

## **19<sup>th</sup> Century Basilicata Emigration: A Fratellanza & Sorellanza Based Society**

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Part 3 of 6: The Third Wave 1880-1907: Basilicata-American Enclaves Become Basilicata-American Communities

### **Introduction: The Five Points**

In the earlier articles of this series, I examined the root causes of Basilicata and Italian emigration to the U.S. between 1850 and 1880. U.S. immigration data records that about 75,000 emigrants arrived from Italy during this thirty-year period. Roughly 12-14 % of those came from the Basilicata region. This early stage of Italian emigration was primarily classified by the U.S. as pro-republican, politically based asylum seeking. Many refugees were supporters of Italian pro-constitution and pro-unification movements. However, the initial refugees from Basilicata were distinct within this group as they were also the victims of two internationally reported natural disasters. For Basilicatans, their migration was primarily necessitated by major devastating earthquakes, the first of which took place in 1851 and a second in 1857. These earthquakes, in addition to killing tens of thousands of people, also critically disrupted the local social/physical infrastructure of the region. This resulted in the displacement of tens of thousands of people who suffered from regional food scarcity, loss of income, as well as loss of medical and life sustaining support. Many refugees impoverished by the devastation sought support and work opportunity in foreign lands, including the U.S.

As many of the Basilicata refugees had lost everything in the earthquakes, they arrived in the unfamiliar culture of America with few resources. This encouraged their resettlement in the poorest of residential areas. Given their primary entry point was the Castle Garden Immigration Center of New York City, many Italians tended to gravitate to the lower East side with the poorest settling in the “Five Points” district of lower Manhattan.

Predating the Italian refugee migration and for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Five Points district was considered the poorest and worst ghetto environment in the United States. Initially, the Five Points population of the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was predominantly composed American poor and Irish immigrants. Many of the Irish immigrants were reduced to poverty and homelessness in Ireland by the politics and economics of the Irish potato famine. It is into that established harsh Five Points environment that early Basilicata emigres, few in numbers, first settled in the 1850’s. As such, it is in the Five Points District that we encounter the transformation of the earliest Basilicata small enclave into a Basilicata-American community.

Few Italian American historic narratives shine an adequate light or acknowledge this mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Five Points settlement. Instead, most Italian narratives focus on this Italian American community in its 20<sup>th</sup> century configuration. I believe a closer examination and understanding of

the earliest part of the arrival is critical to how the later Italian American narrative and communities developed. Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Basilicata emigrants when they first arrived clustered, first in tenements, then, as their numbers grew, on city blocks in the Five Points district. As they did so, the area became a principal gateway between America and Basilicata for most of the remaining 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Most of the statistical and historic information regarding the early settlements of Italians, and specifically Basilicatans, in the Five Points is scarce. The information was usually collected by non-Italians who neither spoke the language or understood the Basilicata “fratellanza” culture. Much of the data supplied tends to view the Italian émigrés as simply “Italian” nationals. However, the Italian émigré of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century generally more strongly identified regionally rather than nationally. The failure to appreciate the regional identification frequently led to many errors and misinterpretations of the social realities taking place on the ground. However, to the extent that the information collected from outside sources exists, it is an interesting supplement to our community’s family histories.

One source that is helpful in ascertaining what was taking place in the Five Points District is a book titled the “Five Points”, written by Tyler Anbinder and published in 2002. The book supplies a great deal of information about the early 19<sup>th</sup> century pre-Italian immigration and conditions of the Five Points district. Additionally, it further explores the conditions that prevailed throughout the later part of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the book the author provides interesting statistics on the ethnic make-up of the Five Points. For our purpose, the statistic of most initial interest reflects the composition of the Five points in the pre-Civil War year of 1855. This date is important in the Basilicata narrative as it is midway between the dates of the two Basilicata earthquakes. Therefore, it confirms and reflects very early earthquake related to Basilicata emigration. Anbinder cites statistics that indicate that the Five Points district had a population of roughly 25,000 people in 1855. The major ethnic breakdown, as one would expect pre-Civil War, is primarily Irish and German immigrants or poor Americans. As cited in the text the statistics are;

