

They were *Triumphanti*:

The Italian Homesteading Experience in Saskatchewan, 1896-1930

A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research In

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

In the Department of History

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By

Stephanie Bellissimo

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of the University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Disclaimer

They were *Triumphant*: The Italian Homesteading Experience in Saskatchewan, 1896-1930 was exclusively created to meet the thesis and/or exhibition requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Saskatchewan. Reference in this thesis to any specific commercial products, process, or service by trade name, trademark, manufacturer, or otherwise, does not constitute or imply its endorsement, recommendation, or favouring by the University of Saskatchewan. The views and opinions of the author expressed herein do not state or reflect those of the University of Saskatchewan, and shall not be used for advertising or product endorsement purposes.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of History
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7N 5A5
Canada

Abstract

Most scholarly research on immigration in Saskatchewan at the turn of the twentieth century has asserted that Italians were not permanent homesteading farmers. This is in part a reflection of prejudices at both the governmental and popular levels that were held at the time. They believed that Italians were transient migrants and only suitable for labour employment. Research into census, homesteading files, and local history books from the period of 1896-1930 demonstrates that this was not the case. It is argued that not only were there greater numbers of rural Italian immigrants in Saskatchewan than has hitherto been acknowledged, but that many were successful, permanent settlers who actively engaged in agricultural and communal endeavours.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family (Erminio Bellissimo, Kathryn Jankowski, Jacquelyn Bellissimo, and Wanda Jankowski) for being great supporters of my academic endeavours. I would like to thank my stepfather Luis Ferreira for helping me format all of my excel charts (I guess what they say about historians and computers is true!) I would also like to pay tribute to my grandfather Ted Jankowski, who is no longer with us. Thank you for instilling the importance of being an educated and well-rounded individual and for always telling me I could do great things. Thank you to Adam Montgomery for being my second pair of eyes, a great pillar of strength, and for the love and support you have shown me. Also, thank you to my best friend Donna Antonczyk Rex for helping me edit many essays while I have been in this program.

A big thank you to my supervisor Bill Waiser for taking a big interest in my topic, guiding me through the research and writing process and for making me feel welcome in a place that was far away from home. I would also like to thank Angela Kalinowski and Michael Cottrell for being members of my review committee, and for taking the time out to thoughtfully attend to my project. I would also like to thank Angela for tutoring me in Italian as well as giving me the confidence I needed to pass the translation exam. Thank you to my external examiner Joseph Garcea for bringing good insight into my project. Thank you to Mary Marino for putting me in touch with *Linguist List*, posting my question and for relaying the responses to me, it was greatly appreciated! Also, thank you to all that replied to my *Linguist List* inquiry (Claudia Bortolato, Donna Lillian, Marc Picard, Magdalena Zoeppritz, Paola Attolino, Thomas Leddy-Cecere, Giorgio Arcodia, Francesco Screti, Luisa Bozzo, Alessandra Riccardi and Pier Marco Bertinetto.) To my master's course instructors (Mark Meyers, Jim Miller and Keith Carlson), thank you for everything you have taught me and for enriching my academic experience.

A special thank you to the staff at the Saskatchewan Archives Board and the Local History Room at the Francis Morrison Library who were always more than helpful, and who helped make this project possible. Thank you to Nadine Penner and Linda Dietz for answering any questions I had about the department and program. Also, thank you to Anna Crugnale for conducting interviews with Italian immigrants in Saskatchewan in the 1970s. These tapes helped add a lot more depth to my project.

I would also like to thank my grandparents Stefano and Maria Teresa Bellissimo for introducing me to Italian culture, which led to my interest in the Italian immigrant experience in Canada.

Lastly, I would like to thank the part of myself that never gave up, and that worked hard in order to complete this thesis!

Table of Contents

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES AND IMAGES	v
INTRODUCTION	1
Dark Uncertain Figures	
CHAPTER ONE	20
Italy is Whatever Land will give him his Bread	
CHAPTER TWO	38
Nothing to Offend the Plough	
CHAPTER THREE	56
Hillsborough: It Looked like a Dream Come True	
CONCLUSION	75
APPENDIX	79
BILBLIOGRAPHY	107

List of Figures and Images

Chart 1.1 Italian Immigrant’s Country of Residence Prior to Arrival in Canada	29
Chart 1.2 Declared Racial Origins	30
Image 3.1 Topography of Hillsborough	65
Image 3.2 Rossos’ Century Farm Family Award	69
Appendix Figure 1.1: Italians found in the 1901 Census (Saskatchewan)	80
Appendix Figure 1.2: Italians found in the 1906 Census (Saskatchewan)	84
Appendix Figure 1.3: Italians found in the 1911 Census (Saskatchewan)	87
Appendix Figure 1.4: Italians Homesteaders in Saskatchewan	97
Appendix Figure 1.5: Italian Homesteaders with a Pre-emption	103
Appendix Figure 1.6: Italian Homesteaders Awarded a Soldier/Bounty Land Grant	103
Appendix Figure 1.7: Italian Homesteaders in Hillsborough Complete with Family	104

Introduction

Dark Uncertain Figures

In May 1920, Luigi Fincati boarded a bus to Milan with his mother and brother from their hometown in the province of Vicenza, Italy. From Milan, they took another bus to Genoa where they would ultimately board a ship to North America. Luigi's father, Angelo, had sent them the fare so they could join him on the homestead that he had purchased in Saskatchewan prior to the First World War. Angelo bought the homestead in the hopes of making enough of a fortune so that he could reunite with his family back in Italy. That fortune was never realized. He consequently had to settle his family in Saskatchewan. It took thirteen days for the ship to dock in New York City and Luigi recalled being constantly seasick. Once the family arrived in New York they took a train to Montreal. From there, they boarded another train to Saskatchewan. Luigi and his family could not speak English and they found it difficult to travel. He remembered that they passed a lot of "for sale" signs on the trip West. "Sale" in Italian means "salt" and his mother was confused as to why Canada sold so much salt! Their first impression of the new country was that it was vast. In the prairies they seemed to travel on the train for days and it felt endless. At last, the family arrived in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, where their father picked them up and brought them an hour and a half north to their farm in St. Brieux. This sojourn was the beginning of their new lives in Canada. They would meet many trials and tribulations along the way, but over time would come to see Saskatchewan as their home.¹

¹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-307 side A, Fincati, Luigi, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, August 2, 1973.

Homesteading was a government initiative to settle western Canada by recruiting farmers. It was successful in attracting people to the prairie provinces, where, like Angelo, they hoped to own their own land and make a fortune. Many more Italian homesteaders put down permanent roots in Saskatchewan at the turn of the twentieth century than has been acknowledged in national and provincial histories. In fact, when scholars have looked at Italian immigration in Canada, little was produced that discussed permanent Italian settlers. Much of the scholarship focused on Italian men as temporary laborers, with little being written about rural experiences. The writings generally covered Italian immigrants in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, leaving a significant historiographic gap regarding the Italian experience in Saskatchewan. This thesis will focus on the Italian homesteaders' experiences in Saskatchewan between 1896 and 1930. These dates coincide with the great immigration boom to Canada when many newcomers headed to the West to take up homesteads. Through the examination of Italian homesteaders' experiences within the province, it can be said that there were Italian homesteaders who chose to make Saskatchewan their home.² Furthermore, this research also proves that Italian homesteaders were indeed successful farmers.

Over the last century, approaches to Canadian immigrant history have considerably changed. There have been four distinct phases that the immigrant history has passed through: the nation building view, the celebratory view, the uses of labour history within the discipline, and the "new" social history that emerged in the 1970s and beyond.

² Randy Boswell, *Province with a Heart: Celebrating 100 Years in Saskatchewan* (Toronto: CanWest Books Inc., 2005), 25-45. Saskatchewan did not become a province of Canada until September 4, 1905. The government saw the agricultural potential of the West prior to this date and they encouraged many immigrants to settle there before it became a province.

Earlier works on immigration were often the work of amateur historians and policy makers. These works, termed “nation-building history,” tended to examine immigration policy and settlement patterns rather than discussing the immigrant’s experiences within the country.³ Although these works do not capture the voices of immigrants, they are important because they display the attitudes of the host society towards settlers during the early twentieth century. Stereotypes were often cast on immigrants and were used to promote a pro-Canadian, nation-building spirit.

A good example of the nation-building school of thought is J.S. Woodsworth’s work. He was a Methodist preacher from Winnipeg. Although he was not a professional historian, his work, *Strangers within our Gates*, made a large contribution to the field because it vividly captured the attitudes towards immigrants at the turn of the century. His book was written in 1909 and its purpose was to draw attention to the challenges that the church faced due to rapid immigration.⁴ As a preacher, Woodsworth was concerned with the social problems that had become more pronounced at the beginning of the century. He concluded that they resulted from immigration, urbanization, and industrialization.⁵ He believed that there was an immigrant “problem” within Canada that needed to be solved, and postulated that the assimilation of immigrants into Canadian society would help repair any difficulties.⁶ He concluded that assimilation should occur through national schools, labour unions, the press, and churches.⁷

³ Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 2.

⁴ J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our Gates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), vii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xix.

Woodsworth was sympathetic to the Canadian immigrant population. His book had several chapters dedicated to different immigrant groups with the purpose of introducing them to Anglo-Canadians. Although the purpose for writing the book was to be more sensitive to immigrants, it was still reflective of the negative attitudes held towards them at the time. In bringing attention to individual immigrant groups, Woodsworth heavily referred to common stereotypes. In his chapter on Italians, for example, Woodsworth stated:

AN ITALIAN! The figure that flashes before the mind's eye is probably that of an organ-grinder with his monkey. That was the impression we first received, and it is difficult to substitute another. Italian immigrants! The figure of the organ man fades away, and we see dark, uncertain figures, and someone whispers, 'The Mafia-the Black Hand.'"⁸

In trying to incorporate the idea of assimilation, he ironically facilitated separateness by pointing out what made immigrants different from "Canadians."

W.G. Smith, Professor of Psychology at the University of Toronto, opposed the view that assimilation was the key component to the nation-building process. Although he regarded assimilation as important, he believed that the means to building a greater nation was the incorporation of a more selective immigration process. His work, *A Study of Canadian Immigration*, was published in 1920, one year after the government implemented the Immigration Act.⁹ This act stated that the government could reject immigrants whom it deemed to be inferior because of idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, alcoholism, and infectious diseases.¹⁰

⁸ Woodsworth, *Strangers within our Gates*, 132.

⁹ W.G. Smith, *A Study in Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920), 361.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 362.

Contrary to popular belief, Smith did not doubt that Canada should accept immigrants. He explicitly stated that they were needed to develop such a vast country. He strongly suggested, however, that policy makers should take extra consideration when deciding who to allow into the country.¹¹ He spent a large portion of his book outlining the problems with an unrestrictive immigration policy: illiteracy, defects, and crime. This book confirmed a shift in attitudes that were held during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The idea of assimilation became more complex by adopting a more selective attitude to ensure that only those who could properly acclimatize to Canadian society be considered.

Negative views about immigrants were held until the 1960s, when the Canadian government began embracing the earliest stages of multiculturalism. This time period promoted the celebration of different ethnic identities. Individual immigrant accounts began to be written, differing heavily from the prior works that treated all immigrants as a collective entity. Self-awareness was an important theme of this period. It posited that immigrants saw themselves as Canadian, but acknowledged that they were distinguishable from other Canadians.¹² Therefore, they established their identity in relation to what it meant to be “Canadian.” Immigrant groups provided funding for research and publications in order to fix their identity within Canadian society in an attempt to overcome negative societal attitudes.¹³ The notion of being “different” was no

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 194.

¹³ Howard Palmer, “Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s,” *International Migration Review*, 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 473.

longer seen as a problem. Instead, these differences were being celebrated and used to create a new identity.

A.V. Spada, chronicler of Italian immigrant experiences for the *Canada Ethnica*, celebrated Italian achievements in *Italians in Canada*.¹⁴ He highlighted the role that Italian immigrants played in the development of the country. Unlike Woodsworth, who was concerned with identifying solutions to an immigrant problem, Spada intended to highlight their great achievements. He sought to portray Italians as strong, hardworking individuals, who successfully contributed to the nation-building process. He attempted to highlight every successful Italian within Canadian borders. His work included extensive lists of Italian professors, artists, authors, judges, public servants, Members of Parliament, and sportsmen. Regardless of its strengths, the book ignored social issues that many Italian immigrants faced at this time, such as discrimination, unfair working conditions, low wages, and unsatisfactory living conditions.

The 1960s transformed the way immigrants were historicized. Social history emerged in its beginning stages and became a useful analytical tool for historians. Up until this time historians had little incentive to write about Canadian immigrant populations. They had a hard time understanding their languages, there was little archival documentation, and even more limited publisher interest.¹⁵ Social history changed the way that immigrant history was written because it encouraged historians to look at the lives of everyday Canadians. They adopted a “bottom-up” approach to studying immigrants, which focused largely on immigrants’ agency and everyday life experiences. This period also allowed historians to expand their knowledge by borrowing from other

¹⁴ A.V. Spada, *Italians in Canada* (Ottawa: Riviera Printers and Publishers, 1969)

¹⁵Palmer, “Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s,” 472.

disciplines such as the social sciences.¹⁶ Instead of relying heavily on political sources to explain the past, social history opened new avenues of research. This process began to revolutionize many fields within the historical discipline because it helped introduce useful concepts such as the agency of minority populations in the shaping of Canadian history.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the field of immigrant history expanded through the incorporation of labour history. Labour history not only allowed individual experiences of immigrants to be expressed but it also shed light on themes like class, class-consciousness, activism, and protest. Most importantly, it demonstrated how ethnicity was intimately tied to these themes.¹⁷ The works of earlier labour historians explored Anglo-Saxon skilled workers: shoemakers, coopers, printers, and their responses to rising industrial capitalism.¹⁸ These works often looked at notions like class and culture but did not question the notion of ethnic identity. During the 1970s social historians and labour historians debated about class versus ethnicity. Through these debates they realized that both fields sought to understand worker's activism. They concluded that both class and ethnicity were important elements to be explored, and thus, collaboration between the two fields occurred.¹⁹

Beginning in the 1980s, the question of ethnicity's link to radicalism became an important topic of study. Earlier stereotypes concluded that foreign workers were unable

¹⁶ Peter Burke, "Overture: The New History: Its Past and Its Future," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writings*, 2nd edition, ed. Peter Burke (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2001), 6.

¹⁷ Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Migrant History*, 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

to organize because they could not speak English.²⁰ They were believed to be suffering from a “false consciousness” based on ethnic loyalties instead of class loyalties. Historians began to criticize this notion and proved that class and ethnicity *could* be intertwined.²¹ Immigrants were acknowledged as able to have both class-consciousness and a commitment to their ethnic identities. This idea was captured within Donald Avery’s work *Dangerous Foreigners*. He linked both class-consciousness and ethnicity to demonstrate the militancy of the working-class immigrant population within Canada. He wanted to show how immigrants played a part in the changing economic and social life within the country.²²

The immigrant history field saw a boom in scholarship beginning in the 1980s because of an increased interest in socio-historical approaches. There were a burgeoning number of ethnic histories being created by members of specific ethnic groups. Writing on topics of a personal nature allowed these authors to show empathy and understanding to the group that they were researching.²³ Furthermore, many Canadian immigrants’ children also began to enter university during this time. Post-secondary educational training provided immigration historians with the ability to detach themselves from their ethnic commitments to draw more objective conclusions.²⁴ Their scholarship evolved away from earlier assimilation and celebratory works written about immigrants. Instead they portrayed a more realistic picture about their parents’ and grandparent’s experiences.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

²² Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 7.

²³ Palmer, “Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s,” 472.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 475.

Themes like community studies, migrant studies, gender analysis, ethnicity, class and identity began to be acknowledged.

During this period, scholars examined the Italian male sojourner as an historical agent. The sojourner temporarily came to Canada in order to fulfill economic commitments to their hometowns in Europe. Older literature on the sojourner was based on the demographic and economic impacts of migration.²⁵ Robert Foerster's work, *Italian Emigration of our Time*, is a characteristic work that documents this pattern.²⁶ Robert Harney, credited as one of the most influential writers within the immigrant history field, wrote an article in 1989 entitled *Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930*. It led to the use of more sophisticated approaches to the study of Italian sojourners' experiences in Canada. Harney felt that the older views of sojourning were limiting because questions of displacement and persistence of ethnicity were largely ignored.²⁷ The importance of this approach was that it placed the sojourner at the centre of the investigation.

John Zucchi's book, *Italians in Toronto*, examined the link between ethnicity and identity. He explained that Italian identity was not a fixed notion. In fact, he argued, it was something constantly in flux.²⁸ Zucchi looked at how Italian's sense of identity was created and how it changed as a result of their immigration to Toronto between 1875-1935. He began his analysis by examining migrants before they left Italy and then looked

²⁵ Robert Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada 1885-1930," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XI, no. 1 (1979): 29.

²⁶ Robert Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of our Times* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1919)

²⁷ Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada 1885-1930," 30.

²⁸ Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*, 7.

at how their identity changed as they began to settle in Toronto.²⁹ He, therefore, saw their identity comprised of two components: how Italians identified themselves in Italy, and how they identified themselves in Toronto.

Canadian immigration historian, Franca Iacovetta, wrote a work in 1992 entitled *Such Hard Working People*, which captured the hardship and prejudices that southern Italians experienced in Toronto from 1945-1965.³⁰ She posited that the collaboration of many different fields within the historical discourse, including women's and labour history, aided in capturing the reality of past immigrant experiences.³¹ Within her work she paid special attention to how class, gender, and ethnicity shaped the Italian immigrant's experience. The exploration of these themes makes her work exceptional because she devoted significant attention to women instead of keeping them marginalized like her predecessors. Iacovetta's work is a reflection of the rise of gender and feminist histories within the larger social history field. She argued that gender is a not fixed category but instead a social construct; notions of "masculine" and "feminine" have a pervasive influence on men's and women's lives.³²

In looking at secondary sources it became clear that much of the scholarship on Italian immigrants within Canada focused on their identity as unskilled workers. My thesis contributes to broadening the Italian immigrant historical identity because it shows them participating and succeeding in a different vocation. It dispels the myth that Italian immigrants were only capable of labour employment. The homesteading experience in

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁰ Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hard Working People* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), xi.

³¹ *Ibid.*, xi.

³² *Ibid.*, 22.

Saskatchewan was atypical of the Italian immigrant's experience in Canada as a whole. Although many did partake in unskilled labour in the province, they filled other positions that have significantly contributed to Canadian society, particularly in the agricultural sector. These endeavours should be acknowledged in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of Italian immigrant experiences within Canada.

The first avenue of research taken in this thesis was primary source analysis. The 1901, 1906 and 1911 census were consulted in order to locate Italian "sounding" last names of people who lived in Saskatchewan. Once they were identified, their surname, first name, age, district, sub district, and enumeration district were located and recorded. The census also shed light on the dates these immigrants came to Canada, the years that they were naturalized, what their birth country was, their religious orientation, their family members, and what they declared as their racial origins. 107 Italian names were located in 1901, 142 names in 1906 and 433 names in 1911. The Italian names from the census were then entered into the Saskatchewan Archives Board Homestead Index in order to locate Italian homesteaders. A possible fifty-eight Italian homestead files were located consisting of thirty-nine individuals.

Once a master list of Italian sounding names in the province was made it was necessary to confirm that these people were indeed Italian. My tentative list was posted on a website called *Linguist List* which opened my inquiry to linguists around the world.³³ This website is an online resource tool used by linguists to discuss issues and

³³ Eastern Michigan University, "Linguist List" <http://linguistlist.org/> (date accessed October 12, 2012) Mary Marino, a retired professor of Languages and Linguistics and anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan, was contacted to offer her insight into determining the origin of names from the master list produced from the census. She put me in touch with *Linguist List*, helped me form an inquiry, and relayed the linguist's responses to me. The below message is the inquiry posted on Linguist List. "I am an MA

challenges presented in their work.³⁴ Several linguists answered my inquiry and many put me in touch with useful online onomastic databases: *Tourismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy* and *Mappe dei cognomi Italiani*.³⁵ Every Italian sounding name found in the census was entered into these databases to make certain that they were of Italian origin and to show what region(s) of Italy they came from. All individuals henceforth used in this thesis have been identified as Italian based on these databases and/or confirmation by specialists in the field.

From this primary research it became clear that there were Italians who chose to settle within the province as farmers. It is true that Saskatchewan, along with Manitoba,

student in History at the University of Saskatchewan; the topic of my thesis has to do with Italian homesteaders in the region of Old Wives Lake in southern Saskatchewan, Canada in the early decades of the 20th century. Census and homestead records indicate that many of these settlers were either born in Italy, or claimed to be of Italian origins, or both. Those who did not directly declare their birth country or origins to be Italian nevertheless have surnames that suggest such birth or origin. Among these is a list of surnames which none of the sources available to me could identify with any certainty. They are the following: Bisaro, Cabela, Cafferata, Clarno, Desero, Flolo, Rogoza, Scraba, Sleno, Verlo, Vogeli. Any assistance that you could provide in identifying the linguistic and/or geographical origins of these names would be deeply appreciated. Yours sincerely, Stephanie Bellissimo”

³⁴Eastern Michigan University, “Linguist List” <http://linguistlist.org/> (date accessed October 12, 2012)

³⁵ Eastern Michigan University, “Linguist List” <http://linguistlist.org/> (date accessed October 12, 2012); Gens, “Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy” <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJUNotUyCuI> (date accessed October 2012); Seat Pagine Gialle, “PagineBianche per il cittadino” <http://www.paginebianche.it/cognomi-italiani.html> (date accessed October, 2012); Cognomix, “Mappe dei cognome Italiani” <http://www.cognomix.it/mappe-dei-cognomi-italiani> (date accessed October, 2012) This was a helpful reply from Claudia Bortolato, PhD Candidate in Italian from the University of Exeter. It was received November 3, 2012. “Hi, I would advice you look at this website, where you can find a map of the distribution of Italian surnames (in Italy and in the USA): <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJUNotUyCuI> Otherwise (but maybe you have already done) contact the local Italian associations. They have been very very friendly and helpful with me when I needed to get information. Hope to have been of some help.Good luck with your research.”; This is an email received from Paul Attolino on November 3, 2012. “These websites could be of help: <http://www.paginebianche.it/cognome?qs=Bisaro>, <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia?cognome=bisaro&x=0&y=0#.UJYVg8UsDr8>, <http://www.cognomix.it/mappe-dei-cognomi-italiani/BISARO>, <http://www.cognomiitaliani.org/cognomi/cognomi0002il.htm> All the best, Paola.” Lastly, here is a reply from Marc Picard of Concordia University that was reviewed November 3, 2012, “Only *Bisaro* and *Cafferata* are unmistakably Italian as you can see at tinyurl.com/d5tv551. *Cabela/Kabela* is Bohemian/Czech (tinyurl.com/btqh6so, tinyurl.com/cq88xmy), *Clarno* is English (<http://www.ancestry.ca/name-originsurname=clarno>), *Desero* is Italian *De Sero*, *Flolo* and *Verlo* are Norwegian (tinyurl.com/clq54nz, tinyurl.com/dxuxze2), *Rogoza* is Polish (tinyurl.com/cuyjmxp), *Scraba* is probably Ukrainian but maybe Romanian (<http://www.stelijahpioneermuseum.ca/history.php>), and *Vogeli* is Swiss German (tinyurl.com/cmj2xg6). *Sleno* seems to come from Italy (tinyurl.com/bq29oy4) but there's nobody by that name there now.”

received the lowest percentage of Italian residents among the provinces that received large-scale migration.³⁶ Generally, Italians who ventured to the prairie provinces were seasonal labourers rather than those interested in becoming permanent farmers. In 1914 Girolamo Moroni captured this sentiment in his book, *La regione della provincia centrale del Canada*, by stating:

The reason why our emigrants have not come in great numbers to the prairie provinces is because the area has no industries and live chiefly from farming; our emigrant, once abroad, is unwilling to work as a farmhand preferring work as a day labourer in which occupation, he is better paid...³⁷

Scholars have re-asserted this claim. Harney maintained that immigrants generally needed \$2000 in savings to obtain land in the Canadian prairies. Despite the fact that they received a free homesteading grant, immigrants still had to procure such a vast sum of funds for transport, to build a house on their land, and for livestock.³⁸ He wrote that the Italian discourse “dwelt on the presence of a few, real or mythical, Italian nobles or great landowners in B.C. and Alberta who professed to have plans to recruit contadini in Italy to create colonies.”³⁹ It is true that many of the Italian names that were found in the census demonstrate that there were more urban rather than rural Italians. These findings show, however, that some nevertheless tried their hand at homesteading. Therefore, this thesis will demonstrate that Italians were not only seasonal labourers in Saskatchewan but that there were also permanent Italian settlers.

