

# RECONSTRUCTING MANCHESTER'S LITTLE ITALY

Paul de Felice

*The Italian Procession of the Friday of the Pentecost in the city centre is one of the greatest feasts in the north of England. The men, mostly Neapolitans and Genovese, fine figures, dark, straight, muscular, walk-bare headed. The women, simple and quiet in their national costume, walk slowly, unconscious of their beauty.*

Azeglio Valgimigli, *La Colonia di Italiana di Manchester 1794-1932* (1932), p.32.

Writing in 1932, Azeglio Valgimigli was referring to the communal presence of the immigrant Italians settled in the New Cross district of central Manchester. Valgimigli's scene is in many ways an idealised representation of the immigrant presence, yet it constitutes one of the few remaining pieces of fragmentary evidence of an Italian settlement, which is estimated to have numbered up to 1500 by 1915, and which, despite this small size, had a distinctive presence on the streets of Ancoats.<sup>1</sup> Apart from Valgimigli's account, little has been written of the Italian settlement in New Cross, and his work mainly concentrates upon the few middle-class Italians whom he perceived as making a contribution to the culture of the city, and provides only a brief account of the more numerous Italian poor. In contrast, Rea's study, *Manchester's Little Italy: Memories of the Italian colony in Ancoats*, takes the Italian poor as its focus. In what constitutes a sympathetic family history, Rea describes his family's contribution to the ice-cream trade, and more generally the development of the Italian community; throughout the feeling of a thriving Little Italy is conveyed.<sup>2</sup> However, so far there has been no precise socio-economic reconstruction of the immigrant presence - there is no room in existing accounts for the exploitative aspects of *padronismo*, or the use of child labour within the family. Overall there has been no accurate assessment of the economic and social structure of the community and, as such, the complexity of Little Italy has not been revealed. The Italians have remained largely hidden within the working class of Manchester, but this should not detract from their contribution to the lived culture of the city. As observed by N.J.Franco, the Italians, along with other minorities, are part of the city's rich inheritance.<sup>3</sup> This article locates the place of the Ancoats Italian community within the history of Manchester, and thereby stresses the importance of the immigrant presence in the urban development of the city. It traces the distinctive ethnic identity of the community, but reveals that their ethnicity did not place them as being completely apart from, or in conflict with their hosts. Rather, through their social and economic activity, they became an integral part of Ancoats.

## Ethnicity and Methodology

The concept of ethnicity has come to be used as a means of identifying the distinctive aspects of an immigrant or minority group's social, economic, cultural and political behaviour. Panikos Panayi, whose work successfully reconstructed the

presence of German immigrants in Britain in the nineteenth century, sees ethnicity as the means by which "members of a national, racial or religious grouping maintain identity with the people of the same community in a variety of official and unofficial ways."<sup>4</sup> As such, Panayi uses area of residence as an indicator of immigrant neighbourhoods wherein ethnic identity can be traced. In his study of Manchester Jewry, Bill Williams showed how a community developed around its synagogues, schools and other facilities.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the residential behaviour of Manchester's Italians provides an indication of community. Thus, although the number of Italians in Ancoats was always small, this needs to be offset against the fact that they were concentrated into a few streets and, by the persistence of this presence over an extended period through to the Second World War.

The communities that were established were organic and had their own internal divisions based upon regional origins, and in the case of Manchester Jewry, class differences.<sup>6</sup> The Italians were divided according to regional origins: the two principal regions being the mountainous areas of Chiavere in Liguria (north-west Italy) and the Ciociaria in Caserta, which today is part of the Abruzzo (southern Italy). The regional links were demonstrated in kinship ties, dialect and through chain migration and settlement patterns. The Italians, once settled, developed an Anglo-Italian identity that was linked to national and regional bonds, but also to the host society in Ancoats.<sup>7</sup> As such, the concept of ethnicity used in this article follows the approach of Nadel: "Scholars need to develop a new conception of ethnicity, one rooted in the careful study of complex social behaviour of real people and real groups acting in different social settings."<sup>8</sup>

## The First Italian Settlement.

The largest concentration of Italian immigrants in Britain in the nineteenth century was in London, with the most numerous settlements to be found in Holborn, Hatton Garden and Saffron Hill. Italian communities could also be found in Glasgow, Edinburgh and South Wales.<sup>9</sup> By 1901, it is estimated that there were up to 24,383 Italians in Britain - the Italians had a clear and distinctive presence as they established themselves as street vendors.<sup>10</sup> In London, the research of Lucio Sponza revealed a highly diversified occupational structure, and a community that was "sufficiently homogeneous to be described as a colony", in fact, the Italians had become "a distinctive feature of London Life", and this was also their position in communities outside of the capital.<sup>11</sup>

In Manchester there was a small but significant Italian presence from the early nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> And, as with other cities, Italian artisans settled in Manchester and offered particular skills and expertise. The earliest references locate Italian artisans along Market St, and, as shown in Fig. 1, their numbers grew within the central trading area.

The earlier arrivals in Manchester made a significant contribution to the industrial development of the city. However, their settlement can be seen independently from the Ancoats Italians. The Italian artisans did not settle in Ancoats, but

Agnew, Thomas	Barometer & Looking Glass Maker	14, Exchange St
Bernasconi, A	Picture Frame Maker	57, Tibb St
Bologaro, Dominic	Barometer & Looking Glass Maker	52, Market St
Caminada, Louis	Optician	1, Scholes St
Caprani, Antonio	Barometer	130, Tibb St
Merone, Joseph	Printseller & looking glass maker	28, Market St
Poduzzi, Anthony	Barometer and Looking Glass Maker	38, Piccadilly
Poduzzi, James	Barometer and Looking Glass Maker	97, Oldham St
Poduzzi, J.	Barometer and Looking Glass Maker	98, Tibb St
Ronchetti, Joshua	Optician	43, Market St
Zanetti, Joseph	Barometer & Looking Glass Maker	100, King St

Fig. 1. Italian Artisans in 1841. Source: Kelly's Trade Directory for Manchester, 1841

were dispersed around the city. What evidence exists of their numerical strength and activities is fragmentary, and there are no clear links with the later immigration into Manchester.

The first reference to any substantial concentration of Italians in Manchester can be found in the 1851 enumerator's report for Market St, and from that point onwards an Italian presence was maintained in the New Cross district into the early 1950s, when the residents of the area eventually became subject to re-housing.<sup>13</sup> By the late nineteenth century the district had become associated with the street activities of organ-grinding and ice-cream vending. Anthony Rocca, a resident of New Cross in the 1920s and 1930s, describes the Little Italy of that period: "Little Italy as they called it then, was around Gun St and Jersey St, and at St Michaels School; that's where all the Italians' were...ninety percent were ice-cream merchants."<sup>14</sup> What is apparent from the census is the distinctiveness of the Italians street-vending activities, which provided for a highly visible presence. It is clear that the Italians established a community which had a distinct ethnic identity, based upon what Stanley Nadel, in his reconstruction of New York's Little Germany in the nineteenth century, referred to as spheres of social existence, such as, occupations, residence patterns, regional origins, and social and cultural activities.<sup>15</sup> As we shall see, an examination of such areas of social existence allows for the establishment and settlement of Little Italy to be reconstructed - the community being defined by its distinctive social, economic and cultural activities.