Five Points	1855	Population 25,000
Irish	66%	
German	14%	
U.S. Poor	11%	
Italian	3%	
Polish Jews	2%	

This snapshot of the ethnic diversity is interesting for several reasons. First, it does identify the residential impact of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century mass immigration of Irish and Germans to this poorest of American ghettos. By way of visual reference this would have been the composition

of the district during the slightly later time reflected in the movie the “Gangs of New York”, 1860-1864. However, it also confirms the presence of a substantial number of Italians by the mid-1850’s. While the number is small, 3%, relative to the overall district numbers, it does equate to 700-800 Italians in residence. This number is probably too small to suggest that Italians including Basilicatans, represented anything more than an ethnic cluster and not yet a “community” within the district. However, it gives us a statistical starting point for later comparisons.

From our Basilicata family’s history we know that Basilicata emigres intentionally and culturally clustered in tenements and city blocks for mutual support and protection. The regional economic dynamics and geography of Basilicata confirm an historic regional affinity for the “clustering” of isolated small villages rather than large urban centers. Traditionally, the isolated and dispersed Basilicata villages formed networks of communication and mutual support. The geographic isolation of village clusters encouraged close bloodlines and a clan-like society, *fratellanza*. Those regional networks were, in turn adapted and maintained within the Five Points ghetto “cluster”. The deep traditional networks, of early Basilicata emigrants, is often understated by descriptive words such as “pizan” [sic] or friend as the connections ran much deeper. Among early Basilicata emigres, maintaining a trustworthy communication to and from Italy, as well as providing information concerning the availability of jobs, housing and support services, was critical to the emigre survival.

The Italian Five Points Basilicata cluster in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century also maintained a “locator” network. Frequently, the available work for early Italian emigres was seasonal, and took them far from New York City. The work deposited them in rural work camps or on large project sites. While the men were so employed, the remaining Italians in the Five Points maintained information on the workers whereabouts and physical condition. As the work was difficult and sometimes dangerous this network was the only way to notify next of kin in case of accidents, injuries or deaths.

Mutual protection from physical harm and abuse was also critically important in the environment of the Five Points of this mid-19<sup>th</sup> century era. Crime, including violent crime, police/judicial/political corruption, disease and extreme poverty combined with a lack of social and health infrastructure to make the Five Points district a difficult environment to survive in, let alone thrive. As “late” arriving “newcomers” and a minority, the early Basilicata emigres within the Five Points were often harassed, threatened, preyed upon and in other ways subject to abuse.

### **After the “Great Potenza Earthquake” of 1857**

After the devastation of the 1857 Great Potenza Earthquake, which officially is called the Great Neapolitan Earthquake, there was systemic failure by the southern Italian government to render effective aid in response. This led to increasing civil strife and eventually a desperate civil war for the independence of Basilicata. This State rebellion succeeded with the Basilicata declaration of independence in 1860. Basilicata’s success combined with the Garibaldi led success for the

independence of Sicily in the same year forged the foundation for a spread of civil war throughout southern Italy. This in turn led to the military collapse of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the unification of northern and southern Italy in 1861. Unfortunately, unification did not bring to southern Italy the anticipated relief, either political or economic that was sought. In fact, after unification conditions in the south worsened. Economic, political and military suppression by the government led to thirty years of civil, economic, political, and military strife. The suppression and oppression which was particularly harsh in Basilicata encouraged ever increasing emigration throughout the remaining 19<sup>th</sup> century and into the twentieth. The following thirty years of Italian genocidal political suppression and grassroots “Briganti” civil resistance produced a Basilicata émigré during this period who sought freedom, fairness and opportunity in America but who was hardened by the realities of old-world conflict. I should note that thirty years of determined resistance to political suppression in Italy created a Basilicata émigré forged in the knowledge of traditional militant avenues of resistance. When physical intimidation was encountered in America, Basilicatans formed “protective” cells as an adaptation of their guerilla resistance tactics.