³⁶ Robert Harney “The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration,” in *Le società in transizione: Italiani ed Italo-Canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano De Azevedo (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991), 191.

³⁷ G. Moroni, “La regione della provincia centrale del Canada,” *Bollettino dell’emigrazione*, 2, 1915, 43-44 quoted in Robert Harney “The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration,” in *Le società in transizione: Italiani ed Italo-Canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano De Azevedo (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991), 191.

³⁸ Harney, “The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration,” 202.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Upon examining the homestead files, important information was recorded: the legal descriptions of their homestead, if they were granted a patent, if they abandoned their homestead, how much of their land had been cultivated, if they had any livestock, and if buildings were erected on their property. More often than not, documents within their homestead files recorded the homesteader's nationality. Nineteen homesteaders directly stated that their racial origins were Italian. Other nationalities were also listed, including: Canadian, English, German, and French. This information seemed discouraging because it appeared that there were not as many Italian homesteaders as initially thought. After reading more secondary sources, especially sources that discussed Italian migrant history, an important discovery was made. Some Italians were moving to other countries first, adopting the identity of their home country, and *then* moving to Saskatchewan.

This idea requires some further explanation. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Italy experienced mass emigration. Foerster, in his book, *Italian Emigration of our Time*, estimated that fourteen million people emigrated from Italy during the period from 1876 to 1914.⁴⁰ Italians were moving to different European countries, North and South America, the Asian continent and Africa. Italian politicians, reporters and historians have isolated many push factors that aided in rising emigration levels: rising population, lack of industry, unproductive lands, scarcity of resources and high taxes. All of these reasons can be summed using one word, *miseria*.⁴¹ Concurrently, in the case of Saskatchewan, homesteading policies acted as a pull factor, drawing many to Canada with the promise of land ownership and independence. When Italians

⁴⁰ Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of our Times*, 8.

⁴¹ Zucchi, *Italian in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*, 13.

emigrated, they often identified with their *paesani* (fellow townspeople within Italy) rather than identifying themselves as “Italian.” Localized identification was a direct result of the country’s recent unification, which intensified pre-existing socio-economic inequalities in the industrialized north and rural south.⁴² When Italians moved to different countries they often looked to where their fellow townspeople had settled. This phenomenon is known as “chain migration”. Sir John S. MacDonald, the first premier of Ontario, defined chain migration as a:

movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodations and employment arranged by *means of primary social relationships with previous migrants*.⁴³

To summarize MacDonald’s point, migrants saw their world as transcending political boundaries and consisting of their townspeople in Italy and other cities around the world. The premier’s theory helped explain why some of the Italian homesteaders may have listed different nationalities in their homestead files. It is possible that they had moved to different locations around the world, according to where members of their hometowns settled, in order to find work, before they came to Saskatchewan.

But why would some Italians want to change their national identity before coming to Saskatchewan? Clifford Sifton, Canada’s Interior Minister, created an immigration policy in 1896 that included a racial and social hierarchy where certain groups were deemed as “unsuitable” for settling the West as farmers. These groups included English urban immigrants, Blacks, Asians, Jews and southern and eastern Europeans. The thought

⁴² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴³ Franc Sturino, “Italian Emigration: Reconsidering the Links in Chain Migration,” in *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. Robert Perin and Franc Sturino (Montreal: Guernica Editions, 1989), 64.

at the time was that they could not handle harsh farming conditions and would move to urban areas where they would steal jobs from other “deserving” Canadians.⁴⁴ By changing their identities, Italians and their descendants tried to appear more “desirable,” whether intentionally or not. Many were able to settle in Saskatchewan without the stigma of being declared undesirable. After discovering the existence of these “new” identities, my aim was to see if the Italian homesteaders in the census were successful farmers. It turned out that many of them were able to fulfill homesteading requirements set out by the government. These historical records not only display that they permanently settled within the province, but that they were also successful farmers, disproving the view held at the time that Italians could not farm in the prairies.

The legal land descriptions of each Italian homesteader were consulted in order to pinpoint on a map what rural municipality they belonged to. With their rural municipalities identified, I visited the Local History Room at the Frances Morrison Library. There, I used local history books to search for Italian homesteader’s family histories. Here, an important discovery was made when I looked up the Italian homesteaders that I had found in the Hillsborough municipality. Their local history book stated that there was a large Italian influence in this area, with many Italian immigrants choosing to settle there after 1913.⁴⁵ The local history books also mentioned Italian homesteaders who came to Canada after the 1911 census was conducted. I then consulted the 1916 prairies census to find out information on these individuals.

⁴⁴ Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 64.

⁴⁵ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980* (Crestwynd Saskatchewan: C.C. Club, 1980), 309.

In addition to this research, ten oral history tapes were used as a way to gather more in-depth information on the Italian homesteaders. These tapes came from a series of forty audiotapes that were created in 1973 by Anna Maria Crugnale. She interviewed several rural and urban Italian immigrants in Saskatchewan. The ten tapes that were chosen focused on individuals that homesteaded. She sought to capture their experiences, and the interviews covered topics including: where they originated from in Italy, how, when and the reasons why they came to settle in Saskatchewan, their impressions of the province, how people perceived them when they first arrived, their farming experiences, the issues they experienced with the English language, the conditions of their homes, and what social activities they engaged in. These tapes, along with the local history books, gave insight into the Italian immigrant's family life and general experiences when they came to the province.

The first chapter of this thesis will discuss the view that the Canadian government held towards immigrants (especially Italians) at the turn of the century. It will then argue that there were more Italian immigrants who chose to homestead in Saskatchewan than previously considered. Many changed their national identities allowing for them to fit the mould of a more desirable immigrant, opening up opportunities that may not have existed if they came as Italians. This chapter will also shed light on the fact that there were some immigrants that self-identified as Italian on their census or homestead records. Despite the negative views of Italians held by the government at the time, there is no evidence to suggest that they did anything to stop Italian immigrants from taking up homesteads in the West. The second chapter will examine the experiences of the Italian homesteader in Saskatchewan, showing that Italian immigrants were successful farmers and members of

society, disproving the government's view of Italian immigrants. Lastly, chapter three will use the rural municipality of Hillsborough as a case study to further display that Italian homesteaders were a success stories in the Canadian West.

An appendix is included that documents the original research conducted for this thesis. It includes a list of Italian names from the province found within the 1901, 1906 and 1911 censuses, and a chart on Italian homesteaders in Saskatchewan. The chart includes: their homestead file numbers, the year(s) that they appear in the census, the year they came to Canada, their year of naturalization, their legal land description, what rural municipality they belonged to, if their land was patented or abandoned along with the date it was issued, their birth country, their racial origins, their family members, and what religion they practiced. Two other charts display whether a homesteader applied for a pre-emption or if they were granted a bounty or soldier land grant from the government. There is also a chart that showcases the family members of homesteader applicants living in Hillsborough. It maps out family relations, where they came from in Italy, and the year that they came to Canada.

Essentially, there were Italians who chose to settle within the province of Saskatchewan during large-scale immigration to Canada. Scholars have generally declared that Italian immigrants did not homestead in western Canada. However, the historical data presented in this thesis suggests otherwise. Historical sources have also largely ignored the rural Italian experience in Canada, leaving a historiographical gap. By exploring this phenomenon, much more can be learned about the broader Italian immigrant identity in Canada.

The trend of chain migration also applies to Italian immigrants who chose to homestead in Saskatchewan. It seems that they may not have always declared that they were Italian in the census, or on their homestead records. This aberration may have resulted from the fact that Italians were emigrating to different countries all around the world in search of work. They no longer paid tribute to political boundaries, and often moved to several countries where their *paesani* lived. Many changed their nationality in the process. By doing so, they were able to settle in Saskatchewan without the stigma of being Italian, since popular belief stated that Italians could not handle the weather and farming conditions in the prairies. Italian homesteaders, in fact, proved this notion to be incorrect by choosing Saskatchewan as their home and then becoming success stories in their own right.

Chapter One

Italy is Whatever Land will give him his Bread

Immigration was a cornerstone in the development of Canada, because it fell in line with the National Policy set forth by Canada's first Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald.⁴⁶ Although immigration was important to Macdonald's vision, not all immigrants were deemed as suitable settlers. Clifford Sifton, Canada's Interior Minister, set a racial hierarchy in place in 1896 when he created his immigration policy. This policy stated in simple terms which immigrants were acceptable, and which ones were not, in particular Asians, southern and eastern Europeans and Africans. He showed contempt towards Italian immigrants because he thought that they would not assimilate into Canadian society as effectively as some other immigrants. His fear, above all else, was that Italians were not suited for agricultural activities. Instead, they would flock to cities, taking labour employment opportunities away from other "deserving" Canadians.⁴⁷ This belief leads to a historical dilemma: If Italian immigrants were seen as undesirable citizens because they lacked farming skills, then how did some end up homesteading in Saskatchewan? This chapter will examine how Italians came to farm in Saskatchewan, in spite of Canadian immigration policies at the time. The discussion will also focus on how many ventured to Canada by means of chain migration in order to demonstrate the journeys that these Italian immigrants made before they called Saskatchewan their home.

⁴⁶ Donald Grant Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician, the Old Chieftain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 119-120. The necessity of immigration was acknowledged by the Canadian Government and carefully interwoven into the National Policy set forth by Canada's first Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, in 1879. At first, this economic policy aimed at protecting manufacturers by placing high tariffs on imported goods. Over time the policy changed by recognizing that immigrants were *needed* to help build the infrastructure that would turn Canada into a great country. It called for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and settlement of the West – both would need immigrants as a means to their end.

⁴⁷ Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 64.

Lastly, the argument will be made that some homesteaders of Italian ethnic origin changed their national identity before coming to Saskatchewan in order to fit the mould of a more desirable immigrant.

The Canadian government tried to attract many settlers to western Canada by instituting the Dominion Lands Act in 1872. The homestead policy mimicked a model that was first introduced in the United States in 1862.⁴⁸ It allowed settlers access to farmland, known as a homestead, for an inexpensive fee.⁴⁹ In order to apply for a homestead, men had to be over eighteen years old and have the intention of becoming a British subject. Women could apply for a homestead if they held the title of head of the household, meaning that they were widowed or divorced. Successful applicants paid a ten-dollar fee in order to obtain their homestead of 160 acres. Certain criteria had to be fulfilled within three years of the homestead application being filed. The applicant had to live on the land for at least six months of every year, build a shelter, cultivate at least fifteen acres of land or raise twenty head of cattle and erect a barn. If the homesteader was successful at fulfilling the aforementioned tasks, then a patent was granted. When a patent was issued the homesteader was given rights to the land. After a patent was obtained the farmer could apply for a pre-emption, where he could receive an adjoining

⁴⁸ Kirk N. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands, 1870-1930* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991), 22.

⁴⁹ Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History*, 103. By 1887, seventy million acres of land were surveyed in the prairies. A grid of 160-acre squares was drawn over the land where it was assumed that all prairie land was suitable for agriculture. This was an oversight by the government because the grid largely ignored the conditions of the land, making some homestead land difficult to farm on. From the grid, townships were created consisting of thirty-six square miles of land. The townships were then divided into quarter sections. Even numbered sections in each township were used for homesteads. Two of these odd numbered sections were reserved as railway lands. These railway lands were established in order to fulfill the second half of Macdonald's National Policy by encouraging more rail line construction in the West.

quarter section of land. This new land had the same three-year criteria for the homesteader to fulfill before he could gain ownership of it.⁵⁰

During Sifton's tenure between 1896 and 1905, half a million immigrants entered Canada.⁵¹ The government's hope was to receive farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, Britain, as well as France, to homestead in the West.⁵² Unfortunately, not enough immigrants from these preferred countries expressed an interest in settling in western Canada. Due to the fact that this dearth of settlement conflicted with Sifton's vision, he turned to other immigrant groups within the racial hierarchy: mainly central and eastern Europeans, who were seen as being capable of performing agricultural endeavors. He commented specifically on eastern Europeans, stating that they were "[a] stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children."⁵³ Sifton understood that they had an agricultural background, and that many would choose farming as their vocation upon entering the country.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there was an influx of immigration to Canada, causing the early settlers to feel that their Anglo-Canadian society was being threatened. New settlers were often described as Sifton's pets or the scum of Europe, because they threatened Anglo-Canadian ideals and were seen as unable to assimilate into Canadian society.⁵⁴ The Italian was placed in this category, and seen by most as an immigrant who was incapable of being absorbed into the Canadian nation. They had a

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵¹ John Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton In Relation to his Time* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1931), 317.

⁵² W.J. Roche, *Immigrants Facts and Figures* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1913), notes.

⁵³ D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905," in *Settlement of the West*, ed. H. Palmer (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1977), 77.

⁵⁴ Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton In Relation to his Time*, 317.

different language, religion and cultural beliefs that made them appear as “foreigners” to the Anglo-Canadian community. If Italians were to come to Saskatchewan to engage in agriculture, the Canadian government only wanted northern Italians, because it was believed that they could better adapt to the prairie climate.⁵⁵ Southern Italians were more likely to fill temporary labour positions and were therefore seen as an unsuitable choice of immigrant for the Canadian West.

The Canadian Government expressed an explicit disinterest in immigrants who sought urban vocations; they were not perceived as ideal for fulfilling the policy of settling western Canada. Sifton explained that they were unwanted because they were “town dwellers” that did not have the intention of pioneering land in a new country. Instead, they would come to Canada in hopes of finding urban labour employment. Immigrants concentrated in larger Canadian cities in order to find such employment opportunities causing an over supply in the labour market. The excess of immigrants led to an increase in unemployment as well as a development of city slums.⁵⁶ Sifton placed Italian immigrants, as well as other Southern Europeans, in the “town dweller” category, making them non-preferred immigrants. In a sense, Sifton’s views were somewhat accurate; Italian immigrants often did not choose to farm. In many cases they stayed on a temporary basis and flocked to cities for seasonal, unskilled labour opportunities. They would gain enough capital to send some back to their families in Italy and subsequently

⁵⁵ Robert Harney “The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration,” in *Le società in transizione: Italiani ed Italo-Canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano De Azevedo (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991), 194.

⁵⁶ Clifford Sifton, (1922) “The Immigrants Canada Wants,” in *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*, ed. Howard Palmer (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing), 34-38.

return home. Italians were therefore not generally seen as potential farmers who would aid in colonizing the West.

Many Italian immigrants sought labour employment within Canadian borders. Robert Harney, late professor of history at University of Toronto, discovered that 66,000 immigrants came to Canada between 1912 and 1914 wishing to perform agricultural activities, and of those immigrants only 850 were Italian. He stated that approximately 150 of those Italians declared that they wanted to homestead in Saskatchewan.⁵⁷ This figure has not been explored further, making it difficult to ascertain how many of those Italians actually ventured to the province. Meanwhile, 96,000 immigrants within the same period came to Canada to partake in wage labour. Of this number, 22,000 immigrants were from Italy. The fact that Italian immigrants chose to engage in the labour industry had little to do with their ability to be successful farmers. Of the 22,000 Italian men who came to Canada to work labour jobs almost all of them had agricultural experience.⁵⁸ A.V. Spada, who chronicled the Italian experiences in Canada for the *Canada Ethnica*, argued that few Italian immigrants filled agricultural positions, mainly because they were appalled by the conditions of the land and refused to consider settling on the soil, instead choosing to live in towns.⁵⁹

Sifton's policies resulted in many European immigrants coming to Canada. His successor, Frank Oliver, made a change to his predecessor's immigration policies by introducing a more selective immigrant process. While Sifton was selective in the sense that he favoured farmers and farm labourers above other occupations, Oliver subscribed

⁵⁷ Harney, "The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration," 191.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵⁹ Royden Loewen, *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 2002), 9.

to the view that ethnic and cultural origins took priority over occupation.⁶⁰ He believed that it was important to create and enforce a “Canadian” national identity (whatever that meant), and that this vision could not be achieved by letting “foreigners” settle within its borders. The belief was that such “foreigners” would undermine the Canadian social order, and that the perceived class and race of those immigrants determined whether they could assimilate into society.⁶¹ Despite the more selective immigration process instituted by Oliver, immigrants still poured into the country. In 1906 over 200,000 immigrants came to Canada. By 1913 this number reached 400,810.⁶² The policies put forth by the Canadian government during both Sifton and Oliver’s terms in office displayed the attitudes held towards European (especially Italian) immigrants at the turn of the century and the difficulty they faced when settling Canada.

Although the Canadian government did not regard Italians as preferred agricultural settlers, it did not stop them from coming to Canada and settling on the land. A sample of fifty-eight Italian homesteader files consisting of thirty-nine individuals who settled in Saskatchewan was cumulatively located in the 1901, 1906, 1911 and 1916 censuses; it was evident almost immediately that many of them came to Canada straight from Italy. Nonetheless, several lived in different countries around the world before homesteading in Canada. Many of the immigrants settled in Saskatchewan through the process of chain migration: Chain migration is a social strategy where people from a common hometown learn of employment opportunities around the world from other local

⁶⁰ Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration Policy, 1540-2006* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007), 80.

⁶¹ Reginald Whitaker, *Canadian Immigrant Policy Since Confederation* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 8.

⁶² Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*, 95.

emigrants. Typically, these relationships act as a means for people migrating to different countries to find new opportunities. Often migrants will follow members of their hometown to another country, where they can socially assist one another in acclimatizing to their new surroundings. Other assistance also took the form of providing social contacts or financial support for start-up costs. The results of this process are chain resident patterns where clusters of immigrants from particular regions settle together in a new country.⁶³

When considering Italian immigration to Canada it is important to begin by focusing on Italy, because it sheds light on Italian identity and how it changed in the process of migration. John Zucchi, history professor at McGill University, defined migration as the “process where individuals move from one social identity to another.”⁶⁴ To understand Italian identity in Canada it is important to first look at how the immigrant’s identity was formed in Italy. Zucchi stated that Italian migration history should not be looked at as a national phenomenon but rather as a regional phenomenon.⁶⁵ By doing so, it could be understood how social relationships in the chain migration process were formed, resulting in immigrants of Italian ethnic origin venturing to Canada.

Italy experienced unification in 1861 after centuries of political fragmentation and domination by successive Spanish, French and Austrian empires, who consistently struggled with both one another and the Papal States for control of what is now modern

⁶³ Franc Sturino, “Italian Emigration: Reconsidering the Links in Chain Migration,” in *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. Robert Perin and Franc Sturino (Montreal: Guernica Editions, 1989), 63-80.

⁶⁴ John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 4.

⁶⁵ John Zucchi, “Neighbourhood and Paesani,” in *The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. John Potestio and Antonio Pucci (Thunderbay: Canadian Italian Historical Association (CIHA), 1988), 29.

Italy. Due to the country's recent formation, the idea of a pervasive national unity was still in its infancy at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (much like Canada itself). This circumstance was largely the result of a socio-economic disparity between the country's northern and southern regions. The north experienced heavier industrialization, while the south was primarily rural, relying heavily on agriculture. Many parts of the south lacked modern infrastructure, leaving many of the region's peasants with a distinctly parochial worldview. This disparity resulted in the village being the primary source of identity for many of its citizens. For many of the rural peasantry, the village was the only "world" they had experienced. Many Italians, therefore, identified more with their *paesani* - fellow townspeople- than they did with being "Italian."⁶⁶

Italy's lack of national unity and its north-south fragmentation can help to explain why Italians migrated more than most of their European counterparts.⁶⁷ *Paesani* moved to a wide array of foreign destinations for employment opportunities. Italian emigration created "Italian hometown" satellites around the world, where cultural and commercial foundations were established by successive waves of migrants who sought new opportunities.⁶⁸ Essentially, *paesani* established foreign communities around the world and in the process greatly expanded the borders and influence of their hometown.⁶⁹ When Italian immigrants landed in the New World their loyalties still remained to their townspeople. Zucchi found that they provided each other with places to stay,

⁶⁶ Zucchi, *Italian in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*

⁶⁷ Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 69.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

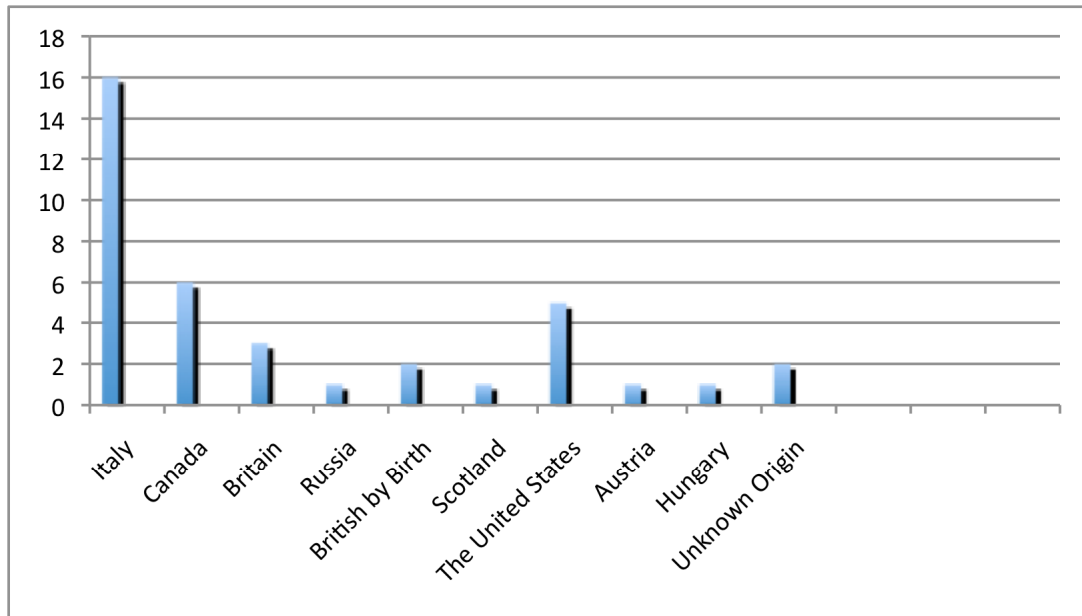
⁶⁹ R.J. Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World, 1860-1960* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4.

employment, prospective mates, and circles of friends.⁷⁰ Living amongst their *paesani*, Italians in other countries were able to hold onto the familiarity of home. Essentially, what it meant to “be Italian” was more discernible by ethnic identity than geographic boundaries.