### Regional Origins

By the end of the nineteenth century the immigration of the Italian poor into Manchester had increased substantially. The reasons behind the emigration from Europe in the period 1880-1914 have been well documented.<sup>16</sup> Within much of the research there has been an emphasis upon the general causal patterns of economic and social distress. In Carlo Levi's picture of the condition of Italy's deep south, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, the determinants of emigration are clear. Levi describes an impoverished communal life, underpinned and shaped by hunger and deprivation. Within this setting, emigration, both temporary and permanent, served to sustain economies in regions like Basilicata. King, in his work, argues that Levi's study is representative of southern Italy as a whole (taking southern Italy to include Abruzzo, Calabria, Basilicata and Sicily).<sup>17</sup>

However, above all emigration and settlement were active human processes, that were based upon both push and pull factors — as a response to particular local conditions, as well as the attraction of finding employment and settling elsewhere. Clarence Meschia, a second generation Anglo-Italian, and a frequent visitor to his father's village, describes the

extent of rural poverty in the 1930s:

*The Italians who came from very poor farms, they didn't actually belong to the farms, they were employees of the padrone, who owned their land, he would let them live in a kind of barn atmosphere. My grandfather's farm was up in Passagino, I went there as a young boy with my mother. As I walked up the steps on the outside there was a very strong smell of charcoal. I was taken through the door of the terrace, the room was literally black. And in the middle of the room was a large stone slab where charcoal was put on — there was no chimney and the roof was as black as soot, there was a kind of living room, but they lived outside more than inside, and it was only on a winters evening they would use this room.*<sup>18</sup>

In all the studies undertaken of Italian migration to the U.K., it can be found that family links and kinship ties have been maintained through migratory chains. In this way, the eventual settlement in Manchester reflected the family networks of a group of villages in Chiavere and Caserta. Clarence Meschia recalled how his father initially travelled from the village of Messagno in Chiavere. He states that his father left due to a lack of work and also due to the fact that he had connections in Manchester. Mr Cichero was the contact, he had an ice-cream business and put Meschia to work and he eventually came to set up his own business.<sup>19</sup>

In the period 1901-1911, the level of Italian immigration into Britain slowed down, despite the level of emigration from Italy reaching a peak in 1913.<sup>20</sup> In Lancashire, the Italian-born population also experienced a high growth rate 1891-1901, but, as it did nationally, the population began to stabilise by 1911.<sup>21</sup> The reasons for the decline are difficult to identify. Italians were largely unaffected by the 1905 Aliens Act, as they were either supported by extended family networks or were sponsored by the padroni. Clearly, the Italians were settling elsewhere, communities continued to grow in North America, and the Italian Government actively encouraged this development.<sup>22</sup>

Year	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
	5063	6504	9909	20332	20771	20401	18792

Fig. 2. Italian-born population in England and Wales 1871-1931. Source: Census for England and Wales 1871-1931 (adapted)

Street	1851	1861	1871	1881
White St	104 105	187	124 125	
Tibb St	28 29 125 124	122 45		
Turner St	92 40			
Lever St		49 57 58 39	54 23 59	48
Ancoats St			13	13 15
Warwick St			9	
Spear St			66	68
Edge St				46 44 42
L. Lever St				40 61 53

Fig. 3. Italian-born population of Lancashire 1861-1911. Source: Census of England and Wales 1861-1911 (adapted).

### Establishing Little Italy

The main streets of residence shift over the period 1851-1891.<sup>23</sup> The initial settlement was bounded by Great Ancoats Lane and Market St. Bill Williams traced the prominence of Italian street vending activities in this area back to the

1830s.<sup>24</sup> The Italian presence is further revealed within the 1841 census which contained 31 Italians resident in Whittle St and Carpenters Lane. However, from 1841, the numbers begin to grow and Italians can be found in the streets north of Market Street.<sup>25</sup> This is no doubt due to the proximity of the city centre and the fact that the area provided cheap lodgings. Market St was the main trading area of city centre Manchester, containing retail outlets and opportunities for street trading. There was also a strong ethnic presence, Italian artisans/street vendors and Jewish retailers having established themselves in the district, which no doubt served to attract the immigrants.<sup>26</sup>

Street	1851	1861	1871	1881
Whittle St	104 105	167	124 125	
Tibb St	66 68 183 194	122 45		
Turner St	82 40			
Lever St		49 57 59 39	54 23 59	49
Ancoats St			13	13 15
Warwick St			9	
Spear St			66	66
Edge St				49 44 42
L Lever St				40 61 63

Fig. 4. House numbers of Italian-headed households 1851-1881  
Source: Enumerators reports Market Street 1851-1881 (adapted)

As we shall see, residence was also very much linked to occupation. The Italians at this stage were predominantly street musicians. Thus they were well placed in the city centre. They were also predominantly male and single and living in lodgings which the area provided. The lodging house keeper may also have hired out barrel organs. Between 1841-1881 the Italians were highly mobile, with only 2% of the family names being continuously traceable within the census, and in this way they have much in common with the working class more generally.<sup>27</sup>

By 1891 the bulk of Italians are to be found in New Cross Ancoats, and as such the area had a strong association with Italian ethnicity. However, the number of Italians who inhabited the Ancoats area is difficult to estimate, principally since it was a changing community. The enumerators' reports for 1881-1891 for New Cross district number one approximate 109 Italian nationals and 42 second generation in 1881, by 1891 the number of Italians had increased to 190, with 43 in the second generation.<sup>28</sup> In the period 1891-1939 a presence is maintained. Colpi calculated that there were 600 Italians in the area of Ancoats in 1891; in 1936, Valgimigli records that the population in 1900 had reached 2000; and in 1932 it amounted to 800. According to members of the Italian Mutual Aid Society, there were approximately 120 families resident in the New Cross district with Italian surnames in 1940, the figure including Italian nationals and Anglo-Italians. A decline in the size of the community is evident by the late 1930s. In fact, the Italian community throughout Britain was in decline by this stage, only to be revived by post 1945 Italian immigration.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast with the earlier settlement, in the period 1891-1939 there is a pronounced level of stability, with a high level of residential persistence - to the extent that Italians still moved house but within the same set of streets. Mobility in Little Italy was thus confined to a neighbourhood, and was conducive to a strong sense of communal identity.<sup>30</sup> The main streets of residence are maintained over a fifty-year period - those being Gun St, Jersey St, Henry St and Loom St. The movement of Italians to the New Cross district, and what

appears to be the expansion of the Italian presence, parallels the urban growth of Manchester. New Cross offered cheap multi-occupancy accommodation, and the Italian *padroni* swiftly established lodging-houses as they had done in the Market St area - thereby forming a basis for Italian settlement. In terms of occupations, Ancoats was an economy shaped by casual labour patterns. By the 1890s the mills and factories of New Cross were producing a range of goods other than cotton; there were engineering works, small workshops, dye works and timber yards providing both employment and also a market for the Italian street traders.<sup>31</sup> Ancoats was densely populated and also within walking distance of the city centre, and Smithfield Market provided a large catchment area for the growing ice-cream industry which had by this time replaced organ-grinding as the Italians' staple trade.

