face of British and United States influence). Such beliefs were well represented in *La Época*.[110] Nevertheless, on its front page on November 11, 1916, *La Época* celebrated the 48th birthday of Italian King Vittorio Emanuele III, "uniting ourselves with the joy of Italians during this time"[111]. Correspondent Francisco Rossini's "Letters from Italia"

104 The UCR formed in 1892 after a split with Unión Cívica.
105 Paula ALONSO, Between Revolution and the Ballot Box. the Origins of the Argentine Radical Party in the 1890s, Cambridge 2000, p. 132.
106 David ROCK, The Rise of the Argentine Radical Party (the Unión Cívica Radical), 1891–1916, Cambridge 1971, pp. 49–50.
107 Ibidem.
108 Unión Cívica Radical. In: La Época, 11 October 1916.
109 El ejecutivo y la huelga. In: La Época, 8 December 1916.
110 For example, La fiesta de la raza. In: La Época, 9 October 1916; La fiesta de la raza. In: La Época, 4 October 1918; Relaciones con España. In: La Época, 13 November 1916; Sociedad cultural española. In: La Época, 1 December 1916.
111 El soberano de Italia. In: La Época, 11 November 1916.

column appeared regularly in the newspaper.[112] And news about migration, strikes and the economy in Italy sat alongside advertisements for Italian goods and services available to consumers in Buenos Aires, and the Italo-Argentine readers of *La Época*.

The importance to Radicals of attracting readers, support and votes from Italo-Argentines was present in domestic coverage in *La Época* as well. The newspaper reported on events related to "Italian-descended Argentine youth."[113] It deflected rumors floated by rival paper *La Nación* of police violence at an Italian rally, while it defended a controversial decision to move the date of another public event held by the Italian community.[114] In September 1918 the newspaper celebrated in its lead article the upcoming XX Settembre Italian holiday that commemorated the taking of Rome during the *Risorgimento*, noting:

> "Our regards go out today to the large Italian colony that contributes to our prosperity with its efforts. We share its joy. Its blood mixes with our blood and its surnames are the patrimony of many Argentine households. Its tradition forms part of our tradition. Our hospitable land gives them asylum and welfare, and they know to repay that hospitality with the good things they do, contributing to the greatness of their second fatherland."[115]

At least in some prominent circles of the Radical Party, there was an emphasis on the influence of immigrants from Italy within the construction of the Argentine patrimony. It was almost an electoral necessity with Italo-Argentines (both immigrants and their children) making up roughly one quarter of Argentina's residents in the 1910s.

Built upon shared notions of belonging that stemmed in part from the presence of *italo-argentinidad* in both movements, the Radicals and Syndicalists transformed government-labor relations in Argentina, where the PAN and Anarchists had fought street battles for decades. During a port worker strike in December 1916, *La Época* reported on a meeting between a maritime union leader and the Minister of the Interior and published a defense of worker demands.[116] Radical Party recognition of those demands, Syndicalist acceptance of government arbitration, and the Radicals' eventual siding with the workers against ship owners were monumental events in government-labor relations that took place just months after Yrigoyen took office and a year after the Syndicalists gained control of FORA IX. Around this time, the pages of *La Época* spoke of worker-employer disputes as "inevitable" and manageable through "peaceful channels" and with "reciprocal respect"[117]. Yrigoyen and his ministers even called on FORA IX leader Marotta to assist with social issues like

112 For example, Cartas de Italia. In: La Época, 14 December 1918 and 24 December 1918.
113 Homenaje a Italia: Asociación 'Mater Italica'. In: La Época, 5 November 1918.
114 La manifestación de anoche. In: La Época, 4 November 1918.
115 El día de Italia. In: La Época, 20 September 1918.
116 La huelga de obreros marítimos. In: La Época, 5 December 1916.
117 El estado y las huelgas In: La Época, 28 November 1916.

university reforms that followed student protests in the city of Córdoba in 1917 and 1918.[118]

Syndicalists and Radicals did not always interact harmoniously. In January 1918, *La Organización Obrera* reported that striking meat packers mobilizing in the capital's industrial suburbs faced a "withdrawal of the cooperation of the State."[119] The executive committee meeting minutes in the Syndicalists' *Libro de Actas* recorded in April 1918 included accusations that police went to striking workers' houses to persuade them to return to work, using false promises and threats.[120] The military fared similarly as a target of Syndicalist criticism.[121] Radical Party support for the labor movement was also not assured. In one instance, *La Época* claimed that labor unrest "lack[ed] all solid and sensible grounding" and was "simply, an abuse of the power that the right to strike concedes to the workers"[122]. In the event of worker violence, Radicals lost all sympathy for participants in labor mobilizations. The vacillating relationship between Syndicalists and Radicals was particularly evident during the infamous "Tragic Week" of January 1919, when widespread rioting by the proletariat and deadly police violence grew out of a strike at the Vasena metalworking shop. Syndicalists and Radicals criticized the actions of one another, but also helped negotiate an end to the violence via channels that were opened by a reduction in ethnic conflict between government and labor.[123]

