

"They are hard working and they all have houses of their own:"

## The Pizzonesi in Chicago

By Dominic Candeloro

In our ongoing effort to document the many facets of emigration from Italy to the United States from the 1880s to the present, historians have rarely addressed the experience of the Molisani. Because the name of the current Region of Molise was submerged in that of Abruzzo, immigrants from Molise have consistently identified themselves as Abruzzese. Like all geographically-defined people, the Molisani deserve to have a distinct social and cultural history. The story of migrants from Molise and the impact of mass migration on the region in terms of lost population and transferred culture is a vital part of that history.

The study that follows is a preliminary case study of the migration patterns and attitudes of a small sample of Chicago Italian Americans who originate from the village of Pizzone, Province of Isernia. It helps to explain not only the history of the migrants but that of the town from which they came. This impressionistic effort is based upon 10 selected oral history interviews, written responses to mailed questionnaires, a survey of the poetry and writings of Elio Santucci, and short published biographical information on two prominent labor leaders. Later additional research will concentrate on statistical and printed sources in Italy as well as additional Chicago source material.

Pizzone is a small town 724 meters above sea level in the northeast corner of Molise near the borders of Abruzzo, Lazio, and Campania. Named for the characteristic large peak above the town, "Pizzone" is just a few kilometers from Castel San Vincenzo with whose inhabitants the Pizzonesi have had a great deal of interaction both in Italy and in Chicago. Transportation routes appear to link Pizzone with Castel di Sangro more efficiently than with its current provincial capital of Isernia. The peak population of the town earlier in the century has been variously estimated at 1500-2000. Accounts of life in Pizzone in the 1930s seem to parallel Carlo Levi's description of small town southern Italian life as to class structure and familiar networks. The peaceful nature of the town is illustrated in the fact that there have been no recorded murders in Pizzone for over a hundred years.<sup>2</sup> In addition to subsistence agricultural pursuits typical of the area, the Pizzone economy included logging. Two roughly equal waves of migration before World War I and after World War II swept most of the population

to Chicago, creating what is apparently the largest Molisano group in that city.<sup>3</sup> Current population of Pizzone is less than 500.

The pre-World War I emigrants from Pizzone who made their way to Chicago were mostly young males. Some returned home in winters and most all had intentions of ultimately returning to Italy. The remittances which they sent back to their families and which they continued to send back into the 1950s helped to create a prosperity in Pizzone to such an extent that the town was often referred to as "Piccol'America." <sup>4</sup> One oral history source (a banker) reports that 13 million gold lire were on deposit in postal savings in Pizzone during the 1940s.

Pizzonese immigrants to Chicago were aided and encouraged by two related phenomena: Access to the Hod Carriers Union (later referred to as the Laborers' International Union) and The rise of independent sewer contractors among Pizzonese paesani. The first development relates closely to the career of Peter Fosco. Born of Pizzonesi parents in Russia in 1894, Fosco emigrated to Chicago in 1913. In 1915 he became the business agent for the hod carriers union. <sup>6</sup> It seems logical that the large number of Chicago Italians, especially Abruzzese" (including Molisani) in the ranks of unskilled construction laborers contributed to Fosco's early success as did his relationship by marriage to hod carrier and sewer tunnel union leaders Joseph and Anthony D'Andrea.<sup>7</sup> Fosco became a citizen in 1918 and unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Congressman from the first district. In that same year he became president of Local #2 of the Laborers Union in which office he served until 1936 when he became regional head of the national.