When Italian immigrants arrived in Saskatchewan to homestead, sixteen people from the sampled number declared that they came to Canada straight from Italy in either their homestead applications, the census, or in their local history book. The remaining Italian homesteaders proclaimed that they came to Canada from other countries. Four declared either on the census or their homestead records that they were born in the United Kingdom, with three coming from Britain and one from Scotland. Two individuals came to Canada from Austria and Hungary respectively. Another five listed that they came from the United States of America. One immigrant came from Russia. There are two immigrants in the sample who did not declare from which country they moved to Canada from. Moreover, six declared that they were of Canadian origin. Lastly, two declared that they were British by birth, with no further specification of what their previous country of residence was. Despite the fact that many of these immigrants were born in or moved to different countries around the world, their ethnic origins were Italian and this has been determined by their last names. It is possible that these migrants, or their parents, moved to different Italian satellite hometowns in search of opportunities, resulting in their national identities being changed. At some point, they heard of homesteading opportunities in Saskatchewan and settled there.

⁷⁰ Zucchi, *Italian in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*, 7.

Chart 1.1: Italian Immigrant’s Country of Residence Prior to Arrival in Canada

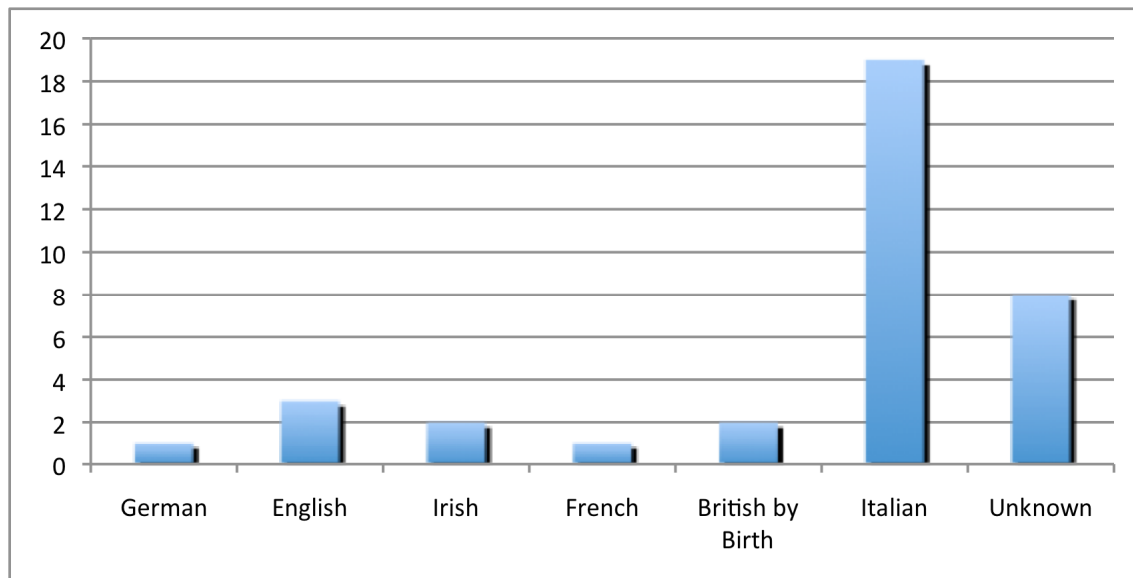


71

What is interesting is that many of the immigrants proclaimed that they came to Canada from one country, but listed an entirely different background as their racial origin. One immigrant in the sample declared that they were of German heritage. Three listed their origins as English. Two of the immigrants in the sample declared their racial origins as Irish, while one listed that they were French. Meanwhile, nineteen in the sample declared that they were Italian. Two immigrants mentioned that their backgrounds were British without specifying the country that they identified with. Lastly, eight immigrants from the sample did not comment on their racial origins.

⁷¹ The numbers presented will not add up to the total number of files (58). This is because some homesteaders in the list had multiple files for their numerous properties. Therefore, they were only counted once.

Chart1.2: Declared Racial Origins



Charts 1.1 and 1.2 show that many immigrants in the sample came to Canada straight from Italy (sixteen) with three additional immigrants in the sample declaring their racial origin as Italian (nineteen), therefore, 49% of the sampled immigrants self-identified as Italian. These figures demonstrate that although the Canadian government did not want Italian agriculturalists in the West, there is no evidence that suggests that they stopped them from taking up homesteads. Instead, it becomes evident that there were Italian immigrants that chose to farm in Saskatchewan.

Alternatively, 51% of the sampled population did not identify with being of Italian origin. The one factor that suggests that they *were* Italian is their last names. It is possible that they moved from Italy to a different country, or were born in different countries to parents of an Italian background before eventually migrating to Saskatchewan. To cite one example, Horace Coviello, an Italian homesteader, declared in his homestead application that he was born in England, but listed in the 1911 census that

his racial origin was Italian.⁷² By identifying with being Italian, Coviello demonstrated that Italian identity transcends political boundaries, since even though he was not born there, he still felt strong ties to Italy. Late professor of social ethics at Harvard University, Robert Foerster, captured this sentiment by describing Italians who lived in other countries by stating, “He clings to Italy, yes, but – Italy is whatever land will give him his bread.”⁷³ Italian immigrants held onto their Italian roots when they lived in other countries by living close to their *paesani*. Chain resident patterns allowed immigrants and their children to remain surrounded by cultural symbols that were brought from Italy.

Culture is shared and transmitted between generations through the use of language, myths, religion and other symbols, and these constitute a major component of how people choose to ethnically identify themselves. Donald Akenson, a historian of Irish immigration, explained that “ethnicity is a perduring cultural characteristic,” meaning that it has influence over future generations.⁷⁴ Therefore, it is important to know an immigrant’s ethnic origin as well as the place that they were born. It is possible that living in England shaped the way Coviello recognized himself, but it would be a mistake to ignore how Italian cultural symbols helped mould his identity.

⁷² *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 1627938 and 1813181, Horace Coviello; 1911 Census of Canada; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 1982004, Ernest Cotti; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 2644707, Gisbatta Volpara; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2723076 and 2710666, Frank Zanetti; 1916 Prairie Census, Dominic Canevaro There were other homesteaders with Italian ethnic backgrounds who share a common story with Coviello. They came to Canada from a country other than Italy, but listed their racial origins as Italian. Dominic Canevaro, Ernest Cotti, Gisbatta Volpara and Frank Zanetti all came to Saskatchewan from Ludlow, Massachusetts but listed their racial origins as Italian on their homestead records or in the census.

⁷³ Robert Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of our Times* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1919),

24.

⁷⁴ Donald H. Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America* (Port Credit: P.D. Meany, 1985), 43.

Horace Coviello's story was not uncommon. People with Italian ethnic origins were living in many different countries. This phenomenon is further demonstrated by studying the experiences of John Antoni. He was a homesteader from the sample who declared that he was born in Russia, but listed his racial origin as German.⁷⁵ He was born in one country and identified with another country, both of which were not Italy. However, it is clear by his last name that his family originated from Italy. In fact, the last name Antoni is common in northern, central and to a lesser extent Southern Italy.⁷⁶ It can therefore be said that his family moved to more than one foreign country in order to seek employment opportunities. Examining this process uncovers the complexity of chain migration and reveals the effects that it has on national identities. There is no evidence within the scope of my research that tells of when his family moved to Germany and to Russia. However, considering what is known about chain migration patterns, it would not be a stretch to consider that immigrants of Italian origins moved to foreign destinations near their *paesani*. If Antoni did, then he would have retained some of the symbols that contributed to an Italian identity.

With knowledge of how the Canadian government, as well as the local populace, perceived Italian immigrants, immigrants of Italian ethnic origins would have seen the benefits to changing their national identity. By changing their national identity, they were able to settle in western Canada without facing the same discrimination they would have felt as "Italians" or immigrants with an Italian background. To cite an example, James

⁷⁵ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 1703244, 1956256, and 1521958, John Antoni.

⁷⁶ Gens, "Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy" <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJhgBWDjrZV> (date accessed October 2012) People with the surname Antoni can be found in Piemonte, Lombardia, Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Toscana, Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Marche, Umbria, Lazio, Sardegna, Sicilia, Puglia and Abruzzo.

Castello recorded in the census that he was born in Ontario but identified his racial origin as Irish.⁷⁷ Elmer Elsworth Rosa, to give another example, stated in his homestead records that he was born in Ontario and his racial origin was English.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, these last names clearly show that they are of an Italian background, a fact confirmed by several websites.⁷⁹ Although it is possible that their statements were valid, it is important to consider that they could have recorded a different racial origin in the census so that they were not identified as an “Italian.” However, their last names betray their Italian ethnic origins.

Italian immigrants were not the only immigrant group that escaped discrimination by changing their identities. Prior to the First World War, German immigrants were regarded highly by the Canadian populace. During the war, the German image began to change to that of “the enemy.” German immigrants reacted to this change in image by altering their national identity. In the 1921 census many German immigrants declared that they were Swedish, Norwegian, and Dutch.⁸⁰ This change was known because even though there was limited immigration during the 1911-1921 decade, the number of Germans in the country went down by roughly the same amount that the Scandinavian

⁷⁷ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 1261978, John Castello; Gens, “Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy” <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJhgBWDjrZV> (date accessed October 2012) Castello is a popular last name in Italy with people residing in Val d’ Aosta, Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardia, Veneto, Trentino Alto Adige, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Toscana, Lazio, Abruzzo, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia and Sardegna.

⁷⁸ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2446757 and 2439504, Elmer Elsworth Rosa; Gens, “Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy” <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJhgBWDjrZV> (date accessed October 2012) Rosa is a popular last name and can be found in every region in Italy.

⁷⁹ Gens, “Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy” <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJhgBWDjrZV> (date accessed October 2012), “Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy” <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJUNotUyCuI> (date accessed October 2012)

⁸⁰ John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 77.

populations increased.⁸¹ By changing their national identity, Germans escaped being ostracized by Canadian society. Similarly, many Italian immigrants were able to settle in Saskatchewan without the stigma of being Italian by declaring that they were of a different ethnic background.

There were many ways that immigrants of Italian ethnic origin ended up homesteading in Saskatchewan. One successful method was through an advertising initiative created by Sifton. Advertisements aimed at attracting potential immigrants to western Canada were circulated in many foreign countries. By 1900 over one million pieces of immigrant literature flooded rural areas in Britain, the United States and other European countries. British and American journalists were also taken on tours of the West, so they could report home about their impressions. It was also not uncommon for advertisements to be featured in newspapers in many countries hoping to attract people to settle the West.⁸² There were many Italian immigrants living in these countries and it is possible that they responded to the advertisements originally aimed at other preferred immigrant groups.

Sifton focused much of the advertising efforts on the United States because he knew that they had farmers who had experienced similar land conditions and had comparable homesteading policies. Americans were also seen as immigrants with sufficient capital and were considered ethnically acceptable. As a result of advertising, American homestead entries in western Canada rose from 164 in 1897 to 1,307 in 1900.⁸³ At the same time, the United States experienced high levels of Italian immigration at the

⁸¹ Ibid., 77.

⁸² D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900 V. 1* (Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1943), 258.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 259.

turn of the century. In 1900 Foerster estimated that 484,027 Italians were living in the United States. By 1910 that figure skyrocketed to 2,104,309.⁸⁴ It is therefore possible that people of Italian ethnic origin in the United States responded to the advertisements made about western Canada and decided to homestead in Saskatchewan.

Rural parts of the United Kingdom also received large-scale advertisements that attempted to attract people to western Canada. The government sent copious advertisements there because Canada was a British nation and it attempted to attract people with an Anglo-Saxon background. These advertisements were important, especially when there was a rise in non-British immigrants.⁸⁵ 10,000 to 11,000 British immigrants arrived in Canada every year, with more of them becoming unskilled labourers than farmers. Italian immigration into the United Kingdom was not an uncommon process. Great numbers of Lombards, Lucchese and Florentines settled in England as early as the thirteen and fourteenth century.⁸⁶ Italians also began making their way to Dublin during this time. They came in even greater numbers in the modern period, travelling to Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland. In fact, 20,000 Italians were counted in England in the 1911 census.⁸⁷ It is clear that at least some of these sojourners later made their way to Saskatchewan, likely drawn by the possibility of owning their own land through the Canadian homesteading program.

As for central Europe, there were eight Italian homesteaders who stated that they travelled from Austria, Hungary or Austria-Hungary (depending on the date). This

⁸⁴ Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of our Times*, 327.

⁸⁵ Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900 V. 1*, 259-260.

⁸⁶ Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of our Times*, 203.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 205.

number is unsurprising, as there had been a large history of Italian settlements in this region. In 1900 the census indicated that there were 63,064 Italians in the country. Robert Foerster stated that this figure should not be taken as a concrete account of the number of Italians in Austria-Hungary at this time because it was taken in the winter months. This number only showed Italians who made an “enduring” stay, discounting the Italian population that came in the summer for seasonal labour.⁸⁸ Despite this discrepancy, this figure demonstrates that there were many Italians who had employment opportunities in this region. The influx of Italians within these borders was largely due to the fact that the two countries border one other. It is not surprising to find that some Italians in Saskatchewan declared that they came to Canada from these countries in their homestead records.

To sum up these findings, it is evident that there were immigrants of Italian ethnic origin who came to homestead in Saskatchewan at the turn of the century. Scholars previously stated that there was little Italian immigrant settlement within the province because most Italian immigrants came to Canada temporarily in search of labour employment opportunities. Once they gained enough capital, they returned home to Italy to reunite with their family. Few seemed interested in permanently settling in Canada, and when they did, most did not have enough capital to establish a farm. The Canadian government also discouraged Italian immigrants from settling in the West because they were perceived as immigrants who could not properly farm or acclimatize into Canadian society. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that suggests that the government did anything to prevent people of Italian ethnic origin to obtain a homestead. It also appears that there

⁸⁸ Ibid., 191.

were immigrants of Italian origin who evaded discrimination by hiding their true identity in the census records. Therefore, there were more Italian homesteaders than scholars have affirmed.

The process of chain migration aided in many immigrants of Italian ethnic origin permanently settling in Saskatchewan. They would travel to different foreign Italian hometown satellites to search for employment. Several began families in these countries, sometimes resulting in national identities being changed. Many still felt ties to Italy even though they originated or lived in a different country. This tie to their homeland was the result of the immigrant moving close to their *paesani* while in foreign countries. Through chain resident patterns, immigrants were able to retain the cultural symbols that they brought with them, allowing them to hold onto their Italian identity. Therefore, being “Italian” is more of a communal construct, rather than a notion fixed by national borders.

Sixteen immigrants from the sample of homesteaders moved to Saskatchewan straight from Italy. Meanwhile, twenty-three individuals with Italian ethnic origins moved to Saskatchewan from other countries around the world. The spelling and sound of these immigrant’s last names solidifies that their families originated in Italy- as confirmed by the onomastic websites. These numbers combined proves that there were more Italian immigrants than scholars originally speculated who decided to try their hand at homesteading in Saskatchewan at the turn of the century. By declaring that they were of a different national identity on their Canadian documentation, whether purposefully or not, they were able to settle in Saskatchewan without facing the same discrimination that they would have felt if they stated that they were from Italy.

Chapter Two **Nothing to Offend the Plough**

Many immigrants were drawn to settle in Saskatchewan between 1896 and 1930 because of homesteading opportunities. To many newcomers, the idea of settling the West was a dream come true, due to the fact that they were given 160 acres of land for a small application fee of ten dollars. Italian immigrants were no exception. They too sought opportunities where they could not only better their own lives, but their family's lives as well. Canada's Interior Minister Clifford Sifton discouraged Italian immigration to Saskatchewan, instead encouraging "more suitable" immigrants to settle the new frontier. It was a popular belief at the time that Italian immigrants could not engage in successful agricultural endeavours. This belief occurred because Italians often engaged in labour employment. The government also affirmed that Italian immigrants could not properly assimilate into Canadian society. This chapter will show that Italian immigrants were successful farmers and members of their communities, disproving the views held by the Canadian government that Italian immigrants were not ideal farmers or settlers of the West.

Sifton measured homesteaders' success by whether they could be self-sufficient while fulfilling their homesteading obligations.⁸⁹ When they were able to complete their homesteading requirements, a patent was granted. By 1930, the Canadian government had set aside 99,000,000 acres of western land for this purpose. Of this number, approximately 58,225,000 acres (or 58.8%) were patented or remained under homestead

⁸⁹ Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 105.

in 1930.⁹⁰ This success rate can be compared to the number of Italian homesteaders that received a patent for their land. Thirty-eight, out of the fifty-eight files examined, stated that the applicant was issued a patent for their land, demonstrating that they were able to maintain a successful homestead and fulfill the requirements set forth by the Dominion Lands Act. This data reveals that the majority of Italian homesteaders were successful farmers, with 65.5% of them gaining a patent for their land – proving Italians to be more successful than the western Canadian total average.⁹¹ Evidence from the homestead records suggests that many of them were able to gain a patent because they had some form of capital. It also appears that many of them acquired land that was ideal for farming and many also settled close to family members or other Italian immigrants.

Another way to measure the success of a homesteader is to determine whether a pre-emption application was filed.⁹² Eleven, or 18.9%, of the sampled homesteaders had information in their files indicating their application for a pre-emption. Of this number, six gained a patent for their pre-emption and five did not have records in their homesteading files declaring the outcome of their pre-emption. It appears that there could be other properties in the sample that were a pre-emption, because some individuals had adjoining properties. It was never stated, however, whether a pre-emption was applied

⁹⁰ Chester Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 171.

⁹¹ There are some files in the sample that do not state whether a patent was issued or not. Therefore, the percentage given cannot be taken as entirely accurate because it is based on the extant information. However, the percentage given above (65.5%) still lends to the conclusion that Italians were successful homesteaders. If a percentage is created from the files that provide information on whether a homestead was patented or abandoned (47 files), then the percent raises to 80.85%.

⁹² Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Thomas, 160-167. The pre-emption came into effect in 1874, allowing homesteaders to apply for an unclaimed, adjoining quarter section of land as soon as a patent was received for their original quarter section. It was a very popular choice at the time, with half of the settlers applying for one. This privilege was terminated in 1890, only to be reissued again in 1908. The pre-emption was later repealed in 1918 and replaced by the Soldier's Grant Act. After the homesteader applied for a pre-emption, similar homesteading duties were to be performed.

for. Therefore, the number of pre-emptions among the sample may not be entirely accurate, but it nevertheless demonstrates that there were multiple individuals in the position of acquiring a second land holding. After a patent was granted to a pre-emption landholder the settler had to pay a governmentally determined fixed-price for this land.⁹³

By 1890, Dominion officials believed that one homestead was enough for cultivation and that a pre-emption often times became burdensome. It was typical for settlers to receive a patent for their original homestead and then mortgage that interest in an effort to raise sufficient funds for their pre-emptions (even if it had no immediate use to them). Potentially, a poor harvest could result in both of their properties being lost.⁹⁴ Therefore, pre-emptions were often difficult to manage and proved to be more onerous than beneficial to some settlers. Since there were many Italian homesteaders with a second property, and the majority was granted a patent, it would appear that they possessed enough capital to purchase the land and held the requisite farming experience needed to fulfill homesteading policy requirements.

There was an alternative way for successful individuals to obtain a second homestead. If it was not possible to obtain an adjoining quarter section, then there was the option of purchasing a homestead within a nine-mile radius of their original plot of land. In order to purchase a second homestead, the applicant had to pay the government the amount of three dollars per acre, making the total amount due on a 160-acre lot \$960.⁹⁵ One-third of this purchase had to be paid up front, while the remaining debt was

⁹³ Kirk N. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands, 1870-1930* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991), 25.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁹⁵ In 1914, the year that the bank of Canada begins its' inflation calculator, \$1 equals \$20.69 in 2012. This means that \$960 spent on an additional homestead in 1914 would equate to spending \$19,867.12 today;

to be paid back in yearly installments. The general consensus of homesteaders was that a 360-acre farm was much better than the original 160-acre plot because it could produce more grain.⁹⁶ Larger holdings were sometimes necessary to make the farm operation more economical, and were often crucial, particularly considering how common it was to possess land unfit for cultivation. No homesteaders in the sample have documentation in their files that say whether they had purchased homesteads. But, there are individuals in the sample who have a second homestead and do not declare how it was obtained, so it is possible that their second holding could have been acquired through this method. It is therefore reasonable to assume that there were individuals with enough wealth to purchase and run a second homestead.

An example of the costs involved when an individual had two properties can be found in the experiences of Paul Ghiglione. He obtained his homestead in the rural municipality of Hillsborough on March 30, 1911. He spent \$700 erecting buildings on his property as well as putting in a well. He later acquired a patent for his land in 1914. In 1911 he applied for a pre-emption and spent an additional \$900 on erecting buildings.⁹⁷ A total of \$1300 was spent on purchasing and erecting buildings, excluding any other funds that may have been spent on acquiring animals, seeds for harvest, and basic necessities.⁹⁸

Despite the number of properties acquired, capital was needed to run a successful homestead. When individuals first arrived, they usually found vast, open land that needed

certainly not an insignificant figure; Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed July 18, 2012)

⁹⁶ Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, 163.

⁹⁷ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 2376737 and 2376309, Paul Ghiglione.

⁹⁸ \$1300 spent in 1914 on an additional homestead and erecting buildings would equate to spending \$26,433 in today's standards; Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed July 18, 2012)

to be broken and cultivated; therefore, they needed to obtain farm equipment. They also had to build a home and a shelter for their animals; wells were also needed in order to obtain drinking water. Some homesteaders in the sample had enough capital to comfortably settle onto their homestead land, while others endured a greater struggle. Marco Ferrara exemplified an Italian homesteader who was able to invest large sums of capital in his land. He had two homestead properties in Hillsborough that he was able to significantly upgrade. On his first homestead, he erected a 26x38 foot lumber barn worth \$3,000. He also built a 24x36 foot barn estimated at \$500 and three granaries valued at \$900. He had two wells valued at \$500 and \$450 worth of fencing. Ferrara was granted a patent for his first property in 1914. On his second property, a 12x24 foot home valued at \$150 was built, as well as a granary that cost \$75, and a barn valued a \$225. He also erected thirty acres of fencing that was valued at \$60. For his efforts, Ferrara was granted a patent for his second property in 1920.⁹⁹ He spent a total of \$5,350 building on both properties.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, John Marno, who settled in Dufferin in 1905, invested less capital into his property. He declared that he spent \$75 on a 14x16 foot house and \$100 on a 16x14 foot stable. He met all of the requirements asked of him in the homestead policy and was therefore granted a patent for his land. Even though it appears that he did not have a large sum of capital due to the minimal amount built on his homestead, Marno was still able to attain success through his ability to farm the land. He cultivated twenty-

⁹⁹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376706 and 2386279, Marco Ferrara.

¹⁰⁰ \$5,350 spent in 1914 would equate to spending \$110,717.80 today. This is a large sum even by present standards; Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed July 18, 2012)

six acres of land and possessed four head of cattle by 1908.¹⁰¹ He put hard work into the land and made a profit as a result.

The vast majority of Italian immigrants coming to Canada did not possess sufficient capital to permanently settle in the West. A dearth of funds helps explain why many Italian immigrants engaged in wage labour jobs. Labour employment typically offered higher wages, proving to be more appealing to many immigrants. Franc Sturino, scholar of Italian immigrant history at York University, had an informant who explained that he once worked on a farm in Ontario but decided to leave because he could earn in a week working in Toronto what he earned monthly doing agricultural work.¹⁰² Consequently, a large percentage of Italians temporarily migrated to Canada to find labour employment. For these sojourners, farming was not a logical option because it was permanent and produced less capital gains than construction projects. Nevertheless, there were Italian immigrants who decided to permanently settle in the West to farm.

The Statistical data that has been collected proves that a majority of the Italian homesteaders who decided to settle in Saskatchewan had enough wealth to initially commence their homestead and were successful enough with their farming endeavours to maintain them. For many this reality was made possible by temporarily leaving the farm to engage in labour employment. For instance, when John Bisaro was not tending to his farm he worked as a miner and as a railroad labourer to gain extra income so that he could erect buildings and fencing on his property.¹⁰³ Similarly, John Marno worked as a

¹⁰¹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 139991A, John Marno.