Nodes and networks of *italo-argentinidad*

The above analysis illustrates the varied ways that Italo-Argentine communities organized and advocated during the late 1910s in order to achieve social and political objectives through solidarity built on notions of belonging related to *italo-argentinidad*, which had multiple dispositions. Those focused on providing support for Italy's war effort used that solidarity to bring together resources in Argentina that could assist mobilization drives for the Alpine front and activities on this South American homefront. This community was seemingly Italian as, for example, its leader Antonio Devoto earned a countship for his service and a group of "progeny" received a letter of thanks from the Italian queen. At the same time, much of the pro-war mobilization remained Argentine as only tens of the thousands – out of the millions of Italo-Argentines living in the country – actually returned to fight. Resistance to enlist came in part from a strident anti-war movement that emerged especially among Italo-Argentine

118 Silvano Santander, Transcript of a Eulogy of Sebastián Marotta held in the Library's Archives at Torcuato Di Tella University, Buenos Aires.
119 La huelga de los frigoríficos. In: La Organización Obrera, 19 January 1918.
120 Libro de Actas, 23 April 1918.
121 El ejército y los trabajadores. In: La Organización Obrera, 16 March 1918.
122 Una huelga original. In: La Época, 14 October 1918.
123 Federación Obrera Regional Argentina, Memoria y balance del consejo federal al undécimo congreso (enero 1919–noviembre 1920, Buenos Aires s.d), p. 5; Final de las agitaciones. In: La Época, 12 January 1919.

residents of Buenos Aires. Those residents sought solidarity in the multi-ethnic and internationalist-minded labor federations of Argentina, but they nevertheless expressed their hybridity as they held up "Italian" counter-cultural icons like Gaetano Bresci and specifically targeted nationalist aggression in Italy and within the Italo-Argentine pro-war bourgeoisie.

Italo-Argentine solidarity built around support for and opposition to Italy's war occurred at the same time that Italo-Argentines became more involved in working-class advocacy and mainstream politics. Both of these involved the ascendancy of children of immigrants from Italy to more prominent positions in Argentine society. These adult "children" drove the Argentinization of labor activism from its foreign origins through the rise of Syndicalism, even as connections to working-class causes in Italy were sustained. These children also propelled the Italianization of Argentine politics through their support for and participation in the Radical Party during Yrigoyen's successful victory against the insular and elite-run PAN in 1916. These shifts led to a major change in government-labor relations in the late-1910s, facilitating dialogue even amid the violence of the Tragic Week as generational change helped to dilute xenophobic tendencies and unwind ethnic differences that shaped those relations in prior periods.

Pro- and anti-war rivalries and Syndicalist-Radical interactions did not occur in isolation from one another. Italo-Argentines in the 1910s did not only engage with domestic and international activism separately, but through interactions between the two. Contributors to *L'Italia del Popolo*, the Italian-language newspaper aligned with Socialism, equally celebrated the participation of Argentine-born children in the Italian army during the Great War and voiced concerns about poor protection of laborers in what it called a "second fatherland"[124]. Its writers worried about children of immigrants disassociating themselves from Italian origins, but printed some articles, including pronouncements from the FORA IX, in Spanish, presumably to reach those comfortable reading that language.[125] As Greater Buenos Aires fixated on the violence occurring during the Tragic Week, *L'Italia del Popolo* published an open letter to the Vasena brothers who owned the plant.[126] These events benefited no one, the newspaper argued, and "had already carried tragic consequences". It blamed the bourgeoisie generally for the "miserable conditions of the proletariat", but placed moral responsibility on the Vasena brothers. It then emphasized that many of the workers had origins in Italy and ended with a plea: "*Signori Fratelli Vasena*, listen to a serene and disinterested voice. And do not ever forget that your father was a humble Italian worker, who knew

124 Quattro argentini in guerra. In: L'Italia del Popolo, 28 February 1919; Nuova coscienza sociale. In: L'Italia del Popolo, 29 February 1920.
125 Ma non ci sono i figli? In: L'Italia del Popolo, 5 March 1920.
126 Lettera aperta ai signori Fratelli Vasena, industriali. In: L'Italia del Popolo, 7 January 1919.

how to win his battles with honest work." It was a sincere attempt to use shared notions of belonging to temper the dispute between striking workers, plant owners and government authorities in Argentina, all of them containing elements of *italo-argentinidad*.