In his role as politician, Peter Fosco was the Democratic Committeeman from the first ward from 1938 to 1951 and served as a Cook County Commissioner from 1938-1944. He became president of the 600,000 member International Laborers Union in 1967, succeeding another Chicago Italian American, Joseph V. Moreschi. By virtue of his office he was also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and was honored by President Richard Nixon in 1972 as an outstanding American.<sup>8</sup> Peter Fosco served until his death in 1975 and was succeeded in the presidency of the union by his son, Angelo, who is the current president. Though dogged by allegations of corruption, Angelo Fosco continues to preside over what is probably the most Italian of North America's large labor unions, collecting a salary in 1986 of \$146,000. <sup>9</sup>

By all accounts, Peter Fosco and his successors in the International Laborers Union were consistently willing to help relatives and paesani from Pizzone. Old timers remember visiting the union hall on Sundays during the 1920s to pay their dues

and to get leads for work for the following week. "He was a good man. He would help anybody," according to Ernesto DiBenedetto. 10 Though the active leadership of the Foscos among the Pizzonesi in Chicago seems to have subsided by the 1950s, they reportedly remained responsive to requests from new migrants for favors, such as aid in obtaining union cards and employment. 11

A second key to Pizzonese success in Chicago was the rise of a group of sewer contractors. There seems to be a natural progression from construction laborer to contractor---the difference being that the contractor played the role of manager and risktaker in addition to performing the same physical labor that was expected of the hourly workers. In Chicago as elsewhere there was also a pattern in which contractors hired paesani, helping to ensure for the immigrants relatively steady employment. 12

the 1920's the Pontarelli Company was big enough to tackle the construction of the Drake Hotel on Michigan Avenue. Foremost among a later group of contractors group was Nicola Santucci. 13 By the 1960's his business had grown to include lucrative city contracts in Chicago, Milwaukee and Detroit. Santucci's biggest project was the construction of a water pumping station in Lake Michigan. His workforce of 300 in that decade always included both early and recent Pizzonese immigrants.14 It was part of the normal initiation rite for immigrants in this era to arrive in Chicago from Pizzone on Friday and start work with Santucci on Monday.

Oral history sources claimed an additional success factor: hard work. The willingness of migrants from both the pre and post World War II group to perform hard and often distasteful physical labor is legendary as is their willingness to work overtime and Saturdays and on their own and on paesani's homes. Moreover, the general prosperity of the US economy in the 1960's added impetus to the pace of immigration as did the desire to reunite families in the chain migration process.

Another major spur to migration from Pizzone was World War II. The geographic location of Pizzone places it on the Sangro Valley defense line established by the Germans after the fall of Mussolini in 1943. One respondent referred to the whole area as a "No Man's Land." 15 For a ten month period from September 1943 to June 1944 the townspeople were evacuated from Pizzone. Loaded on German trucks in darkness, they were forced to leave their belongings behind and were deposited variously in such towns as Alatri, Fiuggi, and Ferentino with some going to a camps as far away as Ferrara.16 Internal refugees, they shifted from the

protection of bishops, to distant relatives to whatever they could manage. Emilio Di Benedetto tells of spending months in Rome living in an unfinished building near the Stadio di Marmo. The family subsisted on cooked greens, made do with one change of clothes and hid the adult males in order to protect them from German forced-labor. A ten year old boy then, Di Benedetto witnessed daily sorties by squadrons of American bombers. "We returned in rags," said Assunta di Cristofano of the eventual reentry of her family in July 1944. Though the physical damage had been limited, there were some bombed out roofs. Moreover, Assunta di Cristofano was devastated to discover that the foodstuffs and other valuables which her family had carefully hidden behind the wall of their cantina were all gone.

The summer of 1944 was like starting over from square one for Pizzonesi. They needed help and eventually received a steady supply of packages from American relatives in Chicago. The deprivation of that period intensified the image of the United States as the Promised Land. Though in a rebuilding phase, postwar Pizzone was so devoid of real opportunity that it could not even hold a well-educated child of its own upper class. Alfonso Di Benedetto whose father served secretary for the commune and whose mother ran a dry goods store, bar and boarding house in 1951 married an American descendant of immigrants from Castel San Vincenzo and headed for Chicago. As he explained:

I fell in love with the American way of life. We had two or three servants yet I came here and I liked it. There are very few young people in Pizzone. After you get an education there is nothing to do... so you got to leave. [I told my father) I can't stay in Pizzone, I have to go out. ...Rome, Naples, or Milan ...it doesn't make that much difference to be in the U.S. If I live in the U.S., maybe I can help you. I love the freedom.. .18