### **The Flow of Emigration into the Five Points**

The Five Points overall ethnic structure during the period of 1860-1880 was not static, and went thru an urban transition of sorts. That transition is not reflective so much of an increasing Italian immigration. The 65,000 Italians that emigrated to the U.S. during this period represents a very small percentage of total U.S. immigration of the period. Rather other factors specific to the changes in the social landscape of New York City were at work. The ethnic transition of the district was the result of two main factors, First the so-called “draft riots” of the early 1860’s had an impact on the district. The riots, fires, corruption and civil unrest of the early 1860’s led to a decrease in the overall population of the district which dropped from 25,000 to 20,000 after the American Civil War. Second, the adoption in the city of the first building codes in the United States in 1867 changed the way future buildings and neighborhoods would be constructed throughout the city. The new building codes led to significant improvements in tenement construction and better living conditions in other developing parts of the city. This in turn encouraged new and established immigrants to seek out new neighborhoods with better living conditions and environments. The building expansion outward created “space” and “opportunity” for the new wave of poor southern and eastern European immigrants to settle in the existing dilapidated venue of the Five Points. The movement of Irish and German immigrants to new expanding and developing New York neighborhoods and their abandonment of the Five Points is reflected, for example, in the statistics cited by Anbinder in his book for the year 1880;

Five Points District	1880	Population	20,000
Irish	31%		
German	7%		

U.S. Poor	22%
Italian	23%
Eastern European/ Jews	11%

When you compare the 1855 ethnic breakdown within the population of the Five Points district to the 1880 statistic you see a percentage drop for Irish, German and U.S. poor from 90% of the community make-up to 60%. This indicates a thirty percent drop in the earlier ethnic make-up with a corresponding increase of thirty percent in the Italian and eastern European element.

In raw numbers, these statistics indicate an increase in the numbers of Italians living in the Five Points from the 700-800 figure of 1855 to a 4,000-5,000 number in 1880. Our records suggest that close to half of the Italians residing in the Five Points at this time were from Basilicata. Our family histories also suggest that beyond clustering, the increased numbers represent when we see the beginning of a transition from enclave to organized community. This organization toward “community” can be charted alongside of the emergence of Italian owned businesses and services aimed specifically toward local needs. It also follows the establishment of churches specifically formed for the emigrant’s language and customs.

### **The Five Points 1880-1890**

This brings us to the pivotal decade of the 1880’s, the point at which Italian emigration takes on an entirely different complexity. At that point Italian emigres stopped being considered “political” refugees and were thereafter considered “economic” refugees by U.S. immigration. Most importantly the sheer number of Italian émigré arrivals exploded on the American scene. This single decade of the 1880’s, according to U.S. immigration data, saw 165,000 Italians arrive in the U.S. This is more than twice the total number of Italian emigres who arrived from 1850-1880. It also marks the beginning of a dramatic shift in the rise of Italian emigres who hailed primarily from “southern” Italy. In the context of Italian immigration, the first 75,000 emigres, 1850-1880 represent, as we have stated, roughly 1.7% of the 4.5 million Italians who emigrated to the U.S. thru 1940. The additional 165,000 who arrived in the decade 1880-1889 boosts the percentage of first arrivals to 6% by 1890 or 250,000 individuals.