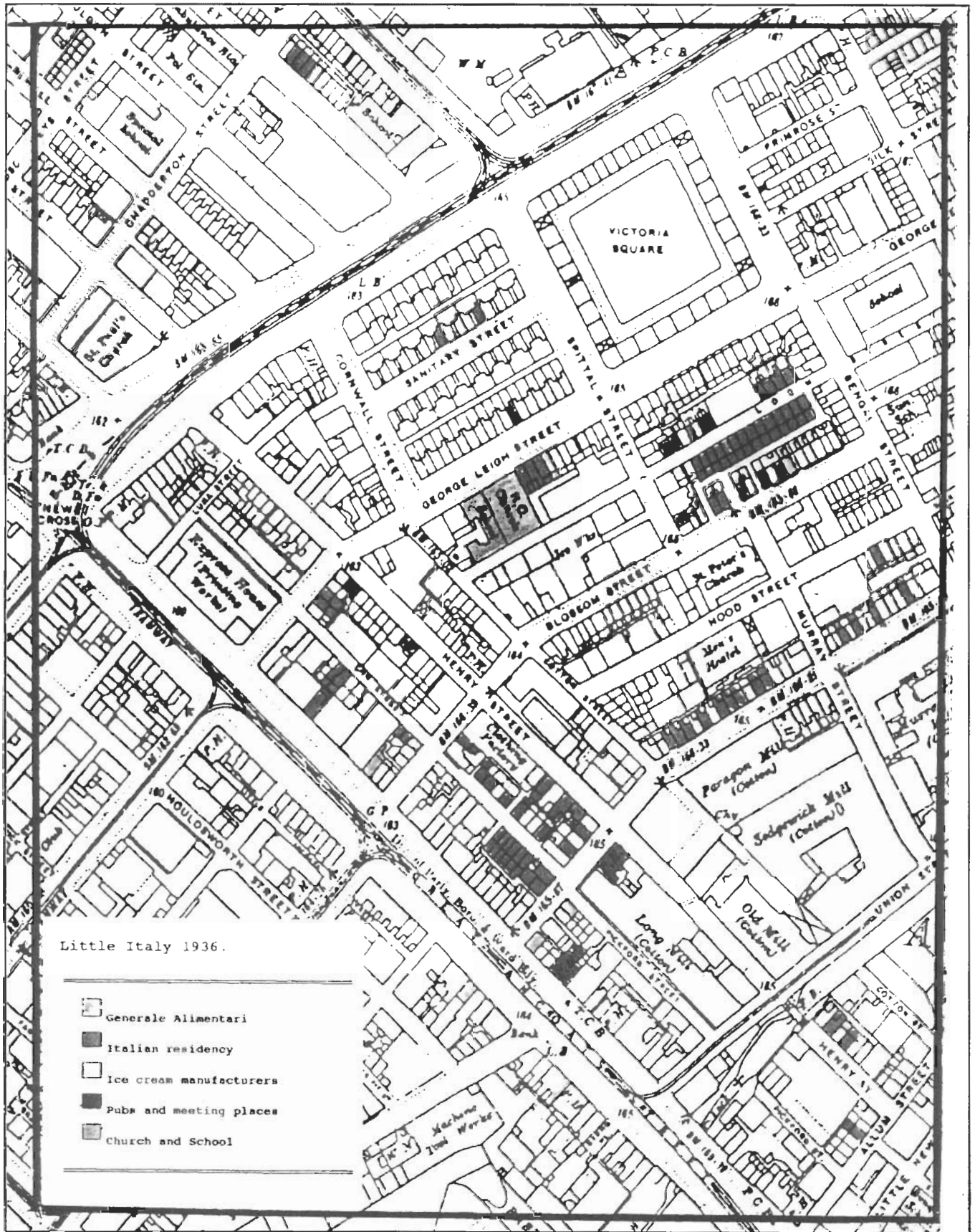
In both districts the Italians were clustered into small residential areas, and this no doubt served to create the image of Little Italy at a local level. It also made for strong kinship and communal ties, particularly evident 1891-1939. The dominance of New Cross as a place of settlement for Manchester's Italians is demonstrated in the *Guida Generale Degli Italiani in Grand Bretagna*, 1936. A total of 40% of the Italians listed were registered in Ancoats either as residents, or at a business address, or more likely both. A further 36% lived outside of Ancoats, but still within the City of Manchester, whilst 24% lived outside the city, mainly in Salford and Old Trafford.<sup>32</sup>

The settlement from 1891-1936 can to an extent be viewed apart from the earlier group. As noted, the arrivals in 1891 were fairly recent judging from the age of the children with Italian nationality. The enumerator's report indicates an average age of three to four years. The new arrivals settled in the same streets as their predecessors in 1881, but they were more numerous and the dominant occupation had changed from organ-grinding/musician to ice-cream vendor. They also had a higher level of persistence than the settlers in 1881, family names and in some instances individuals, can be traced through to 1936. Serafino and Filomena di Felice arrived in Manchester in 1878, they appear on the 1881 enumerator's report at 27 George Leigh St, where they kept a lodging house with a total of nine boarders, all of whom were from Picinisco, Caserta. Their youngest son Lorenzo di Felice, born in Ancoats 1882, remained a resident of New Cross working as an ice-cream trader into the 1960s.<sup>33</sup>

The prominence of Little Italy is also reflected in the memories of its former inhabitants. Based upon oral testimony and the *Guida Generale*, the main streets of residence, as shown on the 1936 map of New Cross are Gun St with 15 families, Loom St described as 90% Italian, with 27 families, followed by Henry St which was virtually all Italian, with 11 families.<sup>34</sup> Anthony Rocca, whose family had been resident and also traded ice-cream in the area since the 1860s, reconstructed the district in the 1920s:

*We moved from Whittle St to Rochdale Rd and we had a shop which sold chocolate. Grandfather Cassinelli in Gun St had lodgers...Raffo lived up Collyhurst, but around us we were the only ice-cream people. The Granelli family lived at Loom St, so did the Collettas and Collelas. They were all Italians there! Gun St had the Ioli brothers; there were Italians in Blossom St. You had Viscos and Colaluca lived on Jersey St.<sup>35</sup>*

In the perception of Anthony Rocca and others, the Italians appear to have dominated New Cross and in this sense the In



Little Italy 1936. Source: Oral Testimony and the Guida Generale Degli Italiani in Grand Bretagne, 1936.

term colony, as used by Valgimigli, may well be appropriate. Winnie Robino confirmed the establishment of a community when she stated that the area consisted of close knit, mainly Italian, families: "we were a community, we were all Italians, all our lot kept to themselves and they called us Little Italy."<sup>36</sup> Annie di Vetti more candidly referred to the more intrusive aspects of street life: "Everybody knew about everybody else." Such was the closeness of their lives, that Annie expressed relief at leaving the area in the 1930s.<sup>37</sup>

Occupations	Number
Teachers	109
Cabinet makers	78
Musicians	1240
Image makers carvers and gilders	245
Inns Boarding houses	134
Servants	510
Coffee Houses	132
Cooks	130
Merchants	109
Commercial clerks & travellers	112
Confectionary & Pastry Chefs	198
Sailors	771
Paviours	107
Street Sellers	356
General labourers	241
<b>Total</b>	<b>4473</b>

Fig. 5. Occupational Structure of Italians in England and Wales, 1881. Source: Census of England and Wales 1881

### Occupations and Ethnicity

In terms of occupations, the period 1841-1891 was one of change and continuity for the Italian immigrants in Lancashire and more generally in Britain. The general census report for England and Wales in 1881, had shown the Italians entering a specific set of occupations. These were principally those of musicians, street musicians and general labourers.