The socio-economic problems of the late. 1940s and early 1950s drove the Italian people into an immigration mode. Whether it was to northern Italy, Switzerland, Northern Europe, Canada, Latin America or Australia, Italian people were on the move. Even our small sample included people whose immediate families had experienced all these permutations of migration for varying durations. The big postwar surge of migration to Chicago occurred in the mid 1950s when the internal refugee experience of the Pizzonesi qualified many of them for acceptance in the U.S. outside of the regular quota.<sup>19</sup> Relatives already in Chicago were anxious to provide sponsorship for young men and then their brides and then their parents and

then their in-laws as the chain migration pattern played itself out into the 1970s, reuniting families in Chicago and depopulating their town of origin.

The Pizzonese colony in Chicago at present offers the United States researcher the rare opportunity of contemporary access to a sizeable group of actual immigrants from the same town. Though information on the first wave of immigrants is murky at best, it is not hard to find firsthand information on individual and group experience since 1940. Though admittedly impressionistic, this material yields information on the relationship between the new and the old immigrants, the residential and occupational patterns of the group, their social life, their social mobility, their Americanization, their cultural retention and the intensity of their attachment to their homeland. Though our study has not answered these questions, it has asked them and gathered enough material to begin the discussion.

## RESIDENCE PATTERNS

It is hard to find a specific block or street where pre and post World War II Pizzonesi lived in Chicago. In the early part of the century they shared residential space with other Italians, and Jews and Greeks on the near west side of Chicago, in the neighborhood made famous by the great social worker Jane Addams and her Hull House settlement. 20 Their union hall was in this area as was the often-mentioned Church of the Guardian Angel. In the 1960s the near northwest and the Austin area were popular with the Pizzonesi. In keeping with the trends for most white European ethnics in the Chicago area, they now have moved away from the center of Chicago, uprooted by expressways and fleeing black expansion. Of the 1985 list of 167 families which attended a Pizzonese affair, all but 2 live in the northwest quadrant of the city or in the suburbs north and west of the city. Eighty-eight families (more than half) live within the city limits and 21 live in the contiguous suburb of Norridge. Oral history sources repeatedly pointed out that they all own their own homes, and the homes in the above listed areas are generally rather desirable homes to own.

A surname analysis of 167 families yields the following clues: The most popular name is Santucci with 29 or 17% of the total carrying that name, followed by Di Cristofano with 20 names 21 or 11% tied with Di Benedetto. Then come D'Andrea (11), Mancini (9), and Di Iorio (in a variety of forms) with 8. The list contains only 2 non-Italian names which might indicate that the incidence of intermarriage of Pizzonese women with American men is low. Only about 10% of the names are Italian names not readily identifiable as of Pizzonese in origin. This seems to be another indication of group endogamy.

## OCCUPATIONS

With regard to occupations, our small sample of about twenty first and second generation Pizzonesi mostly mentioned "laborer" or "construction" or "ditch digging". There were a few references to "factory work" and "seamstress" as occupations of the older generation. The younger generation included a banker, an accountant and several others identified as supervisory positions. Oral history sources stressed that college-age descendants of Pizzonesi were in fact usually in college and bound for careers in the professions. Palma Di Cristafano Cesario observed that the post War immigrants seemed to have more drive and ambition for themselves and their children than the earlier generation and that there were some misgivings among the Italian Americans in the 1960s when they saw the rapid economic progress of the new migrants. This can be explained by both the booming economy and the higher educational attainments of the post war migrants. Just as important is the new immigrants' need to succeed in order to justify the wisdom of their decision to migrate.

In sum, the Pizzonesi achieved in Chicago an economic well-being based upon hard physical labor. And even if their occupations seemed to cluster on the lower end of the prestige ladder, they could count among their group national labor leaders, bankers, wealthy contractors, and second and third generation young people headed for the professions.