Those authorities, under Radical Party leadership, made similar attempts to recognize the *italo-argentinidad* of their constituents in Buenos Aires. Following the Italian victory against Austria-Hungary in November 1918, writers at *La Época* joined a wave of Italo-Argentine celebrations, hailed the Italian military's success and noted the shared "Latin" character of Italy and Argentina.[127] Contributors to *La Época* subsequently exalted Italy's annexation of Trento and Trieste during peace agreements.[128] "The war has produced a miracle in Italy", wrote the newspaper's correspondent from Naples, highlighting the country's "elevated morals" and advances in industrial organization. No other European participant in the war was given such attention by a newspaper that served as the mouthpiece of a government that had maintained its neutrality until the very end. After the war, reaching out to Italo-Argentines in this way might help the Radical Party maintain electoral superiority through efforts to unify different segments of the Argentine populace. It could also do so by facilitating the construction of a massive Italo-Argentine-financed monument to Columbus and its placement adjacent to the *Casa Rosada*. By 1921, when the statue was finished, one writer in an Italian-language almanac published by Buenos Aires newspaper *La Patria degli italiani* felt comfortable referring to Argentina as "a true adopted fatherland", arguing that, "Experience and the philosophy of history demonstrate in an indisputable way, that after the native country, among all others, the most loved is that of the parents"[129]. No mention was given to the diverse regional origins within Italy of those parents.

During the late 1910s, *italo-argentinidad* took many forms and represented the great diversity that existed among the millions of Italo-Argentines – both immigrants from Italy and their descendants – who resided in Argentina and its primate city. Those residents had grown comfortable and even confident in their hybridity, and had the economic, social, political and intellectual resources needed to advocate for social and political objectives on both side of the Atlantic. Solidarity was built not based on notions of *italianità* or *argentinidad* in and of themselves, but instead from an amalgam of characteristics associated with these two (each of them contested in their own right) that had been in formation for nearly half a century. More than this, *italo-argentinidad*, which grew in Buenos Aires in response to domestic and international stimuli, in fact appears to have risen somewhat independently from *italianità* and *argentini-*

127 Natalicio del rey de Italia. In: La Época, 11 November 1918.
128 Colectividad italiana. In: La Época, 10 November 1918.
129 La patria degli italiani, Annuario Italo-Sudamericano: Giá almanacco dell'italiano nell'argentina, Buenos Aires 1920, p. 523.

dad, this analysis beings to show – and it might even influence them. While certainly relatable to other immigrant experiences in Argentina and elsewhere, this phenomenon seems especially relevant to the case of immigrants from Italy to Argentina, who arrived in large numbers from an exceedingly diverse set of regions during a period when Italian and Argentine nationalities were considerably malleable. Members of a family with origins in Calabria, for example, that resided in Argentina during the late-1910s, might have difficulty defining themselves as Italian or Argentine, but could quite easily consider themselves Italo-Argentine as they endeavored to participate in Buenos Aires civil society.

John Starosta Galante, Buenos Aires e la creazione dell'*italo-argentinidad*, 1915–1919

Verso la fine del secondo decennio del XX secolo, le comunità italiane a Buenos Aires erano assai diversificate. I flussi migratori dall'Italia all'Argentina si erano intensificati già dalla metà del secolo precedente. Tra gli oriundi italiani residenti a Buenos Aires – immigrati e figli di immigrati – vi erano uomini e donne di tutte le età, operai e grandi industriali, monarchici e anarchici e così via. Le loro radici regionali coprivano tutta l'Italia ed essi mantenevano una varietà di relazioni e legami di appartenenza con lo stato italiano. Allo stesso tempo, a causa della loro diversa condizione riguardo a cittadinanza, status sociale, orientamenti ideologici etc., gli italiani in Argentina coltivavano differenti legami e modalità di identificazione con il loro paese di residenza. In un certo senso non si sentivano né *italiani* né *argentini* e non avvertivano necessariamente obblighi di solidarietà nazionale nei confronti dell'*italianità* o dell'*argentinidad*. Mantenevano invece forme ibride di appartenenza, che questo articolo descrive come manifestazioni della loro *italo-argentinidad*.