¹⁰² Franc Sturino, "Italian Immigration to Canada and the Farm Labour System Through the 1920s: General Pattern of Immigration," in *The Italian Immigration Experience*, ed. John Potestio and Antonio Pucci (Thunder Bay: Canadian Italian Historical Association, 1988), 72.

¹⁰³ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 2396684, John Bisaro.

seed thrasher in order to help build a successful farm. Frank Zanetti, Angelo Fincati, Guiseppe Traverso and Camillo Pellegrini made the popular choice of working on nearby farms for extra income.¹⁰⁴ Such determination shows homesteaders dedication to their land, their work ethic and will to succeed in the West. These characteristics were present in many other Italian homesteaders in the West; many of them worked hard to find success for themselves and their families.

Of the fifty-eight homestead files examined, seventeen properties were those of single men who attempted to make a living in rural Saskatchewan. Creating a successful homestead was more difficult to do without any aid. Strict requirements were to be met in order to gain a patent, which included cultivating their land and erecting a shelter while simultaneously running their own households. Despite the hardship that these Italian immigrant men faced, fifteen of those single homesteaders received a patent for their land within the three-year period (88.2%).¹⁰⁵ Operating a household while maintaining their farmland would have been particularly challenging, especially compared to immigrants who had a wife and children to help with domestic duties.

To cite one example, Teresa Canevaro of Hillsborough contributed to her family's homestead by engaging in wage labour. Her family left Italy for Massachusetts in 1906. In 1912 they decided to homestead in Saskatchewan. Teresa helped her family by working in a bakeshop where she would sell bread and donuts. On top of this

¹⁰⁴ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 3189201, Angelo Fincati; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2771502 and 2772158, Guiseppe Traverso; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2710666 and 2723076, Frank Zanetti; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 3129232, Camillo Pellegrini;

¹⁰⁵ Paul Rosso had his property patented but it was later declared abandoned due to a bureaucratic procedure because he was offered a Soldier grant, meaning that it was not truly abandoned. His property was counted among those that received a patent.

responsibility, she also tended to the baker's nine children. This job offered \$15 per month and it included room and board. She lived away from her family in order to send them her wages. She recalled only being employed at this job for three months because she found it very difficult. She found other jobs to bring wages into the household that included being a chambermaid for a hotel and being a translator for the Canadian Pacific Railway.¹⁰⁶ Canevaro's wages helped her family by allowing them to purchase equipment they needed to run a successful homestead.

Without the help of a wife and family to run a household, the strategy of many single Italian men was to live close to kin to attain extra help. For example, Paul Rosso, single upon his arrival in Hillsborough, chose to apply for a homestead near his father, Vittorio.¹⁰⁷ However, getting help from other homesteaders was not exclusive to single males. Harvesting bees – defined as groups of neighbours coming together to help one another - became an important feature of prairie lifestyle and lent to the success of many homesteads. Luigi Fincati recalled that there were ten to twelve Italian families near his family's homestead in St. Breaux. One year, they decided that the houses on their homesteads were too small, so they congregated and hauled logs to each other's homesteads in order to erect new structures. Unfortunately, many of these houses were never completed because it turned out that most of the families did not have enough money to put up roofs.¹⁰⁸ In spite of this setback, it is evident that neighbours looked out

¹⁰⁶ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-256, Teresa Canavero, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

¹⁰⁷ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376704 and 2386384, Paul Rosso; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376712 and 3915977, Vittorio Rosso.

¹⁰⁸ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-255 side B, Dominic Canavero, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

for each other and helped build communal solidarity. Another example came from Dominic Canevaro of Hillsborough. He remembered that if someone was sick during seeding season all neighbours would help him.¹⁰⁹ Such oral histories help provide a human element to the statistical data presented by the homesteading records.

Harvest bees were not ethnically exclusive networks; in fact, there were many interactions between immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds. Fred Stambrook and Stella Hryniuk, both professors of history at the University of Manitoba, believed that ethnic groups should be analyzed in terms of their relationships with their neighbouring immigrants. Their account examined Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian immigrants in rural Manitoba and argued that these immigrants interacted with each other because they brought with them a “geographic empathy,” meaning that they imagined doing well in another geographic location.¹¹⁰ To explain, each immigrant group exhibited the desire to better their lives in Canada and these aspirations made them sympathetic to other immigrants also attempting to find similar success. There was an inherent understanding in prairie culture that pioneering in the West was often difficult, and thus neighbours often became support networks for one another. John Lehr, Geography professor at the University of Winnipeg, furthered this argument, stating that having immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds in one region often led to higher collaboration. For example, he explained how the United Church of Canada was created through Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches merging with one another, and that this

¹⁰⁹ Teresa Canavero, audio tape A-256.

¹¹⁰ Fred Stambrook, Stella Hryniuk, “Who were they Really? Reflection on Eastern European Immigrants to Manitoba Before 1914,” in *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009), 457.

phenomenon resulted from the cooperation of different ethnic groups in the West.¹¹¹ Italian immigrants often settled in Saskatchewan communities with people of varying backgrounds where a shared sense of purpose was common.

Ethnic cooperation can be witnessed in August Bono's experience. He possessed little capital upon arrival to Saskatchewan. He came to homestead in the Hillsborough municipality because of family connections. Although he lived close to relatives, Bono spoke most fondly of Tom McCreate, one of his neighbours, who lent him seeds and gave him horses. Bono then worked for McCreate for four years to procure extra income. He called him "dad" and said that McCreate would give him anything that he needed, declaring, "he had never found a man in his life like that man."¹¹² Evidently, McCreate helped Bono establish his homestead and in doing so, gave him the extra help that was needed. Bono and his family temporarily returned to Italy, only to migrate back to Saskatchewan in 1949. The Bono family chose to re-settle in Hillsborough where he later retired on the family farm.¹¹³

The Saskatchewan Resource Commission estimated that cancellations of homesteads between 1911 and 1931 made up 63,159 out of the total 110,303 entries, (a cancellation rate of approximately 57%). This number is higher than the national number of cancelled Dominion lands, which rested at 41%.¹¹⁴ After examining the number of cancellations filed by Italian homesteaders in the sample, it can be concluded that nine or

¹¹¹ John Lehr, "The Geographical Background to Church Union in Canada," in *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009), 543-556.

¹¹² *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-260 side B, August Bono, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 24, 1973.

¹¹³ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980* (Crestwynd Saskatchewan: C.C. Club, 1980), 311.

¹¹⁴ Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Thomas, 172.

15.5% of the properties tended by Italian homesteaders had been abandoned.¹¹⁵ Based on this percentage, it can be deduced that Italian homesteaders were quite capable of performing agricultural endeavours. Their cancellation rate falls well below the total cancellation rate seen in the province at this time.

It is possible that those Italian homesteaders who failed at receiving a patent for their land did so because of poor land conditions rather than having little agricultural experience, or being inherently unable to perform required homesteading duties. When homesteads were first surveyed in the 1870s, government surveyors assumed that all land in the West was ideal for farming. When the property lines were created they cut through the land, disregarding swamps, sloughs, lakes, rivers, aspen groves, and the boreal forest.¹¹⁶ Therefore, some homestead plots were much better suited for agricultural activities than others. The conditions of the land made it difficult for some homesteaders to successfully perform agricultural tasks, regardless of their efforts. The existence of poor land conditions aids in understanding why it was difficult for some homesteaders to acquire a patent.

The government allowed immigrants to choose their homestead plot from land that was open for settlement. Many chose their land based on emotion rather than rational decisions. Some settlers chose their land based on its familiarity to their country

¹¹⁵ There are some files in the sample that do not state whether a patent was issued or not. Therefore, the percentage given cannot be taken as entirely accurate because it is based on the extant information. However, the percentage given above (15.5%) still lends to the conclusion that Italians were successful homesteaders. If a percentage is created from the files that provide information on whether a homestead was patented or abandoned (47 files), then the percentage raises to 19.14%.

¹¹⁶ John C. Lehr, John Everitt and Simon Russell, "The Making of the Prairie Landscape," in *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009), 18.

of origin, whether that meant settling near kin or that the land's physical features reminded them of home.¹¹⁷ One westerner recalled:

one of the strangest land seeking phenomena was the way in which experienced farmers, after trailing over innumerable townships in which there was nothing to offend the plough, would choose some stony lot which, compared to what they might have had, was too poor to raise a disturbance on it.¹¹⁸

It is possible that there were Italian immigrants who chose rocky or hilly land that resembled the mountainous features of northern Italy. Others simply did not know enough about how to choose land because Italy's land was already cultivated, leaving many immigrants inexperienced in how to appraise land in its natural state.¹¹⁹

To cite one example, Angelo Fincati aided another homesteader who chose his land in St. Breaux. Both men reached the corner of the quarter section that they were examining and saw six acres of flat land. Fincati's companion took one look at that corner and did not want to see the rest; it seemed to be plenty for him! Luigi Fincati, Angelo's son, stated that both men had no grasp of what proper agricultural land looked like. The quarter section was eventually turned into a community pasture because it was not suitable for homesteading. Luigi stated that his father had no farming experience coming to Saskatchewan. He remarked, "He had no more of a clue of farming than I did

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹⁸ Beecham Trotter, *A Horseman and the West* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1925), 40 quoted in John C. Lehr, John Everitt and Simon Russell, "The Making of the Prairie Landscape," in *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009), 35.

¹¹⁹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-307 side A, Luigi Fincati, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, August 2, 1973.

of being an astronaut!” Although Angelo did not provide good advice to his friend, he was still able to learn enough about farming to receive a patent for his own land.¹²⁰

Two homesteaders stated in their notice of abandonment that their land was unsuitable for farming. Pedro Morello described the poor conditions of his farmland by declaring, “the land is only ravine banks and gullies.”¹²¹ Stanley Carpani stated that his land was “too much alkalic.” This evidence does not suggest that these homesteaders were inadequate farmers. Instead, it is more indicative that they were burdened with homestead land that was extremely difficult to cultivate.

After homestead land was abandoned, homesteaders were given the opportunity to apply for re-entry on another plot of homestead land. Of the homesteaders who abandoned their land, one person did not ask for permission to take up another homestead. Two asked for permission from the government for re-entry. An additional two were re-granted their land through the Soldier Land Grants.¹²² The remaining four files had no information regarding whether the applicant had the intention of applying for another homestead. This data shows that there were homesteaders who had the goal to continue homesteading, even though they abandoned their original plot of land, lending to the conclusion that their cancellation had little to do with their farming abilities.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File number 486099, Pedro Morello.

¹²² Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands, 1870-1930*, 29-32; Marco Ferrara, homestead file; Paul Rosso, homestead file; These grants were issued under the Soldier’s Settlement Act of 1917 and were given to men who fought during World War I. It gave soldiers quarter sections of land without them paying the original fee. Although they did not have to pay for their homesteads, they still had to perform their usual homesteading duties within the usual three-year period. Paul Rosso and Marco Ferrara both fought alongside the Italian army. The government cancelled Ferrara and Rosso’s homesteads with the intention of re-issuing them back, under Soldier Land Grant Status. They were therefore, keeping their homestead land. This reason for cancellation further display that their homesteads were not cancelled on account of their lack of farming skills.

The Canadian government did not approve of Italian immigration to Canada because it viewed them as “town dwellers,” poor farmers, and incapable of assimilating into Canadian society. Regardless, the Italian homesteading experience suggests that many Italians successfully integrated into Canadian life (whether assimilation was beneficial or not), disproving the view held by the government. Interestingly enough, the Italian immigrant experience bore many similarities to that of other ethnic groups in the prairies. Chain migration was an important vehicle that resulted in ethnic groups settling near one another.¹²³ Members of such ethnic groups communed together for assistance and comfort in an unfamiliar host society. Upon entering Canada, they were asked to adapt to life in their new country, meaning that they needed to learn the English language, abide by new laws, and accept their position as a minority group.¹²⁴ This pressure resulted in many immigrant groups having to make the choice between assimilating into Canadian society or remaining separate. In some cases, ethnic and religious groups, like the Mormons, Hutterites and Doukhobors, became “self-consciously more distinctive” as a result of missing their homeland and the hostile attitudes that they experienced from Anglo-Canadian society.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, there were ethnic groups that assimilated into Canadian society in the attempt to achieve a better life for themselves and their family. These homesteaders, working alone or together with neighbours, determined their success and this could not be attributed to governmental expectations.

¹²³ Hansgeorg Schlichtmann, “Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research on Western Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 2, (1977): 16-17.

¹²⁴ Royden Loewen, *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 2002), 4.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

The Italian immigrant's involvement in communal life displayed their ability to assimilate into Canadian society. C.A. Dawson, pioneering sociologist at McGill University, believed that mixed communities in the rural West, meaning communities containing people of different ethnic backgrounds, experienced assimilation more rapidly. Conversely, members of ethnically exclusive communities assimilated at a much slower rate, usually over multiple generations.¹²⁶ Although the latter had schools that taught their children a government-approved curriculum (in English), they were still surrounded by people who had the same ethnic background as them. For example, there were two Catholic German settlements in Saskatchewan, St. Peters and St. Joseph, formed at the turn of the century, which remained ethnically exclusive. These communities came into existence so that immigrants could surround themselves with people that were German *and* Catholic, ensuring that their folk traditions and beliefs remained intact.¹²⁷ Exclusive communities like these assimilated at a slower pace compared to mixed communities because they remained surrounded by cultural symbols, in a similar manner as language. Considering that Italians settled in mixed communities, they were exposed more readily to the English language and Canadian customs, leading to a faster assimilation rate.

Many examples derived from the audiotapes show that homesteading Italian immigrants embraced the English language. Teresa Canevaro remarked that while in the United States she studied English, French and Polish - leading to her becoming a

¹²⁶ C.A. Dawson, Eva R. Young, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process* (Toronto: MacMillan Co., Ltd., 1940), 38.

¹²⁷ Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*, 276-278.

translator in Canada.¹²⁸ Mrs. Mazzei decided to speak only English in her home in order to celebrate the new country that she lived in.¹²⁹ To cite another example, Luigi Fincati discussed his mother's English abilities: he commented that her vocabulary was not the most extensive but that she spoke "nicely and clearly." He admitted that he sometimes struggled with the Italian language, and could only speak 80% of it. Fincati learned to speak English in school with other immigrant children, though he remembered his parents speaking Italian at home. When one of his parents would ask him a question in Italian, he often responded in English. He stated that his parents knew enough English that they did not mind.¹³⁰ Learning the English language was a cornerstone in assimilating to Canadian culture, and it is clear from the sources that many Italian families embraced the new language in order to better adapt to their new surroundings.

Italian immigrants also embraced many other aspects of Canadian life. To cite one example, Fincati discussed his feelings regarding distinct ethnic groups, believing above all else that ethnic groups should not segregate themselves from the larger Canadian culture. Although he was asked to join the local Italian club, he ultimately refused because he felt so far removed from being "Italian." Despite being able to converse in Italian and partaking in its cuisine, Fincati did not consider himself to be a true Italian, instead feeling more like a Canadian.¹³¹

Another key aspect demonstrating that Italian homesteaders were accepted into their multi-ethnic communities was that they often attended communal gatherings.

¹²⁸ Teresa Canevaro, audio tape A-256 side A.

¹²⁹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-311 side B, Frank Mazzei, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, July 16, 1973.

¹³⁰ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-308 side A, Luigi Fincati, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, August 2, 1973.

¹³¹ Luigi Fincati, audio tape A-308 side B.

Individuals farming on the prairies were no strangers to the feelings of isolation that accompanied it. Social gatherings became an important part of community life in rural Saskatchewan. Italian homesteaders were often invited to local social events by their Italian and non-Italian counterparts. Teresa Canevaro vividly remembered attending house parties in the Old Wives district. While there, she would enjoy listening to organ, guitar and violin music, and would eat food brought by members of the community.¹³² Giovanni Bono recalled that he went to dances as often as three times per week. He would dance with the English girls because none of the Italian women wanted to dance with him.¹³³ Fincati cited that “the social life was tremendous,” and there was a dance every Friday night. The music started at 8:30 P.M. and they danced until the early hours of Saturday morning. He also recalled learning the violin so he could play music at house parties. Fincati stated that he never once felt discrimination at social gatherings; in fact, he spoke of those events very fondly.¹³⁴

Picnics were another popular activity engaged in by homesteaders. Fincati recalled that everyone from miles around would participate. Parents often enjoyed going to neighbours’ homes to share dinner.¹³⁵ These types of social events display that Italian homesteaders were active and accepted members within their communities. They often engaged in events with people of multiple ethnic origins. All three informants who discussed their memories of social events listed that they were Italian in their homestead

¹³² Teresa Canavero, audio tape A-256 side A.

¹³³ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-257 side A, Giovanni Bono, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

¹³⁴ Luigi Fincati, audio tape A-307 side A.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

or census records, and none of them reported discrimination on account of their ethnic heritage.

To sum up, it is clear that Italian immigrants were successful homesteaders in Saskatchewan, despite the popular belief that they could not be prosperous farmers. When Italians came to Canada, it was common for them to find temporary labour employment opportunities in big cities that paid high wages. Many of them chose wage labour over the opportunity to settle in the West. Those who did choose to farm found themselves in uncertain and volatile conditions, where decisions about what land to settle on could be the determining factor of success. Nevertheless, there *were* Italian immigrants who chose to settle in Saskatchewan during the boom homesteading years in the early twentieth century. Despite the fact that Italian immigrants were believed to have inadequate farming skills, the majority of them flourished in the prairies, often gaining a patent and making a successful living. Moreover, many of them were prosperous enough to even acquire a second property, showing that Italian immigrants had enough capital and farming experience to manage more than one property.

Italian homesteaders were not just successful farmers. They were also able to integrate themselves into Canadian society by becoming active members in their community. Many embraced the English language, helping them to feel more Canadian. They also engaged in numerous social events with neighbours of different ethnic backgrounds as a way of coping with feelings of isolation that were common to prairie homesteaders. None of the informants who discussed their memories of social events mentioned suffering discrimination.

Chapter Three: Hillsborough: It Looked Like a Dream Come True

Many Italian homesteaders settled in the rural municipality of Hillsborough no. 132, more specifically in the hamlet of Old Wives. Hillsborough is situated southwest of the city of Moose Jaw in Southern Saskatchewan. There were fifteen homesteaders of Italian origin in Hillsborough that farmed twenty-four properties. These farmers account for twenty-six percent of the sampled population of Italian homesteaders examined.¹³⁶ The Italian population in Hillsborough will be used as a case study in order to demonstrate that Italians did find success in Saskatchewan, despite the popular belief at the time that they could not thrive in the prairies. Stories of how these Italian immigrants came to settle together through chain migration will be examined, demonstrating the different avenues taken that ultimately led to finding a home in Saskatchewan. When examining the chain migration process, themes of family, identity and the hopes for creating a better life will be highlighted. Once it has been established how these immigrants came to settle in Hillsborough, the focus will then shift to their success rate as homesteaders. Here, the conclusion will be made that they had a distinctly high success rate, often owning more than one property. Lastly, this chapter will showcase the efforts made by many of these settlers to build and celebrate their community of Hillsborough.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ The figure representing the number of homesteaders only account for those who filed a homestead application under the Dominion Lands policy. It does not include the family members of said applicants. A chart displaying the family members can be seen in the appendix.

¹³⁷ Arthur S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement and "Dominion Lands" Policy V.2* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1938), 96-112. The fact that the Hillsborough community identified with a particular ethnic group was not rare. It was quite common for immigrants of similar ethnic backgrounds to congregate in the same area; Italian immigrants are not unique in this regard. There were two different kinds of communities created as a result of the influx of immigrants: mixed communities, where there were people of different ethnic backgrounds who settled in the same area, and settlements that were ethnically exclusive. Hillsborough was a mixed community with a strong Italian influence. At the pioneering stage of development in the prairies many different settlements were created with an ethnic

The rural municipality of Hillsborough became a popular destination among the Italian population in Saskatchewan because of the influence of Albino Ernest Cotti. He was originally a lawyer in Minnesota but in 1908 he moved to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan after he was attracted to farming by Canadian homesteading policies.¹³⁸ He immediately filed for an application to homestead and settled on 160 acres in Hillsborough. After becoming acquainted with the homesteading requirements, he began attracting other Italian immigrants to inhabit the surrounding area.¹³⁹ Cotti successfully recruited other Italian immigrants by putting an advertisement in the *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* newspaper distributed in the United States. By the 1910s, this paper was widely circulated, selling 90,000 to 100,000 copies daily.¹⁴⁰ The advertisement claimed that homesteading was a great opportunity for those interested in agriculture. It thoroughly explained homesteading duties that needed to be performed in Saskatchewan in order to obtain a land patent. Immigrants who became interested in settling in the Hillsborough municipality contacted Cotti directly to better understand the process.¹⁴¹

designation. To give a few examples, there was a French settlement near Duck Lake established in 1893, a Ukrainian settlement close to Fish Creek created in 1897, and a Doukhobor settlement that was started in 1899. Communities like these experienced many similarities to the Hillsborough community. Like the Italian immigrants in Hillsborough, members of these communities were minority groups becoming acquainted with Canadian customs. What makes Hillsborough an important study is that it was a successful Italian community in an area where farming proved onerous at a time when Italians were not preferred settlers.

¹³⁸ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980* (Crestwynd Saskatchewan: C.C. Club, 1980), 309.

¹³⁹ It was never specified why Cotti decided to attract other Italians to settle in Hillsborough. It can be speculated that he wanted people of a similar ethnic origin to settle nearby for solidarity. Surrounding himself with people of an Italian background would bring a sense of familiarity to a foreign place.

¹⁴⁰ Giorgio Bertellini, "Shipwrecked Spectators: Italy's Immigrants at the Movies in New York, 1906-1916," *The Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film and Television* 44 (1999): 43.

¹⁴¹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-256 side A, Dominic Canevaro, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

The advertisement attracted considerable attention from the Italian-American community. Several informants from the oral history tapes reported on the success of the advertisement, mentioning that many Italian immigrants in their community came from the United States to settle in Hillsborough because of it. The idea of moving to Saskatchewan appealed to many because they could obtain extensive amounts of land for a small fee of \$10.¹⁴²

After the newspaper advertisement, there was an influx of Italians with ambitions to pioneer in the West. Vittorio Rosso arrived with his sons Paul and Giovanni from Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy and they all applied for their own homesteads. Vittorio also brought his wife Delfina, and his younger daughters Francesca and Teresa, as well as his young son Natale. Paul Ghiglione came from Asti, Piedmont, Italy and set up a homestead in the area. Finally, Marco Ferrara came with his wife Maria his daughter Eva and his son Alfio from Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy, to settle in the community.¹⁴³ These three families, along with Cotti, helped establish Hillsborough as a community with a strong Italian influence.¹⁴⁴ After they settled there, many other Italian families followed.

It is important to mention that Hillsborough did not develop as an ethnically homogeneous rural community. There were more families with different ethnic backgrounds that made up the municipality. Nevertheless, there were many Italian families that settled there. It is typical for immigrants of the same ethnic background to settle together, often for assistance in transitioning to the Canadian physical and social

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ It was never specified how the Rosso, Ferrara and Ghiglione families heard of homesteading in Hillsborough.