## SOCIAL LIFE

The earliest form of social life beyond the family for many Italian immigrants was the mutual benefit society. Early Pizzonesi immigrants to Chicago founded the Santa Liberata Society which provided limited medical benefits and burial insurance. Santa Liberata was a Spanish martyr who was crucified when she defied the wishes of her father to marry the man of his choice. The saint is the protectrice of Pizzone and a representation of the crucified woman was introduced in the town in the 1880's and has been used in the traditional procession which takes place each June 10. 23 The Pizzone celebration includes pilgrims from nearby towns, a fair, a procession and amass. Numbering 400 to 500, the Chicago members of the Santa Liberata Society in the 1920s were ambitious enough to maintain a clubhouse on the near west side and to stage a procession with a statue along Blue Island Avenue to the Holy Guardian Angel Church on the Sunday nearest June 10. It was normal for Chicago Italian Americans to continue what must have appeared to protestant Americans a pagan street festival complete with graven image. But it is still remarkable. That some of these festivals survive (no, thrive) in the twenty-first century is even more remarkable.

In the post war period the Santa Liberata feast was moved around from parish to parish. But the society is in decline. One of the two statues is housed at St. Ferdinand Church where the Pizzonesi comprise a significant minority of the parishioners. There is no procession and the feast is observed only by a simple mass followed by refreshments in the church hall.

The focus of Pizzonese social life has changed. In the 1980s they get together at weddings and wakes. The former are usually elaborate affairs with receptions at fancy Italian catering halls (but not at ostentatious downtown hotels). Guest lists start at 250 people and up. When both the bride and groom are from Pizzonese families, the event becomes a grand reunion. 24 Alfonso Di Benedetto, perhaps the most accomplished of the post war migrants, proudly stated that he is never so happy as when he is with his Pizzonesi paesani. As Nicola Santucci put it, "I Pizzonesi d'Origine sono rispettosi e aiutanti fra loro." Members of the group report a strong sense of obligation to attend the wakes of paesani even in cases of weak attachment to the deceased and his family.

Perhaps the most important recent event in Chicago Pizzonese society was the banquet held in 1985 to rebuild the Church of the Assumption which was almost destroyed in the earthquake that hit Pizzone on May 7, 1985. A Committee of some 20 paesani including Alfonso and Emilio Di Benedetto organized on short notice a benefit dinner that netted over \$25,000 for the cause and that attracted 757 people (mostly of Pizzonese origin).<sup>25</sup> This accomplishment fits into the pattern of general Italian American aid for Italian earthquake victims but it is also clear testimony that their attachment to the town of origin is still considerable. On the other hand, though the event stirred up some interest in a permanent Pizzonese organization (to replace the Santa Liberata Society), effective follow-up has not yet occurred. Perhaps the involvement of some key Pizzonese with other Molisano clubs such as the one oriented toward the immigrants from Castel San Vincenzo, mitigates the need for a separate new organization. And perhaps because Alfonso Di Benedetto has attracted a good segment of his paesani into the Italian Cultural Center of which he is president, the need for yet another a new group is not pressing.

Another gauge of attachment to the old country is frequency of visits. When asked, "Have you or any member of your family been to Pizzone within the past 5 years," 75% of the small sample said yes. All of the post war immigrants had returned to Pizzone at least once. According to Emilio Di Benedetto, "If you go there [to

Pizzone] in the month of August, you find 40 to 50 people from Chicago." His children (high school and college age) have been to Pizzone three times and they enthusiastically expressed the desire to return again. Palma Cesario probably spoke for many immigrants when she said, "I still feel that I love Italy. Because I am Italian. ... When I go to Pizzone I can't even talk. I just look around and I just say 'Why did I ever leave(' ...I couldn't move back because of my kids and my husband is not Pizzonese." Yet Palma's love for Italy is not unqualified. She does not admire the Italian way of doing business, the favoritism and the "lack of professionalism" which she perceived on her visits there.