The trend towards specific occupations is borne out by the figures shown below for Ancoats: in 1881 street musicians were the highest category, followed by street-sellers-probably ice-cream vendors, and general labourers. It would appear, therefore, that Manchester followed the national trend of Italian immigrant occupations.

Street musicianship was the dominant occupation of the Italian immigrants 1841-1881, and such was their concentration in the Ancoats district that, by the 1890s, the area was being referred to as containing hurdy gurdy players.<sup>38</sup> However, by the 1890s, there had occurred a discernible shift away from street musicians towards ice-cream vendors and manufacturers.

Various explanations of this change have been put forward, notably by Sponza and Colpi. It appears likely that the organ-grinders began to dwindle in numbers due to a combination of a change in attitudes towards street music - there were at-

Occupation	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
General labourer			3	1	4	42
Cabinet maker	31	45	40	32	80	70
Ice-cream vendor			1	1	18	1
Musician	2	2	5	7	1	1
Street seller				1		
Merchant				1	1	1
Commercial clerk & traveller				1		
Confectionary & Pastry Chef					2	
Sailor			3		1	
Image maker carver & gilder					3	
Coffee house					1	
Cook				1		
Teacher				1		
Street seller				1		
General labourer				1		
Merchant				1		
Commercial clerk & traveller				1		
Confectionary & Pastry Chef				1		
Sailor				1		
Image maker carver & gilder				1		
Coffee house				1		
Cook				1		
Teacher				1		
Street seller				1		
General labourer				1		
Merchant				1		
Commercial clerk & traveller				1		
Confectionary & Pastry Chef				1		
Sailor				1		
Image maker carver & gilder				1		
Coffee house				1		
Cook				1		
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Commercial clerk & traveller				1		
Confectionary & Pastry Chef				1		
Sailor				1		
Image maker carver & gilder				1		
Coffee house				1		
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Image maker carver & gilder				1		
Coffee house				1		
Cook				1		
Teacher				1		
Street seller				1		
General labourer				1		
Merchant				1		
Commercial clerk & traveller				1		

## The Ethnic Entrepreneurs

Terri Colpi referred to the inter-war period as the "Golden Age" of Italian settlement. The basis of Colpi's view is the growth of Italian businesses throughout Britain, and also the large number of shops, cafe's and ice-cream parlours, which opened in Britain's towns and villages.<sup>44</sup> Although the majority of Italian immigrants knew nothing of such prosperity - with Manchester no exception to the general case - Little Italy had developed its own thriving business community by the 1920s.

There was a diverse range of Italian businesses in Ancoats by the 1930s. There were at least four Italian provisions shops, Valvona's along with Antonelli's on Great Ancoats St, Schiavo's at 50 Jersey St, with Lanni's at Blossom St. Prior to the First World War there were also barrel organ manufacturers, namely Antonelli, Rossi and Spinelli and Simon Robino who, when he died in 1937, was described as the last of the Hurdy Gurdy makers in Manchester. There were also wafer biscuit manufacturers, in particular, Colaluca and Rocca at Mill St and Valvona at Rodney St, both of which had biscuit making factories.<sup>45</sup>

Within Ancoats the five main ethnic entrepreneurial families were Antonelli, Rocca, Valvona, Granelli and Robino. All the businesses were founded on family connections, and were closely identified with Little Italy and, as such, Italian ethnicity. Domenico Antonelli initially had an organ factory on Ancoats Lane until this closed in the 1920s. He also established the International Wafer Company. He owned a wholesale wine merchants, the Astley Arms public house and a provisions store. Antonelli also had a role within the Ancoats community, paying for the community Besaglieri band, which took part in the Whit Processions and also the annual Christmas party for the Italian children.<sup>46</sup> In many ways Antonelli is representative of the influential Italian - immigrant petty bourgeoisie. Although small in size, as in the case of the Irish community, this Italian business community had a distinctive identity. The tailors and terrazzo businesses all advertised in the Italian language *Guida Generale*. They obviously traded with the wider Manchester community, their expertise and skills and arguably their ethnicity being positive selling points.

The testimony of Clarence Meschia illustrates the position of the ethnic entrepreneur, and reveals the basis for Colpi's generalisation. The successful establishment of an immigrant business involved hard physical labour, but for the few prosperous families it was possible to maintain a living standard far above their fellow immigrants. During the course of interviews, Clarence described his lifestyle as middle class. He had a relatively comfortable lifestyle: he enjoyed recreation, owned a motorbike and travelled to Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. His father had established an ice-cream business in Hyde, and his business had thrived due to a range of associated activities, including the manufacture and selling of ice-cream, selling chestnuts and black peas on Hyde market, in what Clarence described as a "black pea saloon". It was a family business and, from the young age of 12, Clarence worked long hours for no wages. Clarence described how he had the job during the 1920s of collecting the ice for the making of the day's ice-cream. This involved rising at 5.30 a.m., and then taking a flat cart down to Blossom St iceworks in Ancoats, thus travelling into Manchester and then making the return journey back to Hyde to make the ice-cream. It was on such journeys that Clarence experienced Little Italy at first

hand, and he remembers the numerous ice-cream vendors collecting their ice for the days work. The ice-cream trade was physically demanding and required in many cases the participation of the whole family. For the Meschias, their ice-cream trade grew and Clarence's father was able to invest in property. As a result the family came to enjoy a level of prosperity not experienced by the majority of Italian immigrants.<sup>47</sup>

## Padronismo and the Immigrants

One area of occupational activity for the Italians that indicates both similarity and difference from the host society, is the organisation of immigrant Italian labour force around the *padrone*. The place and importance of *padronismo* is the subject of some debate. Contemporaries such as Wilkins used images of the exploiting *padrone* as evidence of the need to restrict immigration.<sup>48</sup> The *padrone* was represented in contemporary literature as an exploiter of fellow Italians and particularly children, and in many ways employment was one of the main functions of the *padroni*. Although there appears to be much evidence of exploitation, it could be argued that the *padrone* had an important organisational role to fulfil especially in the early stages of the establishment of the community. In Manchester the Jewish community provided a support mechanism offering employment and accommodation for the new arrivals, the Anglo-Jewish elite thereby assisting in what they perceived as the integration of the immigrants.<sup>49</sup> The *padroni* acted as employers frequently recruiting directly from Italy, often from their own villages, thereby using their regional and kinship ties. In this way, immigrant Italians might be brought from Italy to work in businesses of the *padroni*.