¹⁴⁴ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 309.

environment.¹⁴⁵ They aided each other in understanding the English language, as well as Canadian homesteading policies. They helped each other with agricultural endeavours like erecting farming structures, breaking the land and planting. They also provided social support for one another, creating a sense of community by hosting and participating in communal events. Cotti aided Italians emigrating from the United States by explaining Canadian homestead policies and helping them pick land on the Canadian plains. The allure of an Italian community eased the minds of many who were unsure of their agricultural skills in a foreign place, since assistance would be forthcoming if it was needed. Dominic Canevaro recalled that communal aid and reciprocity were prevalent even in the early homesteading years.¹⁴⁶

The aforementioned newspaper advertisement attracted some Italian immigrants to settle in Saskatchewan. However, the story of how Italian immigrants came to settle in Hillsborough is much more complex. Italian immigrants often moved to one or more destinations before settling in Saskatchewan. To cite an example, Canevaro, was born in Garbagna, Piedmont, Italy and lived there for most of his adolescent years. In 1907, when he was sixteen years old, he decided to join his cousin to work at a plantation in Argentina. He returned to Italy for a year, but when the universal draft was adopted in Italy his father convinced him to move to the United States. Canevaro immigrated to live near another cousin in Ludlow, Massachusetts where he found work on the railway. He later found other employment opportunities in New England and Eastern Canada.¹⁴⁷ He made his final move to Hillsborough in 1915 to join his cousin-in law, Paul Ghiglione,

¹⁴⁵ Hansgeorg Schlichtmann, "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research on Western Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 2, (1977): 11.

¹⁴⁶ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-256 side A.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

who was already an established homesteader.¹⁴⁸ When Canavero was asked about his experience farming in Saskatchewan he stated that it “looked like a dream come true, you see, all kinds of opportunities for anybody who was willing to sacrifice some of their good times.”¹⁴⁹ His story demonstrates the multifaceted nature of Italian immigration to Saskatchewan by looking at the different countries he moved to in order to find economic opportunities. Many took a circuitous route before their final settlement in the province.

On many occasions Italian settlers in Hillsborough asked their family from Italy to join them in the province. Guiseppe Traverso first came to Hillsborough in 1914 and one year later his brother Giovanni joined him.¹⁵⁰ John and August Bono also heard about homesteading opportunities in Hillsborough from their sister Lucia Rosso, who was married to Paul Rosso; both brothers came from Italy to settle in the region.¹⁵¹ Stories like these are common, as there were often intricate social networks that brought immigrants to Canada. Kinship was an important cornerstone of the chain migration process. Hillsborough developed a strong Italian influence as a result of homesteaders persuading family members from Italy and the United States to join them in the prairies.

Examining statistical data helps to further elucidate the complexity of the chain migration process. All of these homesteaders declared their racial origins as Italian either in the census records or in their homestead applications. It is important to note that this number is not representative of the province of Saskatchewan. As was seen in Chapter

¹⁴⁸ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 310; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-254 side A, Dominic Canavero, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

¹⁴⁹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape file number A-254 side A, Dominic Canavero, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

¹⁵⁰ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 310.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 310.

One, there was a percentage of immigrants of Italian ethnic origin whose identities changed in order to better assimilate into Canadian society. The Italian immigrants of Hillsborough were an exception since the majority of them stated that they came from Italy. It is possible that they did not change their identity because many of them decided to settle near one another in one community. Other Italian immigrants in the province settled in mixed communities that consisted of far fewer Italians.

Of the fifteen Italian homesteaders in Hillsborough, four of those who filed for an application stated that they moved to Saskatchewan after spending time in the United States. Three of which stated in their homestead application forms that they were from Ludlow, Massachusetts.¹⁵² Therefore, there were Italians who came from the same region of Massachusetts and they migrated to another region together. It is possible that many Italians that emigrated from the United States to Hillsborough came via the Soo line. This line was a branch of the CPR that ran northwest from St. Paul Minnesota to Moose Jaw. This line drew in many settlers from the Dakotas, Minnesota and to a lesser extent other Midwestern states.¹⁵³

A large proportion of the sample (eleven) declared that they were from Italy. This figure most likely indicates that they came directly to Canada from Italy, although it is possible that they moved to other countries first. An interesting point of reference is that eight of these immigrants came from the northern region of Piedmont. This region, which borders France and Switzerland, is one of twenty found in Italy. It is enclosed by the Alps

¹⁵² Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-256 side A. The number given does not take into account Italian women that may have come from Massachusetts. For example, Canevaro's wife, Teresa, stated that she had lived there with her family. She did not meet her husband until settling in Hillsborough, even though he also came from Massachusetts.

¹⁵³ Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 69.

and the Apennines and consists of rolling hills upward of 1,000 feet in height. These highlands are ideal for vineyards making Piedmont a leading viticultural region.¹⁵⁴ The region also consists of low-lying land close to the banks of the Po River and its tributaries, making it ideal for farming wheat, maize, and rice.¹⁵⁵ Four Italian homesteaders from Piedmont came from the province of Alessandria, three originated in Cuneo and one came from Asti.¹⁵⁶ Alessandria, at this time, was noted for being the most productive grain-growing region in Piedmont.¹⁵⁷ Piedmont also hosted a great deal of industry, being well known for housing the headquarters of Fiat, established in 1899.¹⁵⁸

Although there was (and still is) extensive industry in northern Italy it is clear that Italian homesteaders were introduced to farming in Piedmont in some form before coming to Saskatchewan. Farming was abundant in the mixed economy of the region, and many families had knowledge of farming techniques. Canevaro commented that although farming appeared to be different in Italy because they grew different crops - mostly chestnuts and fruit - many crops in Saskatchewan were grown in the same manner.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, not all northern Italian immigrants had prior farming experience. Giovanni Bono and Ernest Cotti were both lawyers before they came to Saskatchewan.¹⁶⁰ These men not being farmers is an interesting fact considering that they

¹⁵⁴ D.S. Walker, *A Geography of Italy* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1958), 125.

¹⁵⁵ Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Northern Italy* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), 25.

¹⁵⁶ These figures only represent those immigrants that filed for a homestead application. It does not take into account the origins of wives and children. However, this data can be witnessed in Figure 1.7 that can be seen in the appendix.

¹⁵⁷ Walker, *A Geography of Italy*, 128.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁵⁹ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Audio tape file number A-255 side A, Dominic Canevaro, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

¹⁶⁰ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 310.

were eventually issued patents for their land after successfully meeting homesteading requirements.

Despite Canevaro's statement, it is important to note that farming in the prairies in the early twentieth century was much more difficult than in Italy, as Italy's land was broken by animals well before 1900. Teresa Canevaro commented that they never had to break the land in Italy with plows, oxen and horses as it had been accomplished long before her time. Farming in Saskatchewan proved difficult for her family for this reason, but they persisted and eventually learned the procedure.¹⁶¹

To obtain a patent and become a successful farmer in Hillsborough was challenging due to natural land conditions. In the *A.R.D.A. Soil Capability and Land Inventory reports* conducted in 1967, J.A. Shields and J.S. Clayton of the University of Saskatchewan rated soil types according to their ability to grow common field crops. Soils were rated along a seven-class system, with class one constituting soils that had "no significant limitations that restrict their use for crops" and class seven - the lowest rating - having "no capability for arable agriculture or permanent pasture."¹⁶² Out of 114,100 acres of land in Hillsborough, 95,450 acres fell under class four and five, with the vast majority (79,480 acres) being classified as type five.¹⁶³ Soils that fell under class five were considered "unsuited to the production of common field crops and...capable only of producing perennial forage crops." Although the authors stated that "improvement practices are feasible,"¹⁶⁴ it is important to note that they made this claim in 1967, well

¹⁶¹ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-256 side A.

¹⁶² J.A. Shields, J.S. Clayton, *A.R.D.A. Soil Capability and Land Inventory Rural Municipality No. 132 Hillsborough* (Saskatoon: Institute of Pedology University of Saskatchewan, 1967)

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

after the mechanization of farming techniques was accomplished. In the period under study (1896-1930) such improvement practices would have been much more difficult given that Hillsborough homesteaders did not have the advantage of using mechanized equipment.

The topography southwest of Moose Jaw changes considerably from flat plains to rolling hills and marshes.¹⁶⁵ At the turn of the century, before the introduction of mechanized farm equipment, breaking this kind of land required many animals and a great deal of physical strength. Nonetheless, this hardship did not stop many immigrants from making a successful homestead. By 1913, Vittorio Rosso possessed twelve horses that were used to break the land and he eventually cultivated the full 160 acres.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, in 1913, Marco Ferrara possessed twelve horses that were used to break and cultivate 130 acres of his homestead land.¹⁶⁷ Canevaro stated that before mechanized equipment he used oxen to break through the land, since they were the hardiest animals and could even plow through snow in the winter.¹⁶⁸ It was not until 1920 that Canevaro obtained farm equipment that made breaking and cultivating farm land on the hilly countryside more manageable.¹⁶⁹ Giovanni Bono recalled that he purchased his first

¹⁶⁵ Topographical Survey of Canada. "Soil-Detailed Reconnaissance Survey, Rural Municipality of Hillsborough R.M. No. 132". Map No. 1, Soil Survey Report No. 11 (Ottawa: The Survey, 1923)

¹⁶⁶ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376712 and 3915977, Vittorio Rosso.

¹⁶⁷ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376706 and 2386279, Marco Ferrara.

¹⁶⁸ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-255 side B.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

tractor in 1929, and by that time most people in the area had switched from using animals to operating tractors.¹⁷⁰

Image 3.1: Topography of Hillsborough



The topography of Hillsborough consists of rolling hills and marshland

The Dominion Lands Branch recognized the hard work that these families put into their homesteads and many of them were awarded with patents to their land. Of the twenty-four properties that were applied for, sixteen stated that a patent was issued to the homesteader from the Dominion Lands Branch. (66.6%.) However, it is important to note that two properties that were marked as abandoned were done so to be re-issued back to the homesteader under a Solider Land Grant. Both of the men issued with this grant were

¹⁷⁰ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, audio tape A-257 side A, Giovanni Bono, interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, June 18, 1973.

awarded a patent.¹⁷¹ Therefore, it can be concluded that eighteen, or 75% of Italian homesteaders secured a patent. The number of patented land issued to the Italian homesteaders of Hillsborough was actually above the number of total land remaining under patent in 1930 (58.8%).¹⁷²

The percentage of patented homesteads issued to Italians in Hillsborough is not comprehensive, due to the fact that of the twenty-four files, five (20.8%) had no information regarding whether a patent was issued or if the land was declared abandoned by the homesteader. These homestead properties were applied for by August Bono, John Bono, Frank Carbone, Dominic Canevaro, and Vittorio Rosso. There is evidence that suggests that Canevaro, Rosso, and John and August Bono received patents for their land. Rosso had another property in Hillsborough that he secured title to, demonstrating that he was a capable farmer.¹⁷³ The *Crestwynd Community Club, Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, stated that Giovanni Bono and his family lived in the region until 1973 before moving to Calgary.¹⁷⁴ At an unspecified date, August Bono moved back to Italy to marry his wife, Antonietta, and he did not come back to the region until 1949, where he worked on his farm in Hillsborough until he retired.¹⁷⁵ The Canevaro family lived on their homestead land until 1955, later moving to Expanse and then eventually settling in Moose Jaw in 1974.¹⁷⁶ All four cases show that the applicants lived in Hillsborough for

¹⁷¹ Marco Ferrara, homestead file; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2376704 and 2386384, Paul Rosso.

¹⁷² Chester Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 171.

¹⁷³ Vittorio Rosso, homestead file.

¹⁷⁴ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 311.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 310. This source does not specify the year that August Bono retired.

¹⁷⁶ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 314; Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-255 side A.

an extended period of time, making it likely that they secured title to their land. Considering that these homesteaders most likely received a patent, the percentage of successful Italian homesteaders offered above (75%) may be even higher (91.6%).

What is even more surprising is that only three properties were documented as abandoned by the homesteader. However, as stated above, two properties were cancelled and then re-issued under Solider Land Grants, and were therefore not truly “abandoned.” Therefore, only one property (.04%) of homestead land held by Italian homesteaders in Hillsborough was declared cancelled. Frank Zanetti was the homesteader that applied for the property in question. In addition to farming this property, he also homesteaded on another plot of land, where he was granted a patent for fulfilling all of the requirements.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, the cancellation of his one plot of land most likely had little to do with his ability to farm, but is owed to other factors like farming two properties or poor land conditions.¹⁷⁸ The percentage of properties that were declared abandoned is far below the average for the province (57%).¹⁷⁹ This low percentage proves that Italian immigrants were capable farmers, helping disprove theories at the time that they could not thrive at agricultural endeavours in the prairies.

Hillsborough farm families raised money through different means in order to help them fulfill their homestead requirements. Teresa Canevaro recalls that she made butter and often sold it to men working on the railway for twenty-five cents a pound. She also

¹⁷⁷ *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File numbers 2723076 and 2710666, Frank Zanetti.

¹⁷⁸ The Dominion Land Branch cancelled Zanetti’s homestead land because he failed to reply to a notice that was sent to him on November 25, 1916. There are no records explaining why he did not reply to the notice; *Saskatchewan Archives Board*, Frank Zanetti, homestead file.

¹⁷⁹ Martin, *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Thomas, 172.

sold eggs from her chicken coop for twelve cents per dozen.¹⁸⁰ She also did most of the sewing for the community, cooked for the men working on the railway, and still managed to find time to raise her children.¹⁸¹ Giobatta Volpara had nine daughters and enlisted them all to help with the farm work.¹⁸² Aid from family members was an important element of homesteading life and their efforts helped make the farm successful. Through acquiring extra income, more animals, mechanized equipment and seeds could be purchased to break and cultivate the land. Men from the community could also be hired during harvest seasons to lessen the burden of long, intensive workdays farming in the fields. Typically, the work done by women to contribute to the homestead has been ignored in historical sources. Farming was considered to be a male enterprise and therefore, women's contributions to the farm were often ignored.¹⁸³

It was also common for the Italian homesteaders of this region to employ help outside of the family to aid them in breaking their land. Canevaro recalled hiring someone for \$40-50 a month to help with this endeavour.¹⁸⁴ Giovanni Bono also hired men to help him with his farm. He employed ten to twelve men to help him with his yearly harvest for \$5.00 a day. One year they went on strike for \$6.00 a day so Bono fired

¹⁸⁰ Teresa Canevaro, audio tape A-256 side A.

¹⁸¹ Crestwynd Community Club, *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, 314.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 332

¹⁸³ Bill Waiser, "Land I can Own: Settling in the Promised Land," in *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, ed. Francis R.D., Kitzan C. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 166; Marjorie Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Marjorie Cohen, professor of economical history and chair of women's studies, has discussed women's household roles in relation to 19th century Ontario. Similarly she argues that most historical sources have ignored women's contributions to the household economy. Women's labour provided most of the subsistence production allowing men to engage in market-exchange production, such as the farming of wheat. The wives and children of Italian homesteaders are worthy of a more in depth analysis. The experiences of these individuals will help paint a more encompassing picture of the Italian homesteading experience overall. They too, experienced hardship in the prairie West and aided in creating a successful homestead, so their stories deserve to be expressed and documented.

¹⁸⁴ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-254 side A.

them and hired a new set of men to help him because there were lots of men readily available to work.¹⁸⁵ The ability to afford help outside the house shows that these homesteaders were not just subsistence farming.

In 1981 the province of Saskatchewan introduced the Saskatchewan Farm Century Award to recognize families who had farmed the land continuously for one hundred years or more and still continues to do so. John Rosso, descendant of the Rosso family of Hillsborough was granted this award in 1911.¹⁸⁶ Such examples attest to the success of Italian farmers in the prairies and demonstrate the lasting legacy of early homesteaders.

Image 3.2: Rosso's Century Family Farm Award



This photograph displays the Saskatchewan Farm Century Award that was given to the Rosso family in 2011. The inscription on the lower plaque reads: “Rosso reunion 85 years NW 15-14-29-W2 dedicated by the descendants of Vittorio Rosso and Delfina (Scaglia) Rosso August 5, 1995”

¹⁸⁵ Giovanni Bono, audio tape A-257 side B.

¹⁸⁶ ISC Century Family Farm Award, “Backgrounder,”

<http://www.gov.sk.ca/adx/aspx/adxGetMedia.aspx?mediaId=1435&PN=Shared> (accessed August 1, 2012)

The Italian influence in Hillsborough extended beyond the farming sphere. Many residents helped mould the community into a functioning and prosperous municipality. At the time of their arrival, Hillsborough was still in its infancy, lacking in most municipal services. The lack of infrastructure is not surprising considering that neighbouring Moose Jaw was just beginning to achieve city status during this period. In 1901 Moose Jaw had 1,558 citizens and this number increased 787.2% in a ten-year period, rising to 13,823 people in 1911.¹⁸⁷ Canevaro recalled that at his time of settlement in the municipality, there were fifty families (not all of Italian origin) living in Hillsborough.¹⁸⁸

The Italian population was important to their community because they aided in organizing many governmental and social services that helped Hillsborough become a functioning municipality. Italian immigrants were not the only ethnic group concerned with creating infrastructural developments in their communities. During this period of rapid settlement in the West, many ethnic groups put effort into building their neighborhoods. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight the achievements of specific individuals in the Hillsborough community because it showcases that they were not averse to integrating themselves into Canadian society. Instead, many held active roles within the community contrary to the opinions that the Canadian government held of Italian immigrant settlers.

At first, Hillsborough residents did not have a Roman Catholic Church in the area where they could practice their faith. The closest religious institution was eighteen miles

¹⁸⁷ The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan: a Living Legacy, "Population Trends," http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/population_trends.html (accessed July 31, 2012)

¹⁸⁸ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-254 side A.

away, and residents had to get there by wagon. They commenced their journey at 4am on Sundays to get there for 10am mass. After mass was finished they travelled back home, arriving by 5pm. Despite the extreme difficulty involved, they continued to hold onto their faith, and in 1924 Dominic and Teresa Canevaro worked to bring the Catholic service to their municipality. Twenty-seven families in the area (not all of Italian ethnic origin) paid \$50 each to organize the mission. A priest from Gravelbourg, a small town southwest of Old Wives Lake, came to Hillsborough to perform services.¹⁸⁹

Similar to the Italian population, immigrants of Irish ethnic origin held a strong attachment to the Catholic Church. Michael Cottrell, professor in the Education Department at the University of Saskatchewan, discussed how the Catholic Church was one of the “major cultural values” that the Irish population brought with them to the West.¹⁹⁰ The O’Gorman family, much like the Canevaros’, was responsible for bringing Catholic service to their community close to Macklin.¹⁹¹ It was typical for immigrants to make their new neighbourhoods more familiar by erecting symbols and institutions that reminded them of home. Churches were often seen as gathering places in immigrant communities.¹⁹² Going to church in rural communities was both seen as a place to worship and a place to socialize.¹⁹³ It was a chance to meet neighbours and relieve the sense of isolation they felt while working on their homestead.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Cottrell, “The Irish in Saskatchewan, 1850-1930: A Study of Intergenerational Ethnicity,” in *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009), 517.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Robert Perin, “Writing about Ethnicity,” in *Writing about Canada Writing about Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History*, ed. John Schultz (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.), 213.

¹⁹³ Waiser, “Land I can Own: Settling in the Promised Land” in *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, 170.

Hillsborough also did not have educational facilities at this time. Under the provincial government of Thomas Walter Scott (1905-1916) the provision of schools and teachers could not equal demand, especially since new settlements were constantly being established.¹⁹⁴ Legislation in Saskatchewan dictated that a community could have its own school if there was a sufficient number of children. This legislation stated that an area not exceeding twenty miles could be made into a school district as long as there were ten children present to use the facility.¹⁹⁵ Mr. Hunter, a resident of Hillsborough, started a petition asking for a school to be built in the community and he sent it to the provincial government. In 1917 a school was granted to the municipality, and Francesca Ghiglione, Paul Ghiglione's wife, became the first schoolteacher.¹⁹⁶ She held a strong position in the community because she was responsible for educating the children of the district. The school curriculum was taught in English. Thus children of Italian immigrants became familiar with the English language, allowing them to better adapt into Canadian society later in life.

During the 1920s, farmers became apprehensive about placing their wheat on the volatile open market. In response to their concern, farmers organized the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. The Wheat Pool strived to help farmers get a fair price for their wheat through a "centralization of selling."¹⁹⁷ The Wheat Pool made every effort to:

market their members wheat in a more orderly fashion, avoiding the dumping of the entire crop on the market as it is alleged was the practice of the private dealers; to render it possible for the individual member to receive a substantial

¹⁹⁴ J.F.C. Wright, *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province* (Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 1955), 174.

¹⁹⁵ Harold W. Foght, *A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan: A Report* (Regina: J.W. Reid Kings Printer, 1918), chapter 3.

¹⁹⁶ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-255 side A.

¹⁹⁷ Wright, *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province*, 198.

payment on account for his crop without selling it until the time is suitable; to improve the quality and reputation of Canadian wheat; to ensure fair grading and fair dockage; to eliminate speculation and unnecessary middleman handling; To sell the crop of western Canada at a better price.¹⁹⁸

As a primarily agricultural municipality, Hillsborough farmers became active members in establishing the Wheat Pool in Saskatchewan. In order to get legislation the Pool needed 3,000 members paying a membership fee of \$1.00. Dominic Canevaro was a Pool organizer. He was appointed by members of his community to go to neighbouring settlements to educate them on the Pool and try to recruit members.¹⁹⁹ In 1924 legislation was enacted enabling the Wheat Pool to become one of the biggest grain handlers in the world. The Italian members of Hillsborough were not just active in their municipality but also aided in developing organizations that serviced the province.

In essence, Hillsborough was a rural municipality that had a strong Italian influence. The Italian population in Hillsborough grew due to the chain migration process, highlighting the intricate networks that led them to settle in the region. This process was repeated in the rest of the province, applying to immigrants of other ethnic groups, as well as Italians. Kin was an important means to settling the Hillsborough area, where many Italian immigrants ventured to join their fellow *paesani*.

Once they obtained homesteads in Hillsborough these immigrants successfully engaged in agriculture. The majority of them gained patents for their land and several acquired more than one property. These accomplishments were exceptional, especially considering that Hillsborough did not have good quality soil and that it possessed a challenging topography of rolling hills and marshes. The Italian homesteaders had not

¹⁹⁸ W.W. Swanson, *Wheat* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1930), 153.

¹⁹⁹ Dominic Canevaro, audio tape A-254 side A.

possessed mechanized farm equipment until well after they had broken their land by the use of animals. These feats prove that Italian homesteaders in Hillsborough were successful farmers.

Lastly, these immigrants also became important members of their communities where they aided in the development of local infrastructure. They brought the Roman Catholic service to their community, where residents could practice their faith without hindrance. They also became active members in their children's education, by having Mrs. Ghiglione become the first schoolteacher in the municipality. Lastly, Mr. Canevaro became the leading representative of the Wheat Pool for the municipality. His efforts helped the pool reach its goal in membership so that they could gain legislation from the provincial government in 1924. This case study of the Italian population in Hillsborough discounts the popular notions held at the time, that Italian immigrants could not become farmers and that they could not become active Canadian citizens.

Conclusion

Most accounts written on Italian immigrants in Canada have focused on the male sojourner. The sojourner came to Canada temporarily in order to fulfill economic commitments to his family back in Italy. At the turn of the twentieth century, Italy experienced mass emigration, also known as the great exodus. Italian men (and to a lesser extent women) moved to different countries in order to seek better economic opportunities for themselves and their families. In Canada, the sojourner typically resided in larger cities in order to find jobs so that they could accomplish their economic aims. Major works have been produced focusing on the Italian immigrant worker in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. There has not been a large scholarly pursuit of the Italian rural experience in Canada, more specifically, of the Italian homesteading experiences in Saskatchewan. Nonetheless, this thesis has shown that there *were* Italian immigrants that chose to permanently settle in the province.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Canada placed a large emphasis on realizing the agricultural settlement of western Canada. The government, aware of the vast agricultural possibilities in the prairies, began attracting settlers to populate the West by introducing the Dominion Lands Act as early as 1872. In the early 1900s, Canada's Interior Minister Clifford Sifton, favoured immigrants that he believed could fulfill agricultural positions. In turn, he disapproved of immigrants that would flock to larger cities, taking away employment opportunities from more "deserving" Canadian citizens. His beliefs resulted in the creation of a racial/ethnic hierarchy that determined which immigrants were acceptable in Canadian borders, and which ones were not. Italian immigrants were placed in the latter category because Sifton saw them as incapable

farmers. He also feared that Italian immigrants could not integrate into Canadian society because their language and folk traditions made them appear to be a danger to Anglo-Canadian beliefs and traditions.