Contrary to the original impression of this researcher and notwithstanding the failure of Pizzonesi to identify themselves as Molisani rather than Abruzzesi, the links between Chicago and Pizzone are substantial. They are fueled by family ties to both Pizzone and the nearby Castel San Vincenzo, by the relative ease of transportation and the favorable economic status of the immigrants. The traffic between the two places seems to be as intense as any relationship between any Chicago Italian community and its town of origin. Whether this phenomenon will continue after the post war immigrants die off is uncertain. But the Pizzonesi and a dozen other groups in Chicago would seem to be a prime target for an Italian national, regional, or local policy that would seek to enhance and institutionalize the current relationship.

## WOMEN

Our preliminary survey yielded some testimony from post World War II migrants that indicates that women benefited from the move. Liberated from backbreaking chores such as water carrying, even working women could look forward to set working hours, a stable paycheck from some company like Hart, Schafner and Marx Clothiers and appliance-aided housekeeping. Though the modernization of Italy has obliterated the "convenience gap" in the 1980s, in the 1950s and 1960s it was a major positive factor for the woman migrant. Another factor that made easier adjustment for both men and women in the post war period was that the size of the migration was so relatively high that the initial loneliness that is the hallmark of the migration process was avoided.

## A POET IN THEIR MIDST

Historians, especially social historians, rightly focus on the norm, the ordinary, the characteristic, the representative people and events and trends. Yet it is the uncommon people and events that give us a perspective and an extreme against

which to measure the ordinary aspects of our lives. Perhaps the unusual story of Elio Santucci can illuminate the hundreds of conventional Pizzonese lives. Born in 1939 Elio Santucci attended the agrarian school at Isernia and the Istituto Technico Industriale in Chieti. In April 1961 he emigrated with his parents to Chicago where he found a job as a worker in the Florsheim Shoe Factory. Working sometimes at two jobs as the principal support of his family, the young Santucci would stay awake at nights assembling detailed 26 journals.

And he wrote poetry. In 1967 he published in Milan *Novelle e Poesie di vacanze e meditazione*, (Edikon) which is a book of instructive barzolletti and one-sentence meditations. His *Poesie di un emigrato* was published by the same publisher in 1969. It is a book of about 200 poems, some apparently dating back to his school days. His final published work, *Poesie e canzoni da Chicago* (Il Pungolo Verde), was printed in Campobasso in 1974, apparently under the auspices of Guido Massarelli.<sup>27</sup> At the time of his death (March 24, 1984), Santucci was seeking to publish another book of some 60 poems dated from 1975 to 1983. Also among his papers is a rambling manuscript. In this unpublished volume there also appear poems consecutively printed in English AND Italian. This is a big switch from the published volumes which contain only rare English translations. Even more fascinating is that the footnotes in the unpublished manuscript suggest that the poems were written first in English and then translated into Italian. <sup>28</sup> Thus, Santucci's themes were universal, his subjects eclectic, and his bilingualism seems to have been developing in the latter part of his life.

The tone of Elio Santucci's poetry is more difficult for the English-speaker to fathom. In most cases the tone seems reverential. Indeed, many of the subjects are religious ones and, as his friend and fellow poet, Pietro Bertuccelli, put it, "Santucci was a fervent Catholic." <sup>29</sup> To the present writer the tone seems rather didactic, so much so that even one with only a passing familiarity with the language cannot fail to get the poet's message. This might have to do with Italian literary style, but it all seems preachy and a little old fashioned. But always, always sincere.