In Ancoats contemporary oral evidence clearly refers to a *padrone* system, however informal, that provided for the recruitment and settlement of immigrants:

*Father used to bring boys over from Italy. They would have no passport and he would find them work on very little wages, when they had finished their contract they would go off to America. They would not go back to Italy; the men he brought worked for thirty months, there was no signed contract.<sup>50</sup>*

As a result of the *padrone* system links were in turn maintained with the village of origin, with respect to both family ties and supplies of labour. According to Aurelia Raffo, her father Louis Granelli, who came to Manchester in the 1890s, would have a verbal agreement, although written contracts were also signed with the *padrone*.<sup>51</sup> Contracted labour would be dependent on the *padrone*, for employment and accommodation. In these ways Manchester's Italians developed occupational structures similar to those to be found in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

It is argued by Sponza and Colpi that a system of recruitment did exist from the 1880s onwards and was based in London.<sup>52</sup> Recruiting agents in Italy were paid by the *padroni* in London, but also labour was recruited directly by the Manchester *padroni*, who used their existing links with their villages and towns of origin to recruit their workers. Winnie Robino recalls some of the families who recruited and housed Italian labour either for organ-grinding or ice-cream vending. The wealthy members of the community who acted as *padroni* at least up to the 1930s, were the Valvonas, Colalucas, Antonellis, Maroccas, the Rossis and the Boggianos. However, it appears that the wealthier members of Little Italy still

lived in their two-up-and-two-downs.<sup>53</sup>

Clarence Meschia recalls the experience of his father who came to Manchester in 1892. As with other Italian immigrants into Manchester, he was found employment with an Italian family. He recalled that such work was distributed centrally from Ancoats by the *padroni*. Clarence states that the *padroni* would be aware of employment around the Manchester area, and would send Italians to work under contract throughout Lancashire. His father was from the same village in Italy as his new employer, again reinforcing regional ties, and was employed to manufacture and sell ice-cream, until he established his own business, with the financial support of his original employer, to whom he paid back his loan. This form of mutual support is evident within other immigrant groups in Britain.<sup>54</sup>

The role of the *padroni* is further revealed by Louis Granelli. He arrived in Manchester in the 1890s and settled in Ancoats, where he established an ice-cream vending and manufacturing business. Louis used the strategies needed for immigrant survival. Cut off by language and unable to read or write, Louis not only recruited labour from Italy, but also controlled the business completely.<sup>55</sup> The strategies employed by the ethnic entrepreneurs were forged as part of a response to conditions in Ancoats, but they also reflected established practices used by Italians and other immigrant groups.

### Italians and the Host Community.

The available evidence suggests that there was generally a favourable response towards the Italian presence - but it must be stressed that host/immigrant relations in Ancoats were complex, and in fact there were areas of division, and potential, and actual conflict. In many ways the host/immigrant relationship was in a continual process of negotiation; centring upon points of contact, such as work, social relationships and popular culture. The test for this relationship came in June 1940, when British society showed itself to be both intolerant and violent towards what were described as Italian

“Enemy Aliens”.<sup>56</sup> The British Italian community was subjected to both an hostile popular response and the public policy of internment and deportation. The Italians of Ancoats were no exception. Although there was little violence against the community, it is estimated that approximately 300 Italians were rounded up, and an unspecified figure remained interned from between 6 months and 3 years mainly on the Isle of Man, but in one case in Australia.<sup>57</sup> The experience of the Italians during the Second World War clearly showed their vulnerability as a minority group and it is all the more disturbing given that Manchester’s Italians had what amounted to an established place within Ancoats, and along with Italians elsewhere in Britain can be described as being “generally tolerated”.<sup>58</sup>

The basis of the degree of toleration was dependent upon the host society’s perceptions of the Italians which in turn were largely conditioned by the following factors. Firstly, the extent to which the Italians impinged upon the employment market of Ancoats - it would seem likely that the fact that the Italians did not challenge the hosts for occupations no doubt led to at least a neutral response to their presence. Secondly, the highly visible nature of street trading and the strong ethnic basis of communal activities such as the Whit Procession, which became part of Manchester’s popular culture and were also strongly associated with pleasure and recreation. Thirdly, the host response was also determined by the limited extent to which the Italians were perceived to have disturbed the social order in Ancoats. Little Italy was a community based upon a highly stable family structure. By the inter-war period they had a high level of residential persistence, they were distinctive, but still formed part of the wider community and the local scene. The second generation spoke English, they went to local schools and they shared their Catholic faith with their English and Anglo-Irish co-religionists. This Anglo-Italian identity was to an extent accepted as part of the working class culture of Ancoats. However, there did exist areas of cultural conflict which may have served to release what antagonisms existed between the ethnic groups. A point of division with sections of the host community was religion



Whitsuntide Processions: The Italian Section. Source: W.A. Shaw, *Manchester Old and New*, Vol.1 (1894).



*Serafino di Felice, a founder member of the Italian Catholic Society (1888) leading the young boys of the Italian community at the Whit Friday walks, 1925*

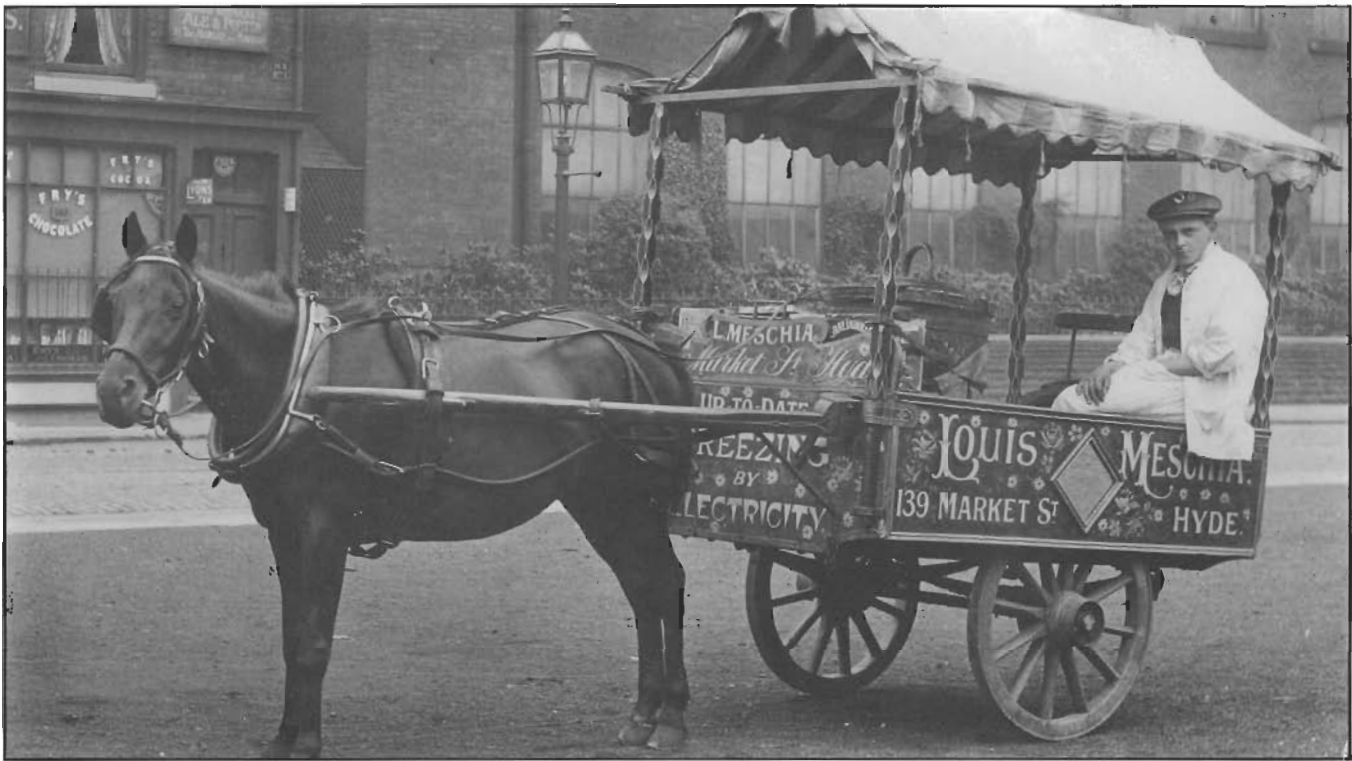
and culture, and contemporary sources indicate that religion in particular was an occasional source of conflict with some English residents of New Cross.<sup>59</sup> Also, there is much oral evidence of rivalry between street gangs; the Italian youths formed their own gangs and organised fights with the English, but these same youths were just as likely to be part of the wider communal activities of Ancoats, such as Hugh Oldham Lad's Club, which organised football, boxing and athletic teams, composed of English, Irish and Italian youths and thereby served to cut across ethnic and religious divisions.<sup>60</sup>