Despite the fact that Italian immigrants were deemed unsuitable citizens by the Canadian government, there were still some who chose to homestead in Saskatchewan. For the purpose of this thesis a sample of fifty-eight files, consisting of thirty-nine homesteading individuals was created to confirm that there were Italians who chose to farm. There were many that self-identified as being Italian in their census or homesteading records showing that the Canadian government did nothing to stop Italians from taking up homesteads in the West. Nevertheless, there were people of Italian ethnic origins that stated that they moved to Canada from a country other than Italy. What was more interesting was that many of them declared an entirely different country altogether as their racial origin. This discovery led to the conclusion that Italian immigrants were changing their national identity before coming to Canada in order to fit the mould of a more desirable immigrant. Therefore, it can be said that there were more Italian immigrants in Saskatchewan than there has been originally accredited.

Further research proved not only that there were Italian immigrants who decided to homestead, but also that they were successful farmers. In spite of the view of the government, Italian homesteaders ran successful farms. The majority gained a patent for their land (65.5%)²⁰⁰ and more importantly, this number proved higher than the western

²⁰⁰ There are some files in the sample that do not state whether a patent was issued or not. Therefore, the percentage given cannot be taken as entirely accurate because it is based on the extant information. However, the percentage given above (69.23%) still lends to the conclusion that Italians were successful homesteaders. If a percentage is created from the files that provide information on whether a homestead was patented or abandoned (88 files), then 81.8% homesteaders from this sample was issued a patent.

Canadian average (58.8%).²⁰¹ These numbers alone demonstrate that Italian immigrants had adequate farming experience and that they could adapt well to difficult prairie terrain and conditions. Italian residents of the Hillsborough community, for example, found a high success rate prior to the introduction of mechanized equipment on land that consisted mostly of rolling hills and marshes. Moreover, many Italians were prosperous enough to acquire a second property, demonstrating that they had enough capital and farming experience. Interestingly, there was significantly lower cancellation rates compared to the rest of the province. Further research proved that those that did cancel their homestead land did so more as a result of poor land conditions, rather than reasons that suggest a lack of adequate farming skills.

In addition, Italian immigrants also found success by becoming active members of their communities. The original fear the government displayed was that Italian customs made them unsuitable Canadian citizens. Nevertheless, this view proved to be incorrect. There were multiple Italian immigrants that held important positions in their communities. Dominic Canevaro, for example, was a Wheat Pool organizer. He also helped bring the Roman Catholic service to the municipality of Hillsborough. Francesca Ghiglione, to cite another example, held the position of the first schoolteacher in Hillsborough, educating the community's children. It appears that these residents helped their communities thrive, disproving the government's view.

Instead of turning away from Canadian values and customs, like some ethnic groups did, Italians embraced many aspects of Canadian life. Part of this reason was because they never settled in an ethnically exclusive community. Instead they lived

²⁰¹ See footnotes 90 and 91 on pages 38-39.

among neighbours of different backgrounds. Several informants established that they celebrated learning the English language, even choosing to speak it at home. They also congregated with members of their community, engaging in social events. A number of them admitted that they never felt discriminated against at these gatherings, even when mingling with community members of different backgrounds.

All of these findings display that the Canadian government was wrong to assume that Italian immigrants were incapable of becoming a success story in western Canada. The important message to take away is that prejudicial views of immigrant groups should not be taken at face value (whether presently or in the past.) Historically, immigrants were used to settle the West and build infrastructure, like the national railway. Even though it was understood that they were a crucial part in the development of Canada, they were seen as a threat to Anglo-Canadian values. Those with foreign beliefs, languages and customs than those of the host society were seen as a “problem” that needed to be corrected. Today, Canada is a cultural mosaic that celebrates these differences. Although multiculturalism has been successful at highlighting and embracing differences among ethnic groups, immigrant experiences of the past should not be forgotten. It is important to correct the views of the past to remove discriminatory ideas that may presently linger. This realization should not just account for the Italian population, but for all immigrants in Canada because many of them shared similar experiences. This lesson should also be applied to immigrant groups who have entered the country more recently. Every individual has a place in Canada and, if give the chance, can become active members in their communities and success stories in their own right.

Appendix

This appendix consists of seven figures. The names used in these figures have been identified as Italian through the use of online databases (*Tourismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy* and *Mappe dei cognomi Italiani*) and/ or by specialists in the field. The first three tables (figures 1.1-1.3) show Italian immigrants that were located in the 1901, 1906 and 1911 census. Figure 1.4 lists Italian homesteaders that were found in Saskatchewan. This information was taken from the 1901, 1906, 1911 and 1916 census, as well as homestead files and local history books (listed in the bibliography). Figure 1.5 and 1.6 displays homesteaders who applied for a pre-emption or were awarded a soldier/bounty land grant. This data was taken from homestead records. Lastly, figure 1.7 showcases homesteading individuals as well as their family members, who lived in Hillsborough. Information for this table was found in the *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*, and homesteading records.

Figure 1.1: Italians in the 1901 Census (Saskatchewan)

Last Name	First Name	Age	District	Subdistrict	Enumeration District	Page	Line
Bruno	Agnus	19	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	AG-3	15	6
Bighetti	James	37	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	22
Bighetti	Therese	33	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	23
Bighetti	Christina	14	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	24
Bighetti	Josephine	8	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	25
Bighetti	Henry	6	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	26
Bighetti	Margaret	3	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	27
Bighetti	Raphael	0	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	25	28
Bighetti	Isabelle	60	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	30	4
Bighetti	Baptiste	32	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	32	16
Bighetti	Marie	24	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	32	17
Bighetti	Felix	4	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	32	18
Bighetti	William	1	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	32	19
Bighetti	Nancy	30	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	33	3
Bighetti	Josie	5	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	33	4
Bighetti	Annie	3	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	33	5
Bighetti	Alex Leon	0	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	33	6
Bighetti	Edward	54	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	37	11
Bighetti	Annie	32	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	37	12
Bighetti	Celestin	10	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	37	13
Bighetti	David	7	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	37	14
Bighetti	Mary	20	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	38	1

Bighetti	Matthew	31	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	38	4
Bighetti	Marie	28	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-5	38	5
Bochette	Jno B	37	Assiniboia East	Wishart	c(4)	1	3
Bonella	David	44	Assiniboia East	Hayward	u(1)	2	44
Brillianti	Lozare	24	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-4	19	3
Bruno	Zacheus	17	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	Ag-3	17	8
Cafferata	Elenor	14	Saskatchewan	Battleford South	E	2	19
Cappo	Alfred	23	Assiniboia East	File Hills	AG-3	9	26
Cappo	Jessie	23	Assiniboia East	File Hills	AG-3	9	27
Della	x	22	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	14	22
Della	Louise	18	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	14	23
Derrio	Annie	21	Saskatchewan	Butler	k	1	49
Derrio	Babtiste	33	Saskatchewan	Butler	k	1	48
Derrio	Charlotte	50	Saskatchewan	Butler	k	1	47
Derrio	Edward	8	Saskatchewan	Butler	k	1	50
Derrio	Peire	62	Saskatchewan	Butler	k	1	46
Folio	Edward	x	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert East	s(1)	28	17
Grego	Alpolnia	5	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	10	6
Grego	Andrew	8	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	38
Grego	Andrew	40	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	34
Grego	Georg	5	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	39
Grego	John	9	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	37
Grego	Joseph	14	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	36
Grego	Mary	x	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	41
Grego	Rosa	4	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	40
Grego	Susan	38	Assiniboia East	Kaposvar	f(2)	4	35
Gregori	George	29	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	7	16
Gregori	Maria	17	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	7	17
Gregori	Maria	11	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	7	15
Gregori	Maria	x	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	9	17
Gregori	Petro	60	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	7	14
Gregori	Scraby	24	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	9	15
Gregori	Sopha	21	Assiniboia East	McNutt	k(2)	9	16
Mario	Albert	26	Assiniboia East	Kenlis	g(2)	1	33
Marizo	Borsa	17	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	s	5	4
Marlo	Hanna	24	Assiniboia East	Moffatt	m(2)	2	49
Marlo	John	23	Assiniboia East	Moffatt	m(2)	2	48
Marlo	Mary	9	Assiniboia East	Moffatt	m(2)	2	50
Matto	x	32	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	26

Matto	Marie	29	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	27
Matto	Virginia	8	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	28
Matto	Mathurin	3	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	29
Matto	x	32	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	26
Matto	Marie	29	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	27
Matto	Virginia	8	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	28
Matto	Mathurin	3	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	10	29
Minera	Simon	36	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	11	11
Minera	Catherine	30	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	11	12
Minera	George	6	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	11	13
Minera	Jean	3	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-2	11	14
Mosso	M Daisy	18	Assiniboia East	Wide Awake	z(3)	4	19
Nappa	Anthony	14	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	AG-3	1	12
Nicola	Barbara	7	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	23
Nicola	Francois	13	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	s	15	9
Nicola	Jan	14	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	22
Nicola	Joseph	1	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	24
Nicola	Katrina	1	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	25
Nicola	Marie Anne	7	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	s	15	10
Nicola	Michailica	41	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	20
Nicola	Teresa	41	Saskatchewan	Rosthern	x-1	23	21
Nicola	Victorine	15	Saskatchewan	Duck Lake	s	5	39
Rella	Peter	14	Assiniboia East	Forest Farm	m (1)	1	17
Roma	Marya	24	Assiniboia East	Devils Lake	y	34	15
Roma	Rudolfina	5	Assiniboia East	Devils Lake	y	34	16
Roma	Warna	31	Assiniboia East	Devils Lake	y	34	14
Satto	Alphonse	30	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-4	18	26
Satto	Kakwizo	30	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-4	18	27
Satto	Monique	9	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-4	18	28
Satto	Bruno	6	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-4	18	29

Satto	Anne	1	Unorganized Territories	Mackenzie	D-4	18	30
Sosso	Joseph	x	Unorganized Territories	Athabasca	A-4	34	19
Varga	Frank	19	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	37
Varga	John	6	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	38
Varga	John	12	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	1	40
Varga	Julia	45	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	1	38
Varga	Mary	48	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	36
Varga	Mary	1	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	41
Varga	Michael Jr.	25	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	39
Varga	Michael Sr.	55	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	35
Varga	Sophie	14	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	8	30
Varga	Stephen	23	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	1	39
Varga	Stephen	50	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	1	37
Varga	Susie	19	Assiniboia East	Otthon	v(2)	6	40
Vena	Jacob	14	Assiniboia East	Dongola	z	3	21

Figure 1.2: Italians in the 1906 Census (Saskatchewan)

Surname	First Name	Age	District	Township	Page	Line
Accetta	A	x	Assiniboia West	27(A)	18	11
Alberto	John	31	Qu'Appelle	26	17	24
Amor	Frank C.	25	Mackenzie	37	21	7
Amore	A	20	Assiniboia East	30	11	21
Banedetto	W.	26	Qu'Appelle	33	37	2
Bonella	David	49	Assiniboia West	11	5	14
Bonello	Gertie	17	Sask District	20	20	24
Bonello	Charlotte	49	Sask District	20	20	23
Bruno	Mary	40	Qu'Appelle	41	4	6
Bruno	Paul	40	Qu'Appelle	41	4	5
Cafferata	Bert	25	Assiniboia	25A	26	35
Cafferata	Elizabeth	1	Assiniboia	25A	27	5
Cafferata	Elizabeth	32	Assiniboia	25A	26	39
Cafferata	Ethel	7	Assiniboia	25A	27	2
Cafferata	Frances	5	Assiniboia	25A	27	3
Cafferata	Henry	3	Assiniboia	25A	27	4
Cafferata	Jos	50	Assiniboia	25A	26	38
Cafferata	Jos	17	Assiniboia	25A	26	40
Cafferata	Lizzie	26	Assiniboia	36A(2)	11	38
Cafferata	Marmaduke	27	Assiniboia	25A	26	36
Cafferata	May	9	Assiniboia	25A	27	1
Cafferata	William B.	29	Assiniboia	36A(2)	11	37
Calabresi	G.	20	Qu'Appelle	33	36	35
Calabresi	G.	22	Qu'Appelle	33	36	36
Calabresi	G.	18	Qu'Appelle	33	36	34
Campanella	V.	24	Qu'Appelle	33	36	31
Campanella	E.	26	Qu'Appelle	33	36	30
Cantello	Clarance	8	Humboldt	24	34	23
Cantello	Edwin	50	Humboldt	24	34	16
Cantello	Herbert	21	Humboldt	24	34	18
Cantello	James	19	Humboldt	24	34	19
Cantello	Jenet	46	Humboldt	24	34	17
Cantello	Laura	18	Humboldt	24	34	20
Cantello	Samuel	10	Humboldt	24	34	22
Cantello	Talbot	16	Humboldt	24	34	21
Carpani	Stanley	24	Humboldt	09A	14	22
Castello	Patrick	35	Assiniboia West	24(A)	12	13
Cavalla	Algit	12	Humboldt	14	26	6
Cavalla	Lew	34	Humboldt	14	26	3
Cavalla	Louisa	44	Humboldt	14	26	4
Cavalla	Michael	20	Humboldt	14	26	2
Cavalla	Peter	18	Humboldt	14	26	5
Comma	Albert	26	Sask District	5	12	13
Crappa	Harry	37	Assiniboia West	37[c]	11	38
Dobosso	Hehora	16	Mackenzie	13	31	14

Dobosso	Tatana	50	Mackenzie	13	31	13
Fannino	Geneva	10	Humboldt	2	6	27
Fannino	Jas	29	Humboldt	2	6	25
Fannino	Nellie	29	Humboldt	2	6	26
Farno	Alice	24	Sask District	9	16	2
Farno	Arthur	25	Sask District	9	16	1
Farno	Arthur B	2	Sask District	9	16	3
Farno	John W	1	Sask District	9	16	4
Francesca	Decola	41	Assiniboia West	26(A)	30	13
Francesco	D.	x	Assiniboia West	26(A)	18	8
Franco	Nicholi	8	Mackenzie	17	22	5
Franco	Daraska	17	Mackenzie	17	21	27
Franco	Peacha	13	Mackenzie	17	22	4
Franco	Wasil	6	Mackenzie	17	22	6
Franco	Zankela	52	Mackenzie	17	22	3
Gardano	William	24	Assiniboia West	6	34	30
Geletti	Ernest	16	Sask District	25	16	24
Geletti	M	62	Sask District	25	16	21
Geletti	Oscar	22	Sask District	25	16	22
Geletti	Rog	18	Sask District	25	16	23
Giseppe	Mux	18	Assiniboia West	3(B)	3	33
Giuseppe	G.	x	Assiniboia West	27(A)	17	23
Guido	Joseph	18	Sask District	24	5	12
Lastore	Catherine	44	Sask North	2	8	30
Lastore	Germaine	22	Sask North	2	8	31
Lucino	D.	x	Assiniboia West	27(A)	17	22
Marasso	Ahafea	13	Mackenzie	13	42	35
Marasso	Anna	43	Mackenzie	13	42	31
Marasso	Mikel	43	Mackenzie	13	42	30
Marasso	Nastasa	15	Mackenzie	13	42	34
Marasso	Nicoli	17	Mackenzie	13	42	33
Mario	Barbara	9	Assiniboia East	36	1	24
Mario	Elizabeth	45	Assiniboia East	36	1	17
Mario	Elizabeth	12	Assiniboia East	36	1	22
Mario	Francis	11	Assiniboia East	36	1	23
Mario	George	46	Assiniboia East	36	1	16
Mario	George	22	Assiniboia East	36	1	18
Mario	John	15	Assiniboia East	36	1	20
Mario	Louis	7	Assiniboia East	36	1	25
Mario	Margaret	2	Assiniboia East	36	1	26
Mario	Mary	1	Assiniboia East	36	1	21
Mario	Stephen	1	Assiniboia East	36	1	19
Mario(?)	Maud	25	Assiniboia West	29(A)	17	7
Marno	John	24	Assiniboia West	29(B)	3	15
Marosso	Mike	19	Mackenzie	13	42	32
Morello	Pidro	20	Assiniboia East	37	25	11
Morosso	Ewan	31	Mackenzie	13	41	13
Morosso	Maria	x	Mackenzie	13	41	15

Morosso	Natasha	29	Mackenzie	13	41	14
Nichola	John J.	20	Mackenzie	10	2	13
Primo	Alex	17	Sask District	34	4	14
Primo	Alvinia	8	Sask District	34	4	12
Primo	Annie	31	Sask District	34	4	10
Primo	Beatrice	7	Sask District	34	4	13
Primo	Dalfus	42	Sask District	25	4	1
Primo	Emma	15	Sask District	34	28	11
Primo	Frances	14	Sask District	25	4	3
Primo	Joseph	40	Sask District	34	28	9
Primo	Joseph	12	Sask District	34	4	15
Primo	Mary	36	Sask District	25	4	2
Primo	Richard	11	Sask District	34	28	16
Reno	Albert	26	Qu'Appelle	13	1	29
Rogo	Miks	28	Qu'Appelle	38	1	10
Rosa	Ada	5	Qu'Appelle	31	21	15
Rosa	Annie	36	Qu'Appelle	31	21	10
Rosa	Annie	1	Assiniboia West	37B	34	28
Rosa	Edward	45	Qu'Appelle	31	21	9
Rosa	Edward	14	Qu'Appelle	31	21	11
Rosa	Elmer	10	Qu'Appelle	31	21	13
Rosa	Ernestine	24	Assiniboia West	37B	34	34
Rosa	Ernestine	6	Assiniboia West	37B	34	27
Rosa	Frank	27	Assiniboia West	37B	34	25
Rosa	Gladys	12	Qu'Appelle	31	31	12
Rosa	John	7	Qu'Appelle	31	21	14
Rosa	Klotilda	25	Assiniboia West	37B	34	29
Rosa	Rudolph	x	Assiniboia West	37B	34	30
Sofonio	Moaska	57	Mackenzie	25	2	40
Sollero	Denis	x	Qu'Appelle	7	19	1
Stefano	John	24	Assiniboia East	25	24	20
Terasso	Andrew	27	Mackenzie	24	14	7
Terasso	Annie	4	Mackenzie	24	14	10
Terasso	Hannah	2	Mackenzie	24	14	11
Terasso	Marie	6	Mackenzie	24	14	9
Terasso	Wirie	27	Mackenzie	24	14	8
Tofano	Ahafa	39	Mackenzie	13	1003	17
Tofano	Ahafa	<1	Mackenzie	13	1003	22
Tofano	Alexander	41	Mackenzie	13	1003	16
Tofano	Demetra	21	Mackenzie	13	1003	18
Tofano	Eosif	14	Mackenzie	13	1003	11
Tofano	Herona	46	Mackenzie	13	1003	10
Tofano	John	2	Mackenzie	13	1003	19
Tofano	Martha	22	Mackenzie	13	1003	15
Tofano	Natasha	14	Mackenzie	13	1003	21
Tofano	Peter	46	Mackenzie	13	1003	9
Tofano	Wasal	22	Mackenzie	13	1003	14
Vino	John	25	Assiniboia West	33(A)	8	31

Figure 1.3: Italians in the 1911 Census (Saskatchewan)

Surname	First Name	Age	District	Township	Enumeration		
					District	Page	Line
Adella	C	32	Regina	x	67	28	36
Adella	Francis	29	Regina	1	53	24	18
Amato	Thomas	26	Battleford	34	16	16	13
Amore	Annie	32	Battleford	39	19	29	16
Amore	Bruce	10	Battleford	39	19	29	17
Amore	Evaline	1	Battleford	39	19	29	18
Amore	Thomas	63	Battleford	39	19	29	15
Amos	Maud	30	Battleford	50	39	7	16
Amos	Maud	32	Battleford	50	39	7	15
Amos	Roy	23	Saskatoon	25	2	10	30
Amotta	Rose	18	Regina	x	77	11	23
Angelo	Wm.	26	Regina	16	15	11	34
Antoni	Annie	8	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	28
Antoni	Elizabeth	38	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	24
Antoni	Emma	11	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	26
Antoni	John	42	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	23
Antoni	Joseph	3	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	30
Antoni	Katie	16	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	25
Antoni	Leona	1	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	31
Antoni	Mary	10	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	27
Antoni	Morley	6	Moose Jaw	22	112	10	29
Antoni	?ronsella	22	Prince Albert	43	7	3	13
Antoni	Antoine	18	Prince Albert	43	7	3	15
Antoni	Egnaska	15	Prince Albert	43	7	3	16
Antoni	John	20	Prince Albert	43	7	3	14
Antoni	Madelene	47	Prince Albert	43	7	3	12
Antoni	Stoski	50	Prince Albert	43	7	3	11
Antoni	Warna	10	Prince Albert	43	7	3	17
Barachino	Ermano	37	Humboldt	34	42	1	39
Baretta	Jos	28	Regina	1	53	23	24
Barno	Samual	42	Assiniboia	7	19	12	11
Batalla	Francis	21	Humboldt	x	24	12	33
Bella	Alex	33	Saltcoats	23	26	10	36
Bella	Annie	14	Saltcoats	23	26	18	47
Bella	Binnka?	41	Saltcoats	23	26	18	46
Bella	Gasso?	10	Saltcoats	23	26	10	38
Bella	Lozz?	5	Saltcoats	23	26	10	42
Bella	Mary	34	Saltcoats	23	26	10	37
Bella	Mary	2	Saltcoats	23	26	10	39
Bella	Rosa	31	Saltcoats	23	26	10	41
Bella	Valintine	40	Saltcoats	23	26	10	40

Bella	Vincent	47	Saltcoats	23	26	18	45
Beno	Alfred	38	Prince Albert	46	23	15	12
Beno	Jacob	20	Regina	x	66	15	44
Beno	Kanard	51	Regina	x	66	15	42
Beno	Marta	41	Regina	x	66	15	43
Bergeri	Annie	22	Saltcoats	21	14	4	40
Bergeri	Barbara	6	Saltcoats	21	14	4	41
Bergeri	Carolina	4	Saltcoats	21	14	4	42
Bergeri	Edward	32	Saltcoats	21	14	4	39
Bergeri	Ole	2	Saltcoats	21	14	4	43
Berina	Jenny	45	Moose Jaw	x	124	33	46
Berto	Nicke	30	Regina	x	67	26	11
Bertolotti	Ermonas	28	Saskatoon	x	33	32	42
Bertolotti	Louis	26	Saskatoon	x	33	32	43
Bisaro	Giovanni	24	Battleford	42	25	4	21
Bodina	Emma	9	Assiniboia	1	8	28	3
Bodina	Lena	9	Assiniboia	1	8	28	2
Bodina	Lizzie	10	Assiniboia	1	8	28	1
Bona	Herbert	20	Assiniboia	1	7	54	34
Bonassa	John	27	Assiniboia	7	21	15	36
Bruno	A.	21	Regina	x	67	9	4
Bruno(?)	Dono	22	Assiniboia	9	28	6	5
C?pani	Carlotta	27	Saskatoon	34	12	22	20
Ca?atta	Ernest	19	Mackenzie	29	15	39	8
Cafa	Ja	23	Regina	x	65	23	44
Calimano	Annie	33	Regina	x	64	49	45
Calimano	Camilia?	67	Regina	x	64	49	50
Calimano	George	8	Regina	x	64	49	43
Calimano	Hanna	1	Regina	x	64	49	49
Calimano	John	2	Regina	x	64	49	48
Calimano	Lasbrina	10	Regina	x	64	49	46
Calimano	Mache	39	Regina	x	64	49	41
Calimano	Mary	36	Regina	x	64	49	42
Calimano	Peta	8	Regina	x	64	49	47
Calimano	Peter	34	Regina	x	64	49	44
Campa	R.K.	24	Regina	6	57	1	19
Capella	E.	31	Humboldt	Davidson	112	7	23
Carilla	Mick	25	Regina	17	13	14	29
Carina??	Eain	6	Regina	1	49	6	46
Carina??	Elgin	8	Regina	1	49	6	45
Carina??	Ernest	10	Regina	1	49	6	44
Carina??	Haley??	38	Regina	1	49	6	42
Carina??	John Henry	40	Regina	1	49	6	41
Carina??	Mabel	12	Regina	1	49	6	43
Carmelo	Viola	25	Battleford	34	16	16	14
Caro	Aktufia	7	Saskatoon	42	26	19	31