Professor Orazio Tanelli of New Jersey has stressed Santucci's admiration for the heroes of Italian unification, his religious sentiments and the concern for social justice which appears frequently in his work. <sup>30</sup> Santucci's treatment of immigration is marked by longing and a sense of dual patriotism. His "Canto Di Oltre Mare" emphasizes and repeats the word "nostalgia." <sup>31</sup> "Viva l'Italia" is a laundry list of Italy's problems and solutions to those problems that culminates

with rousing cries of "Viva l'Italia!" 32 In "Emigrante, Non Dimenticar l'Italia" Santucci implores immigrants to act so as to bring honor to Italy. 33 But in "Santa Liberata" he merely entreats the "bella creatura" to give her benediction to the faithful who celebrate her feast in "Pizzon."(sic) 34

The one short poem which directly addresses immigration is worth quoting in full, "L'Emigrante":

L'avaro campo lascio l'emigrante  
ed oltre la frontiera in terra straniera  
infra gente piu ricca e benestante  
con lavoro continuo e redditizio e con forza e tenacia,  
 volonta miseria distrusse l'indizio e diede alla famiglia sicurezza,  
decoro e abbondanza,  
come fu sua speranza  
quando varco il confin nell'incertezza  
    Ma crebbe la sua prole in diversa  
    cultura e non ha alcun  
    rispetto e nessun  
    amor pei patrii costumi, che avversa.  
E solo gli ultimi anni passa il padre  
e invano consola  
con tenera parola  
di quegl'ingrati suoi figli la madre.

Chicago, 16 luglio 1977

Not suprisingly the poet felt the sense of loss that accompanies the migration process, especially for the second generation.

Although his was poetry of an immigrant poet, Santucci's work was not, for the most part, focused on the subject of immigration. His is not the refined style and strong sentiment of the poetry in Joseph Tusiani's *Gente Mia*, though the title "Poezie e Canzoni da Chicago" seems to promise it.<sup>36</sup> Nor is it the open tribute to the suffering immigrants in their hardworking dignity that we get from Pietro di Donato's *Christ in Concrete*.<sup>37</sup>

Elio Santucci was a philosopher who wrote about the universals that are supposed to occupy all poets wherever they might be. It is ironic that while he was writing of universals he was living the frustrating immigrant experience. An educated man working as a factory hand, Santucci was a quiet, humble man---a misfit in the

modern urban migration process. When asked why he never did "anything" with his education, he would reply that manual labor at Florsheim freed him from mental strain and left him alert to devote himself in the evening to his true love--- poetry. 38 His paesani apparently had no idea what he was doing. Most respondents were only dimly aware of the fact that he had published some books. The vast majority of Pizzonesi and the Italian Cultural Center had little knowledge of or interest in this poet in their midst. The few who read his work have remarked that they were struck by nostalgia for Italy after reading the poems.39 But the majority, the hard working sewer laborers and contractors claimed they had little time or energy to even open the books.40 The immigrant poet was definitely not widely honored in his new land. It is uncertain at this writing what reaction, if any, there was to Santucci's poetry in Molise, and especially in Pizzone.

Upon returning home from mass on March 13, 1984 Elio Santucci died of a heart attack at age 45. His early death has robbed us of the possibility that the universal poet might have turned inward and to those around him for subjects of his writing that would have illuminated the experience of the Pizzonese in Chicago. Instead we have only his life story as a somber counterpoint to the upbeat story of immigrant insertion, mobility and bi-cultural success. Of death he left this unpublished poem:

Life and Death  
When I die  
do not cry,  
do not be sad,  
rejoyce and be glad because I begin to live: no grave will receive  
my soul at last free; I was and I will be, and beyond the life edge  
the unknown becomes knowledge.  
Chicago, 20 luglio 1980

## Conclusion

What then are we to make of the scattered evidence presented in this paper concerning the saga of the Pizzonesi migrants to Chicago? First, it is a classic case of chain migration toward one major destination, Chicago. The two-wave migration effectively depopulated the town of origin. In the meantime remittances contributed to the economic well-being of Pizzone. The wartime events encouraged the second wave of migration. The double wave of migration also means that the Italian language and the links with the home land are still very much alive. And the second wave has implications for the continued maintenance of ethnic identity for the general Italian American community of Chicago. The Pizzonesi were aided by the labor movement in their quest for social mobility. It

did not take them long to find their niche in the construction and sewer industry. And the group produced their share of prominenti ranging from big time labor bosses to international banking moguls to sensitive poets along with the rank and file laborers. The relative simple and limited nature of the Pizzonese migration

developed in this study suggests that additional research in Italian municipal records, church documents and other printed and interview sources can be combined with a continued investigation in Chicago to produce a surprisingly complete story of how one town migrated from Molise to Chicago and has not yet forgotten.