Fourthly, national identity separated the first generation from their hosts, but, apart from the Second World War, it did not serve as a point of conflict; rather the opposite as Britain and Italy were allies in the First World War, and links with Italy

as we shall see tended to have positive associations amongst the working class. However, by the 1930s the question of national identity had gained a new prominence for Manchester's Italians, this was primarily due to the exportation of fascism by the Italian Government to its emigrant communities.<sup>61</sup> Also, the presence of fascism became vital to the policies of internment and deportation in June 1940, which were justified on the basis of the Italians supposed complicity with fascism.<sup>62</sup> In fact fascism was never firmly rooted within Manchester's Italian community, the activities of Italian fascists were limited, and according to one member of the British Union of Fascists in Manchester the Italian fascists never attended public rallies or demonstrations.<sup>63</sup> There were fascist members, (though numbers were small) and the Anglo-Italian youth did enrol in the *Ballila*, but it was commented,



*Maria Grayia di Felicia with her son at the Whit procession, 1928.*



One of Louis Meschna's horse-drawn ice-cream carts (1910). Note the selling point, "Up-to-date freezing by electricity".

that fascism, "never reached the colony — it was more or less the well to do ones who were involved with the fascists...they (the Ancoats Italians) had never supported them (the fascists)". This indicates that participation in social activities was not a confirmation of fascist loyalties.<sup>64</sup>

The acceptance or toleration of the Italians appears to have been more dependent upon the host community's perception of their social and economic position. To an extent the host community defined Little Italy by its association with ice-cream and street-vending. Reflective of this are the comments of the Medical Officer of Health in 1909, "near the town are hawkers, ice-cream makers, organ-grinders and french polishers".<sup>65</sup> But, the Italians were also known beyond the boundaries of Ancoats. In fact the street musicians and the ice-cream vendor were very much part of the Manchester scene. Serafino di Felice commented; "this is where the memories of Little Italy come from — the street presence".<sup>66</sup> Generally, the two activities evoked positive images. They were associated with pleasure, and with the skills of the Italians. Ice-cream, in particular, was very much an affordable luxury, which traded upon the expertise of the ethnic group.

An indication of the popularity of ice-cream can be gauged by the number of places where it was manufactured. In 1914 the M.O.H. located 729 in Manchester.<sup>67</sup> These may not have been all Italian, but given that there were 25 ice-cream vendors/manufacturers listed in the 1936 *Guida Generale*, then a significant number would have been.<sup>68</sup> Also, the testimony of the ice-cream vendors reveals the highly favourable response to their presence and the social function of their work. Clarence Meschia recalled his ice-cream round in Hyde in the 1930s and described how he became acquainted with the residents in the various streets, and he developed a distinct personal relationship with his customers. Clarence was clearly Anglo-Italian. He retained his Italian identity through his association with Italy, and visibly by trading Italian ice-cream, but he was also very much part of the community of Hyde.<sup>69</sup>

Serafino di Felice recalled the social basis of the work. He described ice-cream vending as requiring the forming of a relationship with your customers: "you got collectively involved in community and street life". By the 1930s most trade took place at the weekends and Sundays was particularly busy, children were on the streets and people waited for the ice-cream man to arrive "when father rang his little bell, people would come to buy ice-cream". His father had established the round, in the 1920s and he was still following the same route after the Second World War:

*My earliest memories of ice-cream, were walking alongside my father, and next time alongside my mother. My father's round was from Jersey St, Port St, Portland St, round up Bridgewater St, crossed into Deansgate; Liverpool Rd, Regent Rd, Ordsall Lane, down to no.9 dock at Salford. He then worked his way back to Liverpool St to Oldfield Rd near to Chapel St — into Greengate, up Shude Hill or Miller St, onto Rochdale Rd, Thompson St and then found his way round into Jersey St.<sup>70</sup>*

By the inter-war period Clarence and Serafino had established along with other Italians and Anglo-Italians what can be described as a reciprocal relationship with the host community. Both adapted to each other to the extent that the Italians were not perceived to be outside of the host community, but rather a distinctive part of it. Crucially, it could be argued that this was due to the Italians not posing an economic challenge to the local population.

The organ-grinders were very much tolerated by the host society. Apart from the early restrictions being placed upon them, they became a vital part of the informal leisure activities of the working class. By the late nineteenth century they were restricted to the side streets, but their music provided entertainment for the urban poor. Davies, found that street dances were "a common feature of city life", and that, "at

Whit week, the organs would be out” and the music would be tailored for the particular audience, depending upon whether they were Catholic or Protestant.<sup>71</sup>

The manufacturing of food inevitably brought an official interest in the ice-cream trade. The M.O.H. reports demonstrate a particular interest in the link between ice-cream consumption and stomach complaints - the reporting does not reveal a particular ethnic bias, nor is a precise connection with ice-cream established. In what was referred to as an outbreak of ice-cream poisoning in 1909, the origin of the infection was traced to Ancoats and the manufacturers were instructed to clean up their yards. However, the infection could not be traced with any certainty, but such was the official concern that a special report was commissioned, which found that out of a total number of cases of 358 in Manchester the total associated with ice-cream was 29, but again the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>72</sup> It appears that a growing official concern regarding ice-cream did develop, but this was part of the general need to regulate dairies and milkshops. The report does not refer to the Italians directly, as such they were not singled out for particular attention. Although in the inter-war period there were regular health inspections, there was little interference from the authorities and the trade continued to develop.

There were, however, trade restrictions placed upon vendors in the city centre. And these created a source of friction among Italian ice-cream traders that reflects a level of commercial rivalry. By the 1930s it was observed:

*One particular family had “permission” to trade on street corners in central Manchester to the exclusion of anybody else, others would be knocked off — the police would move it away, impound the ice-cream cart, stick it in Faraday St and get fined for causing an obstruction.(sic)<sup>73</sup>*

It has been revealed that the Italians were largely accepted by the host society. The process of settlement as in the case of the Jewish Community in Manchester can be seen as part of a “dual commitment” between hosts and immigrants.<sup>74</sup> Clearly the Italians were integrated, they took part in the host society, whilst retaining distinctive aspects of their identity. The Italians did not challenge their hosts. Their economic and social activities, although associated with a distinctive ethnic culture, were not perceived as threatening. Rather they had a certain appeal, particularly among the urban working class.

### **A Tour Around Little Italy**

The activities associated with the Anglo-Italians were sufficiently distinctive to be highly visible to the host society. The Italian Quarter was not completely apart from the host culture. The Italians lived among the host society, and had common points of association with their hosts. In terms of mapping the community, Eric Hobsbawm, in reference to the identity of working class neighbourhoods, found that the boundaries of a locality can only be clearly defined by the inhabitants — thereby reaffirming their class based culture.<sup>75</sup> The Italians had their community boundaries, and these not only took the form of the features of the urban area, but they were also fixed points of recognition of Little Italy, visible to themselves and outsiders; areas of social existence and of contact, such as, ice-cream shops and Italian grocers, as well as the presence of ice-cream vendors, the Italian language and Italian food. Above all, Little Italy was a lived experience - to walk around the district in the inter-war period was to be

confronted with a distinctive Anglo-Italian culture. The following reconstruction reveals a clear sense of community and association with the Italian presence, which is mapped through the testimony of the inhabitants of the district in the 1930s.