Le diverse condizioni e gli stimoli provenienti sia dall'Italia che dall'Argentina fecero sì che gli italo-argentini di Buenos Aires esprimessero la loro *italo-argentinidad* in vari modi. Il contributo prende in esame quattro varianti lungo queste linee. L'avvenimento italiano che maggiormente li coinvolse nella seconda metà di quel decennio fu ovviamente la partecipazione del Regno d'Italia alla prima guerra mondiale. Un numero considerevole dei residenti di origine italiana in Argentina diede il proprio sostegno al nazionalismo e alle ambizioni nazionali dell'Italia. Società culturali e di mutuo soccorso, camere di commercio e comitati appositamente organizzati a favore della guerra manifestarono la loro *italianità* mobilitandosi per procurare risorse e assistere l'Italia nel conflitto con l'Austria-Ungheria. La guerra, tuttavia, rese evidenti anche l'estrema distanza tra Buenos Aires e il fronte alpino nonché la concretezza dei legami ormai instaurati con l'Argentina da parte degli immigrati. Allo stesso tempo,

molti membri italiani delle organizzazioni dei lavoratori di Buenos Aires si opposero con veemenza alla guerra e cercarono di contrastare la mobilitazione a favore della guerra sia sul piano locale che internazionale. In generale, tuttavia, questi gruppi non poterono prescindere completamente dalla pressione del nazionalismo italiano (specialmente nella loro opposizione ad esso) o dalle crisi che attanagliavano la loro nazione d'origine. Non si sarebbero fatti assorbire completamente dalla loro *argentinidad*.

Le altre manifestazioni di *italo-argentinidad* esaminate nel contributo riguardano invece le circostanze in Argentina. Da un lato gli italo-argentini, soprattutto di seconda generazione, espressero le loro posizioni nella politica argentina attraverso una consistente partecipazione alla *Radical Civic Union*, un partito proto-populista il cui leader Hipólito Yrigoyen raggiunse la presidenza nel 1916. Gli italo-argentini erano comunque percepiti come un blocco elettorale etnico all'interno di un movimento politico più ampio che mirava a consolidare il consenso soprattutto tra le classi medie per rimuovere le élite tradizionalmente ancorate al potere. Nonostante l'attiva partecipazione di italiani, i leader radicali del partito sottolineavano le origini ispaniche dell'Argentina. D'altra parte, i cambiamenti generazionali e ideologici tra i lavoratori italo-argentini contribuirono a produrre la transizione da un movimento operaio di tipo anarchico (percepito come "straniero") a un movimento sindacalmente strutturato, guidato spesso da figli di immigrati, ormai argentini. Il lavoro organizzato diventava così meno *italiano* e più *italo-argentino*. Stava componendo i due elementi, in direzione opposta alla politica argentina ma con risultati simili, che portarono a migliorare i rapporti tra governo e lavoratori a Buenos Aires. Inoltre si registrarono, da un lato, connessioni tra i Radicali e la mobilitazione a favore della guerra, e, dall'altro, legami tra i sindacalisti e il movimento contro la guerra.

Riassumendo, lo studio mostra come alla fine del secondo decennio del XX secolo l'attivismo sociale e politico degli italo-argentini, espresso in vari raggruppamenti e istituzioni, rappresentasse l'*italo-argentinidad* in modi assai differenti. Essi fecero uso di nozioni collettive e ibride di solidarietà per perseguire istanze diverse in Italia e in Argentina e contemporaneamente produrre una serie di appartenenze composite. Questi percorsi e processi identitari non coincidevano del tutto con le caratteristiche dell'*italianità* o dell'*argentinidad* che immaginavano i nazionalisti rispettivamente in Italia e in Argentina, L'*italo-argentinidad* fu variamente costruita lungo vie in un certo senso indipendenti e arrivò persino a influenzare il modo di intendere l'*italianità* o l'*argentinidad* su entrambe le sponde dell'Atlantico.

John Starosta Galante, Buenos Aires und die Konstruktion von *italo-argentinidad*, 1915–1919

Seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts hatten die Migrationsflüsse von Italien nach Argentinien stark zugenommen. In den späten 1910er Jahren waren die italienischen Bewohner von Buenos Aires – Einwanderer*innen und deren Kinder – untereinander sehr verschieden: Männer und Frauen jeder Altersklasse, Industriearbeiter sowie Industrielle, Monarchisten sowie Anarchisten, etc. Sie stammten ursprünglich aus den verschiedensten Regionen Italiens und hatten auch unterschiedliche Loyalitätsbeziehungen zum italienischen Staat inne. Verschieden hinsichtlich Staatsbürgerschaft, sozialem Status, ideologischen Ansichten usw., wiesen die Italiener in Argentinien auch unterschiedliche Beziehungen zu und Identifikationen mit ihrem Herkunftsland auf: In gewisser Hinsicht waren sie weder Italiener noch Argentinier, und fühlten sich auch nicht notwendigerweise von der Idee nationaler Solidarität, die mit *italianità* oder *argentinidad* verknüpft wurden, angesprochen. Stattdessen behielten sie hybride Formen von Zugehörigkeit bei, die in diesem Aufsatz als Manifestationen ihrer *italo-argentinidad* beschrieben werden.