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## Essay on Sources

This research effort has been approached mainly as a reconnaissance expedition. In that sense it has been a success. We have identified a sizeable Molisana community in Chicago. The oral history and the survey research have only scratched the surface. Our discovery process has turned up some tantalizing themes having to do with the Laborers Union and it has brought to our attention Elio Santucci. His work, both published and unpublished, deserves the close attention of specialists in Italian literature and immigration history. With that object in mind, copies of his unpublished poems and related materials such as diaries and the phonograph record of "Canto di Oltre Mare" will be placed on file with the Fondazione Rimanelli in Termoli. This, with the compliments of Maria Santucci, the late poet's mother. Oral history cassette tapes of the interviews upon which much of this paper have been based will also be placed on file at the Fondazione Rimanelli along with the list of Pizzonesi in Chicago that was utilized by this researcher.

## NOTES

1. Carlo Levi, Christ Stopped at Eboli, New York, 1947.
2. Emilio Di Benedetto, Tape Recorded Interview, February 24, 1987.
3. Alfonso Di Benedetto, Tape Recorded Interview, January 27, 1987.
4. Palma Di Cristofano Cesario, Tape Recorded Interview, April 27, 1987.
5. Alfonso Di Benedetto Interview.
6. Chicago Tribune, October 27, 1975, section 2, p. 6.
7. Humbert Nelli, Italians in Chicago, New York, 1970, p. 79-80.
8. Chicago Tribune, October 27, 1975, section 2, p. 6.
9. Business Week, May 4, 1987.

10. Enesto Di Benedetto, Tape Recorded Interview, February 28, 1987.
11. Palma Di Cristafano Cesario Interview.
12. Joseph Forte, Tape Recorded Interview, March 5, 1987.
13. Alfonso Di Benedetto Interview.
14. Nicola Santucci, Written Response to Questionnaire, April 20, 1981.
15. Alfonso Di Benedetto Interview.
16. Assunta Di Cristofano Interviewed in Conjunction with Palma Di Cristofano Cesario, April 27, 1987.
17. Emilio Di Benedetto Interview.
18. Alfonso Di Benedetto Interview.
19. Ibid.
20. See map of Chicago in Appendix A for help in understanding the references to the various zones of the city.
21. See Appendix B for the complete list of names and addresses.
22. See Appendix C for questionnaire and cover letter.
23. Nicola Santucci Response.
24. Palma Di Cristofano Cesario Interview.
25. Emilio Di Benedetto Interview.
26. Elio Santucci Papers in possession of Mrs. Maria Santucci, Chicago.
27. Elio Santucci, Poesie e Canzoni da Chicago, Campobasso, 1974, p. 9.
28. Elio Santucci, "Canzoni," Unpublished MS, 1977-1983, p. 52.

29. Pietro Bertuccelli Tape Recorded Interview, April 25, 1987.
30. Orazio Tanelli, Typewritten Eulogy, March-April (?), 1984.
31. Elio Santucci, *Poesie e Canzoni da Chicago*, p. 61.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 45-48.
33. *Poesie di un imigrato*, p. 20.
34. *Poesie di un imigrato*, p.7.
35. Elio Santucci, "Canzoni," Unpublished MS, p. 20.
36. Joseph Tusiani, *GenteMia*, Stone Park, IL, 1978.
37. Pietro di Donato, Christ in Concrete, New York, 1937.
38. Palma Di Cristofano Cesario Interview.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Nicola Santucci, Phone Interview, May 12, 1987.
41. Elio Santucci, "Canzoni," Unpublished MS, p. 30.