According to Anbinder’s statistics the arrival of these additional emigrants greatly altered the ethnic analysis of the Five Points, by 1890 the breakdown was as follows;

Five Points	1890	Population 20,000
Irish	10%	
German	1%	
U.S. Poor	not stated	
Italian	49%	

Eastern Europeans/ Jews                      18%

As the number of Italian immigrants began to rise the discriminatory plight, the degradation and the squalor that Italians immigrants faced, especially in the Five Points district in the 1880's had become significant enough to garner the determined interest of Pope Leo XIII. Pope Leo ordered the establishment of a "mission" to aide Italian emigres under the direction of Cardinal Scalabrini in 1886. Under Scalabrini's direction, priests and nuns were sent to America to establish "national" parishes. These parishes were established to provide for the cultural, spiritual and educational needs of the growing immigrant community. This directive was an attempt to provide resources which were not being adequately supplied in the U.S. by the American Catholic Church. This mission set up its first two Italian national parishes in the Five Points. Those parishes were the parish of the Precious Blood in 1888 and St Joachim's parish in 1889. Many if not the majority of the Italian émigrés serviced by the initial wave of Scalabrini priests and nuns were Basilicatans in the Five Points.

The statistics above show that in just over a forty-year period Italians had become the largest ethnic group in the Five Points district. I would note that 10,000 from a pool of 250,000 Italian emigrants meant that many thousands were also settling in other parts of New York City, and elsewhere. The majority of the 250,000 Italian emigrants were young men. They represented a much-needed potential boost to the industrializing U.S. labor pool. The American labor pool had been devastated by the loss of 650,00 fatalities in the American Civil War. The circumstance of location of industrialized work, coupled with the natural tendency of Italians to cluster in groups for support began to create several dispersed "Little Italy" communities in many large American urban and industrialized centers beyond New York City.

Beyond simply providing a new and growing labor pool, Italians had from the beginning of their immigration shown a strong affinity toward entrepreneurship. Many emigrants in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century supported themselves, in addition to seasonal work, in street vending endeavors, marketing products, vegetables, fish, etc. Street marketing was a common aspect of life in America's urban centers well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As Italian communities became more fixed in place many of these vendors prospered and established ethnic oriented services and goods. Often these goods and products, while common within the Italian culture, were unavailable or looked down upon by Americans. Despite many obstacles, regarding their culture and endeavors, these 19<sup>th</sup> century emigres managed through hard work, to slowly create self-sufficient and protected little cultural/economic islands in the American urban landscape.

(Note) This ability to create and sustain self-sufficient small ethnic communities continued to be bolstered by the emigration that occurred in the 1890's. In that decade U.S. immigration data records the arrival of 650,000 Italian emigres. This brought the total emigration of Italians to the U.S. between 1850 and 1899 to 900,000 or roughly 20% of the 4.5 million that would arrive by 1940. Placing this in perspective by 1899 Italian emigration, by number, was already second only

to Irish emigration in U.S. history and would very quickly eclipse the Irish immigration totals thereafter.

### **The Transition to Self-Reliant Community**

Study of the Five Points in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, specifically 1885-1895, offers a unique opportunity to glimpse early Italian émigré entrepreneurship and the foundations of community development. We are aided in that examination by an interesting written and photographic expose' which was published by photojournalist and social reformer by the name of Jacob Riis. His photographs taken within the Five Points exposed the "wretched", his words, and for many people shocking living conditions which prevailed. His purpose in producing his expose was to illicit social reform. Those photographs were gathered in a published work that he titled "How the Other Half Lives". The photographs and publication led to a "Progressive" movement to improve the tenement building conditions, sanitation and social improvements in the Five Points which historically, from the 1830's onward, had been overlooked by municipal efforts.

For our Italian narrative, Riis' work inadvertently captures the moment of Italian ethnic turnover within the Five Points community. I say inadvertent because the poverty and dilapidated conditions on display had existed for almost a century, half of which time Italians were either not present or present in very small numbers. However, at the time Riis did his expose' Italians were beginning to dominate the ethnic make-up of this specific area. As a result, the individuals in residence at the time of the expose were predominantly Italian and largely Basilicatan.

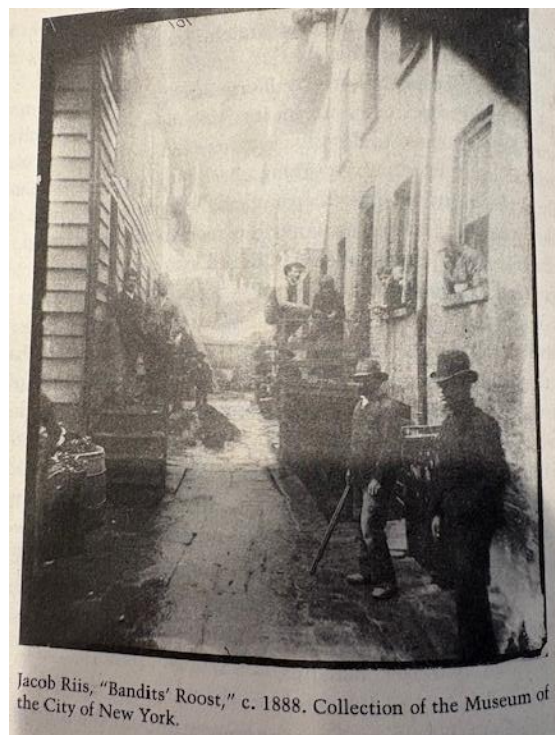
As Riis began his expose' he was drawn to the conditions historically considered the worst of the worst of the Five Points. To his credit Riis did acknowledge that the physical conditions that he was observing had existed there, unimproved, for the better part of a century and were not the result of the newly arrived and housed. The specific area of much of his focus within the Five Points was known historically as "Bandits' Roost" which Riis also referred to as "Mulberry Bend" or the "Bend". In Riis' own words he viewed the area as; "Where Mulberry Street crooks like an elbow within hail of the old depravity of the Five Points, is "the Bend," foul core of New York's slums", a "vast human pig-sty. There is but one "Bend" in the world, and it is enough". In other words, Riis set-up his camera to photograph and record the worst of the worst conditions in the poorest slum in America.

When you read Riis' descriptions of a local street scene, it is clear that, he cannot see past the systemic generational poverty and desperate living conditions of the area. His view is the "Italians" who are inhabiting the area is that they are just the latest impoverished immigrants leeching on to the "pigsty" that was a vile festering slum. He is unprepared, as it was not his goal or perspective, to accurately evaluate the scene and the emerging culture of the Italian emigrants of the late 1880's. Most importantly, he does not see the Italian émigré's entrepreneurship as true entrepreneurship but rather as pathetic effort at subsistence, and as a result, a further expression of their poverty. By way of illustration, he wrote in "How the Other Half Lives"; "Huckster and

peddlers' carts make two rows of booths in the street itself, and along the house is still another- a perpetual market doing lively trade in its own queer staples, found nowhere on American ground save the "Bend". Mixed in with substantial traders with large hand trucks were a number of female peddlers. Two old hags, camping on the pavement, are dispensing stale bread, baked not in loaves, but in the shape of big wreaths like exaggerated crullers, out of bags of dirty bedtick." He goes on to report seeing Italian women "haggling over baskets of frowsy weeds, some sort of salad probably, stale tomatoes, oranges not above suspicion. As barrels serve them as counters".

While a certain measure of disdain is evident in Riis' description of the foods being marketed especially the mention of Italians eating "stale" bread, I think he is trying to suggest that the people were reduced to eating inedible scraps. The reference to Italians eating stale bread is mentioned regularly in reference to Italian emigres. Most Americans simply could not comprehend how Italians were not appalled at being reduced to eating basically, prison punishment rations. Of course, Italians might view the ingredients mentioned as some of the basics for several peasant dishes crafted from stale bread. I am also assuming that the "frowsy" weeds are dandelion bunches, again he sees it as a degradation to the point of eating common lawn weeds.

One Five Points scene that Riis photographed and is one of his most often reprinted photographs is shown below, titled "Bandits Roost" taken in 1888.



PHOTOGRAPH Bandits Roost