Caro	Albert	18	Saskatoon	42	26	19	26
Caro	Alex	21	Saskatoon	42	26	19	24
Caro	Alfred	15	Saskatoon	42	26	19	27
Caro	Dasmasilo	11	Saskatoon	42	26	19	29
Caro	Ellis	9	Saskatoon	42	26	19	30
Caro	Erma	5	Saskatoon	42	26	19	32
Caro	Ernst	3	Saskatoon	42	26	19	33
Caro	Isan	19	Saskatoon	42	26	19	25
Caro	Johan	48	Saskatoon	42	26	19	21
Caro	John	13	Saskatoon	42	26	19	28
Caro	Joseph	23	Saskatoon	42	26	19	23
Caro	Warscheni	44	Saskatoon	42	26	19	22
Carpani	Cora MT	24	Saskatoon	34	12	22	28
Carpani	Phili G	2	Saskatoon	34	12	22	29
Carpani	Stanley D	28	Saskatoon	34	12	22	27
Carpini	Wallner	22	Regina	x	60	5	13
Castello	James	37	Humboldt	34	41	7	39
Celeri	Nic	31	Saskatoon	x	31	39	10
Cino	Edith	33	Regina	x	62	45	32
Cino	Walter	37	Regina	x	62	45	31
Clario	Joseph	30	Regina	1	53	23	46
Clerino	Marrow	1	Mackenzie	34	33	1	10
Clerino	Mekah	26	Mackenzie	34	33	1	11
Clerino	Mekah	26	Mackenzie	34	33	1	6
Clerino	Mike	8	Mackenzie	34	33	1	13
Clerino	Nastah	26	Mackenzie	34	33	1	12
Clerino	Pall	66	Mackenzie	34	33	1	3
Clerino	Peter	1	Mackenzie	34	33	1	14
Clerino	Polehay	8	Mackenzie	34	33	1	7
Clerino	Poll	4	Mackenzie	34	33	1	9
Clerino	Sam	29	Mackenzie	34	33	1	5
Cossoni	Daphin	32	Saskatoon	29	7	7	16
Costella	Alexander	34	Humboldt	35	40	8	19
Costella	Christina Margaret	3	Humboldt	35	40	8	21
Costella	Edith	27	Humboldt	35	74	12	10
Costella	Margaret	25	Humboldt	35	40	8	20
Costella	Truman	31	Humboldt	35	74	12	9
Costella	William	3	Humboldt	35	74	12	11
Covelli	Joseph	42	Regina	18	82	11	25
Covelli	x	18	Regina	18	82	11	26
Coviello	Horace	24	Moose Jaw	25	53	2	18
Dalano	Eugene	24	Prince Albert	46	23	1	26
Danio	Robert	20	Mackenzie	29	16	17	48
Deano	Amal	21	Humboldt	31	69	13	44
Deano	Amalea	16	Humboldt	31	69	13	47
Deano	Amel	7	Humboldt	31	69	14	2

Deano	Carolina	25	Humboldt	31	69	14	1
Deano	Clara	8	Humboldt	31	69	14	5
Deano	Earnest	18	Humboldt	31	69	13	46
Deano	Eliza	4	Humboldt	31	69	14	3
Deano	Fredrica	56	Humboldt	31	69	13	43
Deano	Henry	14	Humboldt	31	69	13	48
Deano	Jacob	54	Humboldt	31	69	13	42
Deano	Jacob J	30	Humboldt	31	69	13	50
Deano	John	21	Humboldt	31	69	13	45
Deano	Melita	2	Humboldt	31	69	14	4
Deano	Ranholt	12	Humboldt	31	69	13	49
Donello	John	18	Saltcoats	21	20	7	16
Dosa	Arthur David	28	Assiniboia	7	19	19	33
Dosa	Leslie Daniel	30	Assiniboia	7	19	19	32
Dosa	Martha Rosetta	24	Assiniboia	7	19	19	34
Dosa	Walter Galbrick	63	Assiniboia	7	19	19	31
Elio	Garlsons	30	Regina	x	63	13	39
Faso	A.	40	Regina	17	13	14	2
Fero	Alex	57	Saltcoats	18	1	7	31
Filipo	Tomano	30	Battleford	39	20	27	25
Fora	Michal	22	Regina	x	65	29	28
Fora?	Harry	22	Regina	x	75	14	40
Formo	Anna	1	Battleford	50	39	21	8
Formo	Clara	4	Battleford	50	39	21	7
Formo	Ginna	27	Battleford	50	39	21	4
Formo	Gustave	35	Battleford	50	39	21	3
Formo	Henry	8	Battleford	50	39	21	5
Formo	Martin	1	Battleford	50	39	21	9
Formo	Minna	5	Battleford	50	39	21	6
Francisco	Norman	30	Battleford	North Battleford	48	29	3
Francisco	Elizabeth	8	Moose Jaw	21	50	7	5
Francisco	Jesse	5	Moose Jaw	21	50	7	2
Francisco	Lilly	2	Moose Jaw	21	50	7	4
Francisco	Lilly	31	Moose Jaw	21	50	7	1
Francisco	Mary	4	Moose Jaw	21	50	7	3
Gani	John William	51	Regina	x	63	12	41
Gastoni	Mathine	80	Regina	18	82	13	34
Genisi	George	27	Regina	1	53	24	14
Geno	Anna	39	Regina	15	9	1	44
Geno	Annabell	1	Regina	15	9	2	4
Geno	Dan	16	Regina	15	9	1	46
Geno	Dan	44	Regina	15	9	1	43
Geno	Emma	9	Regina	15	9	1	50
Geno	Gertruth	12	Regina	15	9	1	48
Geno	John	17	Regina	15	9	1	45
Geno	Lorenz	3	Regina	15	9	2	2

Geno	Milda	5	Regina	15	9	2	3
Geno	Minna	73	Regina	15	9	2	5
Geno	Raymond	9	Regina	15	9	1	49
Geno	Samuel	14	Regina	15	9	1	47
Geno	Walter	7	Regina	15	9	2	1
Genoa	Audrey	7	Regina	16	14	14	32
Genoa	Edward	4	Regina	16	14	14	31
Genoa	Jan Edward	42	Regina	16	14	14	29
Genoa	Laura	49	Regina	16	14	14	30
Genoa	Mary	5	Regina	16	14	14	33
Graffato	George	46	Saltcoats	23	30	7	13
Graffato	Margaret	8	Saltcoats	23	30	7	15
Graffato	Marry?Ann	44	Saltcoats	23	30	7	14
Grega	x	14	Saltcoats	18	2	6	6
Grega	Andrew	16	Saltcoats	18	2	6	5
Grega	Andrew	52	Saltcoats	18	2	6	1
Grega	Gerdy	10	Saltcoats	18	2	6	7
Grega	John	19	Saltcoats	18	2	6	4
Grega	Josef	24	Saltcoats	18	2	6	3
Grega	Sussana	50	Saltcoats	18	2	6	2
Grego	Katrine	12	Regina	x	80	1	34
Grego	Louis	14	Regina	x	80	1	33
Grego	Mike	8	Regina	x	80	1	35
Grego	Nickolas	40	Regina	x	80	1	31
Grego	Nickolas	37	Regina	x	80	1	32
Guido	Andre	3	Prince Albert	49	26	19	39
Guido	Augustine	10	Prince Albert	49	26	19	37
Guido	Henri	8	Prince Albert	49	26	19	38
Guido	Jean	12	Prince Albert	49	26	19	36
Guido	Jean	37	Prince Albert	49	26	19	32
Guido	Jeanne	15	Prince Albert	49	26	19	34
Guido	Marianne	17	Prince Albert	49	26	19	35
Guido	Marianne	37	Prince Albert	49	26	19	33
Labella	Calla	23	Saskatoon	39	15	26	29
Laloni	Alia	24	Prince Albert	43	5	17	28
Lenzi	Rose	51	Moose Jaw	Swift Current	135	21	41
LeRosa	Mary T.	16	Battleford	42	31	1	25
LeRosa	Nellie	<1	Battleford	42	31	1	26
LeRosa	William	36	Battleford	42	31	1	24
Ligo	Aameles	22	Saskatoon	29	6	10	41
Linetta	Gordon	21	Regina	13	32	2	35
Loro	John	26	Regina	x	59	11	37
Lotto	C.	x	Regina	x	21	20	40
Lotto	William	21	Regina	x	21	20	39
Lovello	Edward	30	Regina	x	62	30	7
Lovello	Elen	21	Regina	x	62	30	11

Lovello	Gwendoline	6	Regina	x	62	30	9
Lovello	Harry	24	Regina	x	62	30	10
Lovello	Millicent	28	Regina	x	62	30	8
Mageno	Alice	30	Regina	13	32	20	45
Mageno	Uirt	30	Regina	13	32	20	44
Manno	Jan	55	Prince Albert	Montreal Lake	43	1	19
Maretta	Pictro	30	Regina	1	53	23	44
Mario	Aleandre	26	Prince Albert	43	8	8	33
Marletta	Athenan	22	Assiniboia	7	19	38	48
Marletta	Eva	2	Assiniboia	7	19	38	50
Marletta	Philomane	22	Assiniboia	7	19	38	49
Marrazzo	Tony	21	Battleford	34	12	11	11
Maspero	Mike	34	Moose Jaw	x	131	16	19
Miccoli	Rosco	22	Battleford	30	3	10	13
Milo	Justin Thomas	16	Assiniboia	7	18	23	49
Mino	Clara	25	Assiniboia	9	27	2	12
Mino	Augusta	28	Battleford	46	32	12	39
Mino	Eveline	2	Battleford	46	32	12	46
Mino	Gertrude	9	Battleford	46	32	12	42
Mino	Gustav	6	Battleford	46	32	12	44
Mino	Gustav	42	Battleford	46	32	12	38
Mino	Johanna	12	Battleford	46	32	12	40
Mino	Marion	4	Battleford	46	32	12	47
Mino	Matilda	10	Battleford	46	32	12	41
Mino	Maud	7	Battleford	46	32	1	43
Mino	Sophie	74	Battleford	46	32	21	48
Mino	William	3	Battleford	46	32	21	45
Mona	Bertha	28	Saskatoon	27	5	2	35
Mona	Flossie	4	Saskatoon	27	5	2	39
Mona	Frank	36	Saskatoon	27	5	2	34
Mona	Glenn	7	Saskatoon	27	5	2	36
Mona	Leslie	3	Saskatoon	27	5	2	38
Mona	Lottie	5	Saskatoon	27	5	2	37
Mondo	Alfred	34	Assiniboia	7	19	15	34
Nanto	Gudmund	22	Saskatoon	31	9	1	6
Nico	Herold	21	Assiniboia	1	9	34	34
Nicola	Solomond	21	Moose Jaw	15	60	10	2
Nicola	Sophia	18	Moose Jaw	15	60	10	3
Nicolai	Edith R.	47	Assiniboia	9	24	26	11
Nicolai	Forest A.	19	Assiniboia	9	24	26	12
Nicolai	Lincoln T. (?)	48	Assiniboia	9	24	26	10
Nicoli	Emil	28	Assiniboia	7	23	4	9
Nina	Carolina	17	Regina	13	34	2	33
Nina	Domenic	57	Regina	13	34	2	30
Nina	Floria	55	Regina	13	34	2	31

Nina	Nick	25	Regina	13	34	2	32
Nolte	Caroline	45	Regina	10	39	8	16
Nolte	Emma	15	Regina	10	39	8	17
Nolte	Henry	9	Regina	10	39	8	18
Nolte	Henry C.	49	Regina	10	39	8	15
Nolte	Herman	7	Regina	10	39	8	19
Nolte	Rosa	5	Regina	10	39	8	20
Nova	James	22	Regina	x	59	16	46
Otto	Alfred Gordon	25	Battleford	32	6	8	7
Otto	Herman Julius	43	Battleford	46	32	4	7
Paitoni	Annie	24	Saltcoats	23	29	8	38
Paitoni	Fred	37	Saltcoats	23	29	8	37
Paitoni	Neickle	18	Saltcoats	23	29	8	39
Pampo	Alexander	15	Prince Albert	44	12	6	5
Pampo	George	24	Prince Albert	44	12	6	1
Pampo	Hanna	25	Prince Albert	44	12	6	42
Pampo	Hanna	6	Prince Albert	44	12	6	44
Pampo	Joseph	7	Prince Albert	44	12	6	6
Pampo	Margat??	8	Prince Albert	44	12	6	43
Pampo	Nicolas	5	Prince Albert	44	12	6	7
Pampo	Nicolas	60	Prince Albert	44	12	6	2
Pampo	Teadora	50	Prince Albert	44	12	6	3
Pampo	Theodore	21	Prince Albert	44	12	6	4
Pampo	Wasył	30	Prince Albert	44	12	6	41
Patanella	Maria	23	Battleford	34	17	26	22
Patino	John	28	Regina	18	82	14	3
Perrigo	John	31	Moose Jaw	Swift Current	135	13	18
Ponto	August	52	Regina	4	55	6	5
Ponto	Fred	18	Regina	4	55	6	7
Ponto	Julius	51	Regina	13	32	21	7
Ponto	Phillip	22	Regina	4	55	6	6
Popa	Nicholas	40	Saskatoon	x	33	34	37
Pope	Augusta	27	Saskatoon	34	11	21	6
Pope	Charles	29	Saskatoon	34	11	21	5
Pope	E????e	27	Saskatoon	29	7	4	25
Pope	Florence	25	Saskatoon	30	10	16	50
Pope	Florence L	2	Saskatoon	30	10	17	1
Pope	Grutice?	35	Saskatoon	29	7	4	24
Pope	John	31	Saskatoon	30	10	16	49
Pope	Lyle	5	Saskatoon	29	7	4	26
Pope	Norma	15	Saskatoon	34	11	21	7
Prima	Annfri	21	Saskatoon	42	26	57	20
Primo?	x	1	Prince Albert	47	28	10	30
Primo?	x	36	Prince Albert	47	28	10	18
Primo?	x	2	Prince Albert	47	28	10	24

Primo?	x	3	Prince Albert	47	28	10	29
Primo?	x	10	Prince Albert	47	28	10	25
Primo?	????ard	6	Prince Albert	47	28	10	28
Primo?	Christian?	16	Prince Albert	47	28	10	20
Primo?	Dalphus	45	Prince Albert	47	28	10	17
Primo?	Francis	18	Prince Albert	47	28	10	19
Primo?	Joseph	9	Prince Albert	47	28	10	26
Primo?	Julian	12	Prince Albert	47	28	10	23
Primo?	Mary	14	Prince Albert	47	28	10	21
Primo?	Paul	8	Prince Albert	47	28	10	27
Primo?	Virginie?	13	Prince Albert	47	28	10	22
Pronto	Delfin	18	Humboldt	40	4	4	8
Pronto	Ezra	22	Humboldt	40	4	4	6
Pronto	Napoleon	53	Humboldt	40	4	4	4
Pronto	Rosa	51	Humboldt	40	4	4	5
Pronto	William	20	Humboldt	40	4	4	7
Pronto	?isans	17	Moose Jaw	9	108	5	34
Pronto	Albert	8	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	45
Pronto	Diasy	15	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	42
Pronto	Francis	6	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	46
Pronto	Frank	10	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	44
Pronto	John	22	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	39
Pronto	Lawrence	17	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	41
Pronto	Lousia	3	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	47
Pronto	Marry Ann	13	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	43
Pronto	Mary Ann	40	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	38
Pronto	Susie	21	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	40
Pronto	Wm	39	Moose Jaw	9	107	7	37
Raffaeli	Mars	19	Battleford	39	20	27	22
Reno	Nick	41	Assiniboia	1	6	13	36
Rigo	John	22	Moose Jaw	9	30	12	25
Rinaldo	Vincent	26	Battleford	39	20	27	24
Roma	F.	26	Regina	1	53	20	2
Roma	George	29	Regina	1	53	19	50
Roma	Ritzen	30	Regina	1	53	19	49
Roma?	James	28	Saltcoats	Melville	15	21	37
Rondo	Robert	22	Assiniboia	Weyburn	31	45	6
Rosa	John	26	Assiniboia	Weyburn	31	36	6
Rosa	Moris	20	Assiniboia	4	11	23	27
Rosa	Lew	24	Humboldt	29	87	2	30
Rosa	Syrup	48	Humboldt	31	52	2	37
Rosa	Harold	21	Mackenzie	29	16	2	1
Rosa	Ada	12	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	13
Rosa	Annie	x	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	9
Rosa	Edward	51	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	8
Rosa	Elmer	17	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	11

Rosa	Gladys	19	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	10
Rosa	John	14	Qu'Appelle	15	12	27	12
Rosi	Annie M	29	Qu'Appelle	12	9	13	13
Rosi	Lester	5	Qu'Appelle	12	9	13	15
Rosi	Rema	5	Qu'Appelle	12	9	13	14
Rosi	William	30	Qu'Appelle	12	9	13	12
Rossa	Peter	18	Assiniboia	1	5	11	20
Rosso	John	18	Moose Jaw	16	24	9	36
Rosso	Paul	19	Moose Jaw	16	24	12	36
Rosso	Vittorio	45	Moose Jaw	14	17	6	29
Russo	Albert	8	Saskatoon	38	43	15	33
Russo	Arthur	1	Saskatoon	38	43	15	35
Russo	George	6	Saskatoon	38	43	15	32
Russo	Mildred	28	Saskatoon	38	43	15	31
Russo	Rosanie	4	Saskatoon	38	43	15	34
Sabo	Charles	61	Moose Jaw	9	41	14	18
Sabo	Eva	x	Moose Jaw	9	41	14	19
Sabo	John	21	Moose Jaw	x	126	6	6
Sabo	Larence	?	Moose Jaw	9	41	14	20
Sabo	Homilly	5	Saskatoon	29	37	7	35
Sabo	Ivan	3	Saskatoon	29	37	7	36
Sabo	John	40	Saskatoon	29	37	7	32
Sabo	John	9	Saskatoon	29	37	7	34
Sabo	Mary	36	Saskatoon	29	37	7	33
Sabo	Povelens	1	Saskatoon	29	37	7	37
Santini?	x	32	Regina	17	13	8	48
Santini?	x	10	Regina	17	13	8	49
Santini?	x	5	Regina	17	13	8	50
Santini?	x	32	Regina	17	13	8	47
Sero	Alice	21	Saskatoon	32	8	7	35
Sero	John A.	38	Saskatoon	32	8	7	34
Sero	Joseph A.	3	Saskatoon	32	8	7	36
Slena	Atony	39	Assiniboia	4	16	13	46
Slena	Eugene F.	3.5	Assiniboia	4	16	13	48
Slena	Marguerite	35	Assiniboia	4	16	13	47
Sleno	Joseph Potush	28	Assiniboia	7	19	18	20
Stato	Christopher	31	Moose Jaw	23	114	3	43
Strato	Geo.	26	Moose Jaw	x	122	4	10
Tota	Agnes	14	Regina	18	82	9	48
Tota	Coeriosa?	40	Regina	18	82	9	47
Tota	Colin?	6	Regina	18	82	9	50
Tota	Moing	13	Regina	18	82	9	49
Tota	Verl	21	Regina	18	82	9	46
Tota	Victoria	4	Regina	18	82	10	1
Trella	x	69	Qu'Appelle	12	7	1	12
Trella	Ada	25	Qu'Appelle	12	7	1	16

Trella	Ben	29	Qu'Appelle	12	7	1	15
Trella	Elizabeth	69	Qu'Appelle	12	7	1	13
Trella	Thos	42	Qu'Appelle	12	7	1	14
Tutt?	Emi?	18	Qu'Appelle	15	11	24	27
Tutt?	Henry	22	Qu'Appelle	15	11	24	26
Varco	Roy A	x	Moose Jaw	9	86	4	15
Varga	Alex	3	Saltcoats	23	26	9	45
Varga	Frank	27	Saltcoats	23	26	12	29
Varga	Frank	1	Saltcoats	23	26	12	33
Varga	John	22	Saltcoats	23	26	9	11
Varga	Julia	55	Saltcoats	23	26	9	10
Varga	Lizzie	24	Saltcoats	23	26	9	43
Varga	Maggie	3	Saltcoats	23	26	12	32
Varga	Maggie	5	Saltcoats	23	26	9	44
Varga	Mary	21	Saltcoats	23	26	12	30
Varga	Mary	5	Saltcoats	23	26	12	31
Varga	Steve	60	Saltcoats	23	26	9	42
Varga	Steve	1	Saltcoats	23	26	9	9
Varga	Steve	33	Saltcoats	23	26	9	46
Vialo	Ethel M.	2	Saskatoon	30	10	8	11
Vialo	Flora	30	Saskatoon	30	10	8	10
Vialo	Sidney	30	Saskatoon	30	10	8	9
Vincenzo	Cipollone	33	Battleford	30	3	10	15
Vinci	William	26	Regina	19	6	5	13
Zino	Wilfred	25	Saskatoon	39	15	29	7

Figure 1.4: Italian Homesteaders in Saskatchewan

Name	Homestead File No.	Census Year	Immigration to Canada	Naturalized	Legal Land Description	Regional Municipality	Abandoned or Patented Homestead	Birth Country/ Country of last Residence	Racial Origin	Family Members	Religion
Antoni, John	1703244	1911	1905	1908	NE of 1/2 section 32 in township 21 range 27 west of the 3rd meridian	Happyland 231	Patent issued March 2, 1914	Russia	German	Wife- Elizabeth, daughters- Emma, Mary, Annie, Leona, sons- Morley, Joseph	Roman Catholic
Antoni, John	1956256	1911	1910	x	N of 1/2 section 32 in township 21 range 24 west of the 3rd meridian	Clinworth 230	Patent issued February 27, 1914	Russia	German	""	Roman Catholic
Antoni, John	1521948	1911	1910	x	SW 1/4 of section 4 township 22 range 24 west of the 3rd meridian	Newcombe 260	x	Russia	German	""	Roman Catholic
Barachino, Ermano	1419052	1911	1905	1908	NE 1/4 of section 18 township 35 range 26 west of the 2nd meridian	Viscount 341	Patent issued December 23, 1910	Italy	Italian	Head of the household	Roman Catholic
Bisaro, John (Giovanni)	2396684	1911	1908	x	SW 1/4 of section 4 in township 44 range 23 west of the 3rd meridian	Cut Knife 439	Patent issued October 3, 1914	Italy	Italian	Head of the household	Roman Catholic
Bonella, David	466-26	1901	x	x	SW 1/4 of section 30 township 20 range 19 west of the 2nd meridian	Lumsden 189	x	Scotland	X	Head of the household	Presbyterian
Bonella, David	799142	1901	x	x	SE 1/4 of section 30 in township 20 range 19 west of the 2nd meridian	Riverside 168	Declared abandoned May 26, 1884	Scotland	X	Head of the household	Presbyterian
Bono, August	x	x	1926	x	x	Hillsborough 132	x	Italy	Italian	x	x
Bono, John	x	x	1922	x	x	Hillsborough 132	x	Italy	Italian	x	x
Bruno, Paul	1690160	1906	x	x	NE 1/4 of section 12 township 24 range 11 west of the 2nd meridian	King George 256	Patent issued May 27, 1914	Manitoba, Canada	X	Wife- Jorary	x