As already indicated on the map (see p.57 above), the Italian settlement was bounded by Oldham Rd, Great Ancoats St, the Rochdale Canal and Bengal St. On the perimeter of Little Italy and clearly visible to the wider population was the provisions store of Colaluca and Rocca, at 87, Great Ancoats St. At the corner of Blossom St and Great Ancoats St there was the organ shop of Antonelli, and Granelli’s ice-cream shop could be found at 196, Oldham Rd. The distinctive ethnic identity of the provisions stores would have been apparent to the visitor, Valgimigli, writing in 1932, described the importance of these shops: “nostalgically attached to their far off homeland, they were able to find here once more healthy food from their own country, of consistent quality, refreshing and no longer at prohibitive prices”.<sup>76</sup> Clarence Meschia, a frequent visitor to the district in the 1920s, commented on the range of wine and food available and the atmosphere; “before you came to the shop you immediately knew it was an Italian delicatessen because of the smell, it was very appetizing, there was always a very strong smell of parmesan cheese in the background.”<sup>77</sup>

The principal area of residence was the central area within Gun St, Jersey St, Bengal St, George Leigh St and Loom St — by the mid 1930s “there was still many Italians, first, second and third generation” living in the area, and they continued to be “very much involved in ice-cream...there must have been 28-30 ice-cream carts from the Italian families...”. Apart, from the visibility of the street activity the following testimony demonstrates the extent of the Anglo-Italian presence, as observed from within the community:

*Loom St was full of Italians, in Blossom St there were the Protanos and Boggianos — in Hood St there were four dairies... in Cotton St two dairies. There was the Pannetas in house dairy on the corner of Gun St. There was Tiani’s dairy on the corner of Henry St and Vincent Schiavo’s dairy on the corner of Murray St next to my Grandfather’s former residence at no 48. At no 35 there was the Granellis and of course there was the big Granelli’s on Oldham Rd.(sic)<sup>78</sup>*

However, Anglo-Italian lived culture was only fully visible to the residents of New Cross. For the Anglo-Italians the organisation of work and the survival strategies used centred upon the family, which formed the basis of Little Italy. The Italian families were all active in ice-cream, and at certain times of the day this involvement would be very apparent, even to an outsider they could be seen; “all going for the ice from the nearby ice-works, all bringing it home to the dairies - some had a sort of cooperative, where 3 or 4 of them worked in the little dairy”.<sup>79</sup>

Within Little Italy there were a number of landmarks and points of association. At the centre of Blossom St any visitor to the interior of Little Italy would encounter the ice works, which produced ice for Smithfield Market but also it was used by the ice-cream vendors. J. Boggiano described how he would “queue up with all the old Italians”, Blossom St being lined with handcarts, as they waited for their ice, and this practice continued up to the Second World War.<sup>80</sup> The network of smaller Italian shops in the streets around the ice

works, Henry St, Blossom St and Jersey St reinforced the impression of an Italian community. In the 1930s, one was still likely to encounter Italian speakers on the streets and in the shops. Frank McDermott, a shopkeeper and ice-cream manufacturer who married into an Italian family, refers to the immigrant community he lived amongst in the 1930s, and provides an insight into the extent to which Italian was spoken:

*All the Italians lived around Ancoats, their parents were Italian, they spoke Italian direct from being babies. The Italian they spoke was dialect, they would refer to parmegiani — old Granelli could speak little English, everything was quanda this and quanda that. (sic)<sup>81</sup>*

Another point of association with the Italians was St Michael's church and school on George Leigh St - the Italians used both from the 1880s onwards. Along with the school the church served the community of New Cross and had a mixture of Italian, Irish and English parishioners. Albert Salvatore recalls the ethnic make-up of St Michaels school:

*I went to St Michaels school, mainly Italian and Irish but there were a few English...from that little school you had loads of little businessmen. The headmaster was Italian and so was his sister who taught in the girls part. Mr Rocca, his name was and we use to call him daddyrocca. (sic)<sup>82</sup>*

Visitors to Little Italy would also encounter the popular street culture of the residents. The public house was an obvious point of association with the lived experience of Ancoats. The Green Dragon public house on the corner of Ancoats Lane and Jersey St was a popular meeting place for the Italian men of Ancoats - and the Italians also had their own club.<sup>83</sup> There were also street musicians, such as Marmalade Jack and Fortunato Mancini, who were part of the local scene - during the Whit Processions the Italians along with their English and Irish neighbours would have street dances. The youth of Little Italy also had their own identity revealed in their street gangs in the 1920s and 1930s. Albert Tiani refers to the Napoo Gang consisting of 20 to 30 men aged about 20 who were always fighting on a Friday or Saturday night.<sup>84</sup> Albert Salvatore describes the Italian gang he belonged to whilst at School in the early 1930s, and he tells how he would defend their territory against other gangs:

*I was in Gun St gang, they use to call us "the Italians", there was only about 10 or 12 in the gang, others had 40. They were a mixture of Italian, Irish and English*

*— Jersey St dwellings had a gang of 200. They use to come and try to pinch our baskets, we use to crack them down with sticks — it was like storming a castle. (sic)<sup>85</sup>*

For the inhabitants of New Cross there were a number of common experiences. There are those spheres of existence that all inhabitants of New Cross would identify with. A common point of reference for Irish, Italians and English was urban geography. The mills dominated the area, and economically they provided employment. To the youth of Ancoats the mills were part of their recreation area - the canal link into the Murray Mill complex being used as a swimming pool.<sup>86</sup> By the 1930s, the second generation Italian women were taking jobs in the mills, and, as such, reflecting the move away from street vending. Another feature of the economic life of New Cross by the mid 1930s, was the presence of the Daily Express building on Great Ancoats Lane. The new building changed the appearance of the area, but also increased the economic activity. In the evening it would be a centre of activity, and it came to provide a high level of casual employment. To the Italian inhabitants, the mills and the Daily Express building were part of their everyday environment and, like their fellow inhabitants, they no doubt sought casual employment, at which point for the second generation Italians, ethnic differences must have been minimal.

## Conclusion

By the 1930s the Italians in Britain were "well respected and even important members of their local communities".<sup>87</sup> In Manchester, they had clearly begun to integrate into the host society - but they still maintained a distinctive ethnic presence and so it can be argued avoided assimilation.<sup>88</sup> The Anglo-Italian identity mainly persisted through the strength of family ties and the continuing links with Italy - even by 1940 many Ancoats Italians were still bi-lingual and a number of the second generation had visited Italy and still spoke a regional dialect. In terms of host responses, at a popular level the Italians in the inter-war period were perceived as non-threatening, they were not competing for jobs as they tended to concentrate in specific sectors of the economy, and in fact in certain areas such as catering, and ice-cream manufacturing their ethnicity was distinctly attractive. In this way it can be seen that the host response was not solely forged by economic and social conditions, but it was in part conditioned by popular culture - ice-cream, food, and perceptions of Italian identity, all of which acted to mediate the host/immigrant relationship, as well as being an expression of the immigrants' desire to retain their distinctiveness.