Diese Verschiedenheiten wie auch Umstände und Stimuli aus Italien und Argentinien führten dazu, dass die Italo-Argentinier in Buenos Aires ihre *italo-argentinidad* in unterschiedlichen Weisen zum Ausdruck brachten. Dieser Aufsatz untersucht vier Formen entlang dieser Argumentationslinie. Der Eintritt Italiens in den ersten Weltkrieg stellte ein bedeutendes Ereigniss für die Italo-Argentinier in den späten 1910er Jahren dar. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl der Bewohner in Argentinien italiensicher Herkunft trat für den italienischen Nationalismus und Italiens nationale Ambitionen ein. Am Mutualismus orientierte, wie auch kulturelle Gesellschaften, Handelskammern und ausdrücklich für die Kriegsunterstützung organisierte Komitees beriefen sich über die Mobilisierung von Ressourcen, um Italien gegen Österreich-Ungarn zu unterstützen, auf ihre *italianità*. Gleichzeitig opponierten viele in den Arbeiterorganisationen in Buenos Aires eingebundene Italiener gegen den Krieg und traten den lokalen und internationalen Mobilisierungen für den Krieg vehement entgegen. Dennoch konnten sich diese Gruppen nicht gänzlich der Sogwirkung des italienischen Nationalismus (speziell in ihrer Opposition zu ihr) beziehungsweise der Krise ihrer Ursprungsnation entziehen. Sie wandten sich nicht exklusiv ihrer *argentinidad* zu.

Weitere Erscheinungsformen der *italo-argenitnidad*, die in diesem Aufsatz untersucht werden, standen hingegen in Zusammenhang mit Gegebenheiten in Argentinien. Zum einen konnten die Italo-Argentinier, vor allem jene der zweiten Generation, ihre Position in der argentinischen Politik stärken, insbesondere durch die aktive Partizipation in der proto-populistischen Partei *Radical Civic Union*, dessen Leader Hipólito Yrigoyen 1916 die

Präsidentschaftswahlen gewinnen konnte. Die Italo-Argentinier wurden als ethnisch geschlossen wählender Block innerhalb einer breiteren politischen Bewegung wahrgenommen, die darauf abzielte, über die Stärkung des Konsenses unter den Mittelklassen die fest eingesessenen Eliten von ihren Machtpositionen abzusetzen. Trotz der aktiven Beteiligung von Italienern unterstrichen die radikalen Führer der Partei die spanischen Wurzeln Argentiniens. Die generationelle und ideologische Spaltung der italo-argentinischen Arbeiter trug zum Übergang von einer anarchistisch inspirierten Arbeiterbewegung (die als von außen kommend wahrgenommen wurde) hin zu einer syndakalistisch ausgerichteten Bewegung, die vorwiegend von in Argentinien geborenen Einwandererkindern getragen wurde. Die organisierte Arbeit wurde so immer weniger italienisch und immer stärker italo-argentinisch. Sie verband zwei Elemente und verwies in die entgegengesetzte Richtung der argentinischen Politik, mit oft ähnlichen Ergebnissen, die dazu führte, dass die Beziehungen zwischen der Arbeiterschaft und der Regierung verbessert werden konnten. Wie es Verbindungen zwischen den Radikalen und den Kriegsbefürwortern gab, so auch zwischen Syndikalisten und der Anti-Kriegsbewegung.

Dieser Aufsatz will aufzeigen, wie der soziale und politische Aktivismus von Italo-Argentiniern in den späten 1910er Jahren unterschiedliche Formen von *italo-argentinidad* hervorbrachte. Dafür wurden kollektive und hybride Ideen von Solidarität herangezogen, mit denen verschiedene Ziele in Italien und Argentinien verfolgt werden sollten. Gleichzeitig wurde dadurch ein Feld von Bindestrich-Zugehörigkeiten geschaffen wurde. Diese Bemühungen und Identifikationen deckten sich nicht mit den von Nationalisten in Italien und Argentinien propagierten Charakteristika von *italianità* und *argentinidad*. *Italo-argentinidad* wurde unabhängig davon in vielgestaltigen Formen konstruiert, und konnte auch die jeweiligen Bedeutungen von *italianità* oder *argentinidad* beeinflussen.