Cafferata, Joseph	131053	1906	1883	x	E 1/2 of section 24 township 18 range 24 west of the 2nd meridian	Pense 160	x	England	English	Wife - illegible, Sons-Joseph, Henry, illegible, Daughter-illegible	x
Cafferata, Joseph Waterworth	242347	1906	1883	x	NE 1/4 of section 24 in township 18 range 24 west of the 2nd meridian	Pense 160	Patent issued October 22, 1900	England	English	""	x
Cafferata, William Ballion	413775	1906	x	x	SE 1/4 of section 18 township 18 range 23 west of the 2nd meridian	Pense 160	Declared abandoned March 15, 1897	British subject by birth	X	Wife- Lizzie	x
Canevaro, Dominic	x	1916	1914	x	x	Hillsborough 132	x	Ludlow, Massachusetts, USA	Italian	Wife- Teresa	Roman Catholic
Carbone, Frank	x	x	x	x	x	Hillsborough 132	x	Italy	Italian	adopted by the Dewhurt family	x
Carpani, Stanley	1226306	1906	1906	x	NW 1/4 of section 2 township 53 range 28 west of the 2nd meridian	Lakeland 52	Declaration of abandonment April 1906	England	English	Has 2 other family members-illegible	Presbyterian
Carpani, Stanley Douglas	914024	1906	1906	x	NE 1/4 of section 6 of township 35 range 28 west of the 2nd meridian	Lakeland 52	Patent issued September 15, 1910	England	English	Head of the household	x
Castello, James	1261978	1911	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	NW 1/4 of section 34 in township 34 range 22 west of the 2nd meridian	Wolverine 340	Patent issued April 15, 1912	Ontario, Canada	Irish	Head of the household	Anglican
Costella, Truman	1811866	1911	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	NW 1/4 of section 16 township 35 range 22 west of the 2nd meridian	Leroy 339	Patent issued December 24, 1909	Canada	Irish	Wife- Edith Costella, Son-William Costella	Presbyterian
Cotti, Ernest	1982004	1911	1908	x	NE of section 24 in township 14 range 1 west of the third meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued November 28, 1912	Minnesota, USA	Italian	Wife-Nina	Roman Catholic
Coviello, Horace	1627938	1911	1905	x	NE 1/4 of section 16 in township 26 range 8 west of the third meridian	Coteau 255	x	Middlesex, England	Italian	x	x

Coviello, Horace	1813181	1911	1905	x	SE 1/4 of section 21 in township 26 range 8 west of the 3rd meridian	Loreburn 254	Patent issued November 28, 1912	Middlesex, England	Italian	Head of the household	Anglican
Desero, Wilfred	813293	1906	x	x	NE 1/4 of section 14 township 44 range 24 west of the 2nd meridian	Invergordon 430	Patent issued July 22, 1908	French Canadian	British subject	Wife-Pheobe, daughters-Pheobe, Delia, Agnes, Lora	x
Ferrara, Marco	2376706	1911	1911	1914	SE 1/4 of section 15 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued May 14, 1914	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Wife-Maria, daughter-Eva, son-Alfio, two other children	Roman Catholic
Ferrara, Marco	2386279	1911	1911	1914	SW 1/4 of section 15 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued January 28, 1920, Declaration of Abandonment June 10, 1919	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	""	Roman Catholic
Fincati, Angelo	3189201	1916	1914	x	SW 1/4 of section 23 in township 42 range 22 west of the 2nd meridian	Lake Lenore 399	Patent issued June 1, 1925	Vicenza, Italian	Italian	Wife and son-Luigi, one other child	Roman Catholic
Ghiglione, Paul	2376737	1911	1910	x	NW 1/4 of section 14 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued May 14, 1914	Asti, Italy	Italian	Wife-Francesca Rosso. Daughter-Katherine Sons-Henry, Joseph, Victor, Ray	Roman Catholic
Ghiglione, Paul	2376309	1911	1910	x	SW 1/4 of section 23 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued April 20, 1918	Asti, Italy	Italian	""	Roman Catholic
Prerangeli, Giuseppe	3189201	x	x	x	SW 1/4 of section 23 in township 42 range 22 west of the 2nd meridian	Three Lakes 400	x	Puagure, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Marno, John	139991A	1906	x	x	NW 1/4 of section 20 township 23 range 9 west of the 2nd meridian	Dufferin 190	Patent January 8, 1909	British subject by birth	British by Birth	x	x

Mino, Gustav	2255832	1911	1911	x	NW 1/4 of section 31 in township 48 range 12 west of the 3rd meridian	Meeting Lake 466	Patent issued February 29, 1916	x	X	Wife-Augusta, Daughters-Matilda, Johanna, Gertrude, Eveline, Maud, Marion, sons-Gustav, William	Lutheran
Morello, Pedro J.	1236701	1906	x	x	SW 1/4 of section 4 township 19 range 3 west of the 2nd meridian	Fertile Belt 183	Abandoned May 26, 1903	x	X	x	x
Morello, Pedro John	1832129	1906	x	x	NW 1/4 of section 1 township 33 range 27 west of the 2nd meridian	Viscount 341	Abandoned March 16, 1909	Liverpool, England	X	x	x
Morello, Pedro T.	486099	1906	x	x	SW 1/4 of section 18 township 18 range 2 west of the 2nd meridian	Willowdale 153	Abandoned February 29, 1908	x	X	x	x
Nina, Nicholas	1932595	1906, 1911	1904	x	NE 1/4 of section 18 in township 5 range 2 west of the 2nd meridian	Old Post 43	Patent issued September 20, 1918	Hungary	X	listed as the son. Father-Sminch, mother- Flori	x
Pellegrini, Camillo	3129232	x	x	x	NE 1/4 of section 15 in township 47 range 10 west of the 3rd meridian	Meeting Lake 466	Patent issued April 14, 1921	Miglionico, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Pilotti, Louis (Luigi)	2659573	1916	1913	x	SW 1/4 of section 27 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued December 31, 1917	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Wife, daughters-Mary, Marguerita, sons-Tony, Charles	Roman Catholic
Rosa, Frank	1214126	1906	1904	x	SE 1/4 of section 36 township 28 range 7 west of the 3rd meridian	Fertile Valley 285	Patent issued November 13, 1908	Austria	x	Wife-Ernestine, daughter-Annie, sister-Klotild, brother-Rudolph	x
Rosa, Edward George	1752079	1906, 1911	1906	1910	NE 1/4 of section 31 in township 10 range 7 west of the 3rd meridian	Glen Bain 105	x	USA	x	Wife- Annie, daughters-Glady, Ada, sons- Elmer, John	Methodist

Rosa, Elmer Elsworth	2446757	1901, 1906, 1911	x	x	NE 1/4 of section 3 in township 11 range 7 west of the 3rd meridian	Glen Bain 105	Patent issued May 1, 1919	Ontario, Canada	English	Elmer is the son to Edaward Rosa	Presbyterian
Rosa, Elmer Elsworth	2439504	1901, 1906, 1911	x	x	SE 1/4 of section 3 in township 11 range 7 west of the 3rd meridian	Glen Bain 105	Patent issued May 1, 1919	Ontario, Canada	English	""	Presbyterian
Rosa, Frank	1826855	1906	1904	x	NE 1/4 of section 26 township 28 range 7 west of the 3rd meridian	Fertile Valley 285	Patent issued November 13, 1908	Austria	x	Wife- Ernestine, Daughter- Annie, Sister- Klotilda, Brother- Rudolph	x
Rosso, John	2432356	1911	1911	x	NE 1/4 of section 22 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued April 1, 1919	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Listed as domestic	Roman Catholic
Rosso, John	2376702	1911	1911	x	SE 1/4 of section 22 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued June 22, 1914	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Listed as domestic	Roman Catholic
Rosso, Paul	2376704	1911	1911	1914	SW 1/4 of section 22 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued June 2, 1914	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Wife- Lucia, Sons- Victor, John, Bernard, Daughter- Delfina	Roman Catholic
Rosso, Paul	2386384	1911	1911	1914	NW 1/4 of section 22 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent granted September 14, 1920, declared abandoned August 11, 1919	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	""	x
Rosso, Vittorio	2376712	1911	1909	x	NE 1/4 of section 15 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued June 12, 1914	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Wife- Delfina, sons- Paul, Giovanni, Natale, Daughters- Francesca, Teresa, Giovanna,	Roman Catholic
Rosso, Vittorio	3915977	1911	1909	x	NW 1/4 of section 15 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	x	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	""	Roman Catholic
Sleno, Joseph Patrick	749545	1901, 1911	x	x	SW 1/4 of section 34 in township 6 range 34 west of the Prime Meridian	Reciprocity 32	Patent issued December 14, 1903	Ontario, Canada	France	Listed as domestic	Roman Catholic

Traverso, Guiseppo	2771502	1916	1914	x	SW 1/4 of section 7 in township 15 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued November 4, 1919	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Traverso, Guiseppo	2772158	1916	1914	x	SW 1/4 of section 7 in township 15 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued January 25, 1917	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Traverso, John	2771493	1916	1914	x	NE 1/4 of section 7 in township 15 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued March 17, 1919	Alessandria, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Traverso, John	2771502	1916	1914	x	NW 1/4 of section 7 in township 15 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued November 4, 1919	Alessandria, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Traverso, John	2772001	1916	1914	x	SE 1/4 of section 7 in township 15 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued October 9, 1919	Alessandria, Italy	Italian	Head of the household	x
Volpara, Gisbatta	2644707	1916	1912	x	SE 1/4 of section 24 in township 14 range 29 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued May 5th, 1915	Ludlow, Massachusetts, USA	Italian	Wife-Anjala, daughters-Letezia, Emelia	x
Zanetti, Frank	2710666	1916	1911	x	SE 1/4 of section 19 in township 14 range 28 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Patent issued March 11, 1916	Ludlow, Massachusetts, USA	Italian	x	x
Zanetti, Frank	2723076	1916	1911	x	SW of section 20 in township 14 range 28 west of the 2nd meridian	Hillsborough 132	Cancelled on December 7, 1916	Ludlow, Massachusetts, USA	Italian	x	x

Figure 1.5: Italian Homesteaders with a Pre-emption

Name	Homestead File No.	Pre-emption
Antoni, John	1521948	Granted August 20, 1917
Coviello, Horace	1813181	Applied March 4, 1909
Ferrara, Marco	2386279	Applied March 30, 1911
Ghiglione, Paul	2376309	Applied March 30, 1911
Rosa, Elmer Elsworth	2446757	Applied June 13, 1911
Rosso, John	2432356	Applied March 30, 1911
Rosso, Vittorio	3915977	Applied March 30, 1911
Traverso, Giuseppe	2771502	Applied March 28, 2912
Traverso, John	2771502	Granted February 15, 1919
Traverso John	2772001	Applied October 20, 1915
Zanetti, Frank	2723076	Applied June 18, 1912

Figure 1.6: Italian Homesteaders Awarded a Solider/Bounty Land Grant

Name	Homestead File no.	Solider or Bounty Land Grant
Antoni, John	1703244	South African Volunteer Bounty Land Grant, November 17, 1908
Ferrara, Marco	2386279	Solider Land Grant, June 9, 1919
Rosso, Paul	2386384	Soldier Land Grant, November 11, 1919

Figure 1.7: Italian Homesteaders in Hillsborough Complete with Family

Hillsborough Italians	Area of Origin	Immigration to Canada	Relations
Ernest Cotti	x	1908	Head of household
Nina Cotti	x	1913	Ernest Cotti's wife
Paul Ghiglione	x	1910	Married Francesca Rosso in 1916
Henry Ghiglione	x	1916	son of Paul Ghiglione from a different marriage
Joseph Ghiglione	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Francesca Ghiglione
Victor Ghiglione	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Francesca Ghiglione
Ray Ghiglione	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Francesca Ghiglione
Katherine Ghiglione	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Daughter of Paul and Francesca Ghiglione
Vittorio Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Head of household
Delfina Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1911	Vittorio Rosso's wife
Paul Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Son of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso
Lucia Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1919	Paul Rosso's wife
Victor Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Lucia Rosso
John Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Lucia Rosso
Bernard Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Paul and Lucia Rosso
Giovanni (John) Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Son of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso
Lucia Rosso	Married John Rosso in Massachusetts, USA	x	John Rosso's wife
Delfina Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Daughter of John and Lucia Rosso
Francesca Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1911	Daughter of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso
Teresa Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1911	Daughter of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso
Giovanna (Vina) Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1911	Daughter of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso
Natale Rosso	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1911	Son of Vittorio and Delfina Rosso

Mary Pilotti			Natale Rosso's wife
Victor Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Natale and Mary Rosso
Louis Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Natale and Mary Rosso
John Rosso	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Natale and Mary Rosso
Marco Ferrara	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Head of household
Maria Ferrara	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Marco Ferrara's wife
Eva Ferrara	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Daughter of Marco and Maria Ferrara
Alfio Ferrara	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1910	Son of Marco and Maria Ferrara
Ettore Ferrara	Ludlow, Massachusetts	1913	x
James Ferrara	Ludlow, Massachusetts	1913	x
Alec Ferrara	x	1914	Head of household
Lena Ferrara	x	1914	Alec Ferrara's wife
Son	x	x	son of Alec and Lena Ferrara
Daughter	x	x	Daughter of Alec and Lena Ferrara
Daughter	x	x	Daughter of Alec and Lena Ferrara
Daughter	x	x	Daughter of Alec and Lena Ferrara
Frank Zanetti	Ludlow, Massachusetts	1913	Head of household
Luigi Pilotti	x	1913	Head of household
Mrs. Luigi Pilotti	x	1913	Luigi Pilotti's wife
Mary Pilotti	x	1913	Daughter of Luigi Pilotti, wife of Natale Rosso
Tony Pilotti	x	1913	Son of Luigi Pilotti
Charles Pilotti	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Luigi Pilotti
Marguerita Pilotti	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Daughter of Luigi Pilotti
Mr. Volpara	x	1913	Head of household
Mrs. Volpara	x	1913	Mr. Volpara's wife
Letezia Volpara	x	1913	Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Volpara
Emelia Volpara	x	1913	Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Volpara
Mr. Gianbattista	x	1913	Mr. Volpara's brother-in-law
Mrs. Gianbattista	x	1913	Mr. Volpara's sister-in-law
Guiseppe Traverso	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1914	Head of household
Giovanni Traverso	Alessandria, Piedmont, Italy	1914	Brother to Giuseppe Traverso
Dominic Canevaro	Garbagnia, Italy	1915	Cousin-in-law to Paul Ghiglione

Teresa Canevaro	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	x	Dominic Canevaro's wife
John Bono	Canale, Cuneo, Piedmont, Italy	1922	Lucia Rosso's brother
Angelina Bono	Italy	1929	John Bono's wife
August Bono	Italy	1926	Lucia Rosso's brother
Antionietta Bono	Italy	1949	August Bono's wife
Joseph Bono	Italy	1949	Son to August and Antionietta Bono
Mary Bono	Italy	1949	Daughter to August and Antionietta Bono
Mario Gisillari	x	1919	Head of household
Mrs. Gisillari	x	1919	Mario Gisillari's wife
Natalino Gualco	x	1919	x
Frank Carbone	x	x	Adopted by the Corderre family
Mario Cech	Istria, Italy	1951	Head of household
Francis Ghersetti	x	x	Mario Cech's wife
Andrew Dalgarno	Kitchener, Ontario	Born in Canada	Head of household
Hannah Yates	Listowel, Ontario	1884	Andrew Dalgarno's wife
Kenneth Dalgarno	Born in Canada	Born in Canada	Son of Andrew and Hannah Dalgarno
Gio Batta Volparo	x	x	Had nine daughters

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Canadian Census, 1901

Canadian Census, 1906

Canadian Census, 1911

Canadian Prairie Census, 1916

Foght, Harold W. *A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan: A Report*. Regina: J.W. Reid Kings Printer, 1918.

ISC Century Family Farm Award. "Backgrounder"

<http://www.gov.sk.ca/adx/asp/adxGetMedia.aspx?mediaId=1435&PN=Shared> (accessed August 1, 2012)

Radville Laurier Historical Society. *Radville` Laurier: The Yesteryears*. Radville: RLHS, 1983.

Roche, W.J. *Immigrants Facts and Figures*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1913.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatchewan Homestead Files

Saskatchewan Archives Board, audio tape file numbers A-254-308 interviewed by Anna Maria Crugnale, 1973

Shields, J.A., Clayton, J.S. *A.R.D.A. Soil Capability and Land Inventory Rural Municipality No. 132 Hillsborough*. Saskatoon: Institute of Pedology University of Saskatchewan, 1967.

Sifton, Clifford. (1922) "The Immigrants Canada Wants." In Palmer, H. *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975.

The New F Historical Club. *Memories we Share North of Birth Hills: A History of the School Districts of New England*. Birch Hills: The New F Historical Club, 1980.

The Rosetown and District History Book Committee. *Rosetown Reflections: The People and History and District*. Rosetown: R&DHBC, 2006.

Topographical Survey of Canada. "Soil-Detailed Reconnaissance Survey, Rural Municipality of Hillsborough R.M. No. 132" Map No. 1, Soil Survey Report No. 11. Ottawa: The Survey, 1923.

Waverly Municipality. *Waverly*. Waverly: Waverly Municipality, no year listed

Wauchope and Parkman Historical Society. *Precious Memories of Time: A Solute to the Pioneers of Wauchope and Parkan*. Wauchope, 1989.

Secondary Sources

Akenson, Donald H. *Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America*. Port Credit: P.D. Meany, 1985.

Avery, Donald. *Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Baedeker, Karl. *Baedeker's Northern Italy*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906.

Bank of Canada. "Inflation Calculator."

<http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed July 18, 2012)

Bertellini, Giorgio. "Shipwrecked Spectators: Italy's Immigrants at the Movies in New York, 1906-1916." *The Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film and Television* 44 (1999): 39-53

Bosworth, R.J. *Italy and the Wider World, 1860-1960*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Burke, Peter. "Overture: The New History: Its Past and Its Future." In *New Perspectives on Historical Writings, 2nd edition*, ed. Peter Burke, 1-24. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2001.

Cohen, Marjorie. *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Cognomix, "Mappe dei cognome Italiani" <http://www.cognomix.it/mappe-dei-cognomi-italiani> (date accessed October, 2012)

Cottrell, Michael. "The Irish in Saskatchewan, 1850-1930: A Study of Intergenerational Ethnicity." In *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon, 507-542. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009.

Creighton, Donald. *John A. Macdonald: the Young Politician, the Old Chieftain*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Crestwynd Community Club *Rolling Hills Review, 1840-1980*. Crestwynd Saskatchewan: C.C. Club, 1980.

Dafoe, John. *Clifford Sifton In Relation to his Time*. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1931.

Dawson, C.A. *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1936.

Dawson, C.A., Young, Eva R. *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces*. Toronto: MacMillan Co., Ltd., 1940.

Foerster, Robert. *The Italian Emigration of our Times*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1919.

Gens, "Turismo, viaggi e tradizioni in Italy" <http://www.gens.info/italia/it/turismo-viaggi-e-tradizioni-italia#.UJhgBWDjrZV> (date accessed October 2012)

Gabaccia, Donna. *Italy's Many Diasporas*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000

Hall, D.J. *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900 V. 1*. Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1943.

Hall, D.J. "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905." In *Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer, 60-85. Calgary: University of Calgary, 1977.

Harney, Robert. "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada 1885-1930." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XI, No. 1 (1979): 31—43

Harney, Robert. "The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration." In *Le società in transizione: Italiani ed Italo-Canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano De Azevedo, 189-203. Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991.

Howard, Palmer. "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s." *International Migration Review* 15, No. 3 (Autumn 1981): 35-50

Iacovetta, Franca. *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History*. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1997.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Such Hard Working People*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Knowles, Valerie. *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration Policy, 1540-2006*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2007.

Lambrecht, Kirk N. *The Administration of Dominion Lands, 1870-1930*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991.

Lehr, John. Everitt, John and Russell, Simon. "The Making of the Prairie Landscape." In *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon, 13-58. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009.

Lehr, John. "The Geographical Background to Church Union in Canada." In *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon, 543-556. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009.

Loewen, Royden. *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada*. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 2002.

Martin, Chester. *Dominion Land Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973.

Moroni, G. "La regione della provincia centrale del Canada," *Bollettino dell'e migrazione*, 2, 1915, 43-44 quoted in Robert Harney "The Canadian Prairies as a Target of Italian Immigration." In *Le società in transizione: Italiani ed Italo-Canadesi negli anni ottanta*, ed. Raimondo Cagiano De Azevedo, 189-203. Milan: Franco Angeli, 1991.

Morton, Arthur S. *History of Prairie Settlement and "Dominion Lands" Policy V.2*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1938.

Perin, Robert. "Writing about Ethnicity." In *Writing about Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History*, ed. John Schultz, 205-214. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1990.

Russell, E.T. *What's in a Name: The Story Behind Saskatchewan Place Names*. Western Producer Prairie Books, 1997.

Schlichtmann, Hansgeorg. "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research on Western Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, No. 2 (1977): 9-41

Seat Pagine Gialle, "PagineBianche per il cittadino"
<http://www.paginebianche.it/cognomi-italiani.html> (date accessed October, 2012)

Smith, W.G. *A Study in Canadian Immigration*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920.

Stambrook, Fred, Hryniuk, Stella. "Who were they Really? Reflection on Eastern European Immigrants to Manitoba Before 1914." In *Immigration and Settlement, 1870-1939*, ed. Gregory P. Marchildon, 457-481. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2009.

Sturino, Franc. "Italian Emigration: Reconsidering the Links in Chain Migration." In *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. Robert Perin and Franc Sturino, 63-91. Montreal: Guernica Editions, 1989.

Sturino, Franc, "Italian Immigration to Canada and the Farm Labour System Through the 1920s: General Pattern of Immigration." In *The Italian Immigration Experience*, ed. John

Potestio and Antonio Pucci, 61-78. Thunderbay: Canadian Italian Historical Association, 1988.

Swanson, W.W. *Wheat*. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1930.

The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan: a Living Legacy, "Population Trends." http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/population_trends.html (accessed July 31, 2012)

Thompson, John Herd. *The Harvests of War*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.

University of Minnesota. "Minnesota Climate Extremes". <http://climate.umn.edu/doc/historical/extremes.htm> (accessed July 18, 2012)

Waiser, Bill. *Saskatchewan: A New History*. Calgary: Fifth House, 2005.

Waiser, Bill. "Land I can Own: Settling in the Promised Land." In *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, ed. Francis R.D., Kitzan C, 155-176. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007.

Walker, D.S. *A Geography of Italy*. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1958.

Whitaker, Reginald. *Canadian Immigrant Policy Since Confederation*. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1991.

Woodsworth, J.S. *Strangers within our Gates*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Wright, J.F.C. *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province*. Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 1955.

Zucchi, John. "Neighbourhood and Paesani." In *The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, ed. John Potestio and Antonio Pucci, 29-40. Thunder Bay: Canadian Italian Historical Association (CIHA), 1988.

Zucchi, John. *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