## NOTES

- 1 *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 15th May, 1915.
- 2 A.Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy: Memories of the Italian Colony in Ancoats* (Manchester, 1988).
- 3 *Padronismo*, refers to the role of individual immigrant Italians who acted as employers of their co-nationals. The relationship could be formal or informal. N.J.Franco, (ed.) *Rich Inheritance: A Guide to the History of Manchester*, Manchester Education Committee, (1962).
- 4 P.Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester, 1994), p.76.
- 5 B.Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry* (Manchester, 1976).
- 6 *Ibid.*, p.268.
- 7 P.di Felice, 'The Italian Community in Manchester 1880-1945: A Study in Immigrant Settlement, Ethnicity and Identity' (unpublished MPhil. thesis, University of Salford, 1996), pp.26-43.
- 8 S.Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City* (Urbana and Chicago, 1990), p.9.
- 9 C.Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society 1871-1971* (London, 1988), pp.30-1.
- 10 T. Colpi, *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1991), p.54.
- 11 L.Sponza, *Italians in Nineteenth Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester, 1988), p.6.
- 12 A.Ria, *Italians in Manchester* (Museci Editori, Aosta, Italy, 1990), pp.51-5.
- 13 Manchester Local Studies Collection. Hereafter Enumerators Report, Market St 1851, MF 2902.
- 14 Interview with Anthony Rocca, June 1992.
- 15 Nadel, *Little Germany*, p.9.

- 16 Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 19-36; Panayi, *Immigration*, pp.23-46.
- 17 C.Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (Turin, Einaudi, 1948), pp.120-30. Quoted in R.King and J.Killingbeck, "Carlo Levi, the Mezzogiorno and Emigration, 50 years of demographic change at Aliano", *Geography*, no 323, vol 74, part 2 (April 1989), p.128.
- 18 Interview with Clarence Meschia, June 1994.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, pp.61-6.
- 21 Census for England and Wales, Summary Tables 1861-1911.
- 22 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, pp. 61-6.
- 23 M.L.S. Enumerators Reports: Market St,1841 MF 2903,1851 MF 2902, 1861 MF 1281,1871 1422, New Cross District No 1,1881 RG 11 2855, 1891 RG 3230.*Guida Generale degli Italiani in Gran Bretagna* (London, Ercoli and Sons,1936).
- 24 Williams, *Manchester Jewry*, p.24.
- 25 M.L.S. Enumerators Reports, Market St, 1841-1881.
- 26 Williams, *Manchester Jewry*, pp.24,76.
- 27 Enumerators Reports, Market St, 1841-1881. M. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, (Leicester, 1977), p.139, reveals a high level of residential mobility amongst the working class of Cardiff, 1870-1914.
- 28 M.L.S. Enumerators Reports, New Cross District No.1,1881-1891, RG 11 2855, RG 12 3230.
- 29 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, pp.61-66. Azeglio Valgimigli, 'La Colonia di Italiana di Manchester', in *Guida Generale*, p.254. S.di Felice then Secretary of the Manchester Italian Catholic Mutual Aid Society, 1995. J.L. Watson, *Between Two Cultures. Migrants and Minorities in Britain* (Oxford, 1984), p.76.
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- 32 di Felice, 'Italian Community', p.75, adapted from *Guida Generale*, pp.263-4.
- 33 M.L.S. Enumerators Reports 1881-1891; *Guida Generale*, pp.263-4.
- 34 Interview with Serafino di Felice, June 1995.
- 35 Interview with Anthony Rocca, June 1993.
- 36 Interview with Winifred Robino, August 1994.
- 37 Interview with Annie di Vetti, August 1994.
- 38 Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke (eds.), 'Ancoats in Historical Perspective'. Special issue of *Manchester Region History Review*, Vol.V11, (1993), p.5.
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- 41 M.L.S.Enumerators Reports 1841-1891; interview with J.Boggiano, May 1996.
- 42 Azeglio Valgimigli, *La Colonia di Italiani di Manchester 1794-1932* (Firenze, Enrico Ariani,1932), quoted in Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy*, p.19.
- 43 Interview with M.Lucca, June, 1994.
- 44 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, pp.73-4.
- 45 *Generi Alimentari* was used in Ancoats to refer to a shop selling Italian provisions. It is also used in the *Guida Generale*, pp.263-4. Interview with di Felice.
- 46 Interview with di Felice.
- 47 Interview with Clarence Meschia, June 1994.
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- 50 Interview with Aurelia Raffo, July 1993.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Sponza, *Italians in Nineteenth Century Britain*, p.67; Colpi, *Italian Factor*, p.60.
- 53 Interview with Winifred Robino, August 1994.
- 54 Interview with Meschia.
- 55 Interview with Raffo.
- 56 Terri Colpi, 'The Impact of the Second World War on the British Italian Community', in David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, (eds) *Immigrants and Minorities*, special edition on the internment of aliens in twentieth century Britain, Vol II no 3 (London, November 1992).
- 57 *Manchester Evening News*, 12th June 1940; interview with Hilda Macdonald, September 1994.
- 58 Holmes, *John Bulls Island*, p.74.
- 59 Interview with Mena Callan, July 1997.
- 60 Interview with di Felice.
- 61 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, p.169.
- 62 L.Sponza, 'The British government and the Internment of Italians', *Immigrants and Minorities*, pp.125-30.
- 63 Interview with John Donnington, June 1993.
- 64 Interview with di Felice.
- 65 M.L.S. Medical Officer of Health Report, Manchester 1905-1916, 614.0942 M4, 1909, p.70.
- 66 Interview with di Felice.
- 67 M.L.S.Medical Officer of Health 1914 pp.106-7.
- 68 *Guida Generale*, pp.263-4.
- 69 Interview with Meschia.
- 70 Interview with di Felice.
- 71 Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty*, p.118.
- 72 M.O.H. pp. 41-6.
- 73 Interview with di Felice.
- 74 P.Kirk, 'Comparison of the Aims of Education for Jewish Children in the Manchester Area During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' (MPhil Thesis, University of Salford 1995), p.3
- 75 Eric Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour* (London, 1988), p.178.
- 76 Valgimigli, *La Colonia di Manchester*, quoted in Rea, *Manchester's Little Italy*, p.19.
- 77 Interview with Meschia.
- 78 Interview with di Felice.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Interview with Boggiano.
- 81 Interview with F.McDermott.
- 82 Interview with A. Salvatore, August 1994.
- 83 Interview with J.Boggiano.
- 84 Interview with Albert Tiani, Stalybridge Local Library Manchester Studies Tape Collection, Tape 775, interview by Bill Williams.
- 85 Interview with Salvatore.
- 86 Interview with di Felice.
- 87 Colpi, *Italian Factor*, p.168.
- 88 The process of integration as used by P.Kirk, 'Education of Jewish Children', in reference to Anglo-Jewry, refers to the successful anglicization process, "that is a complete acceptance of and by the host society but without loss of ethnic (and in this case Jewish) identity". As used by Bill Williams, "East and West in Manchester Jewry 1850-1914", in D.Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*. (London,1990), p.20. Assimilation indicates an absorption of ethnic identity by the host community — in other words the loss of ethnic distinctiveness. However, the Italians and the Jews did not assimilate, in fact they retained their distinctiveness and forged a place within British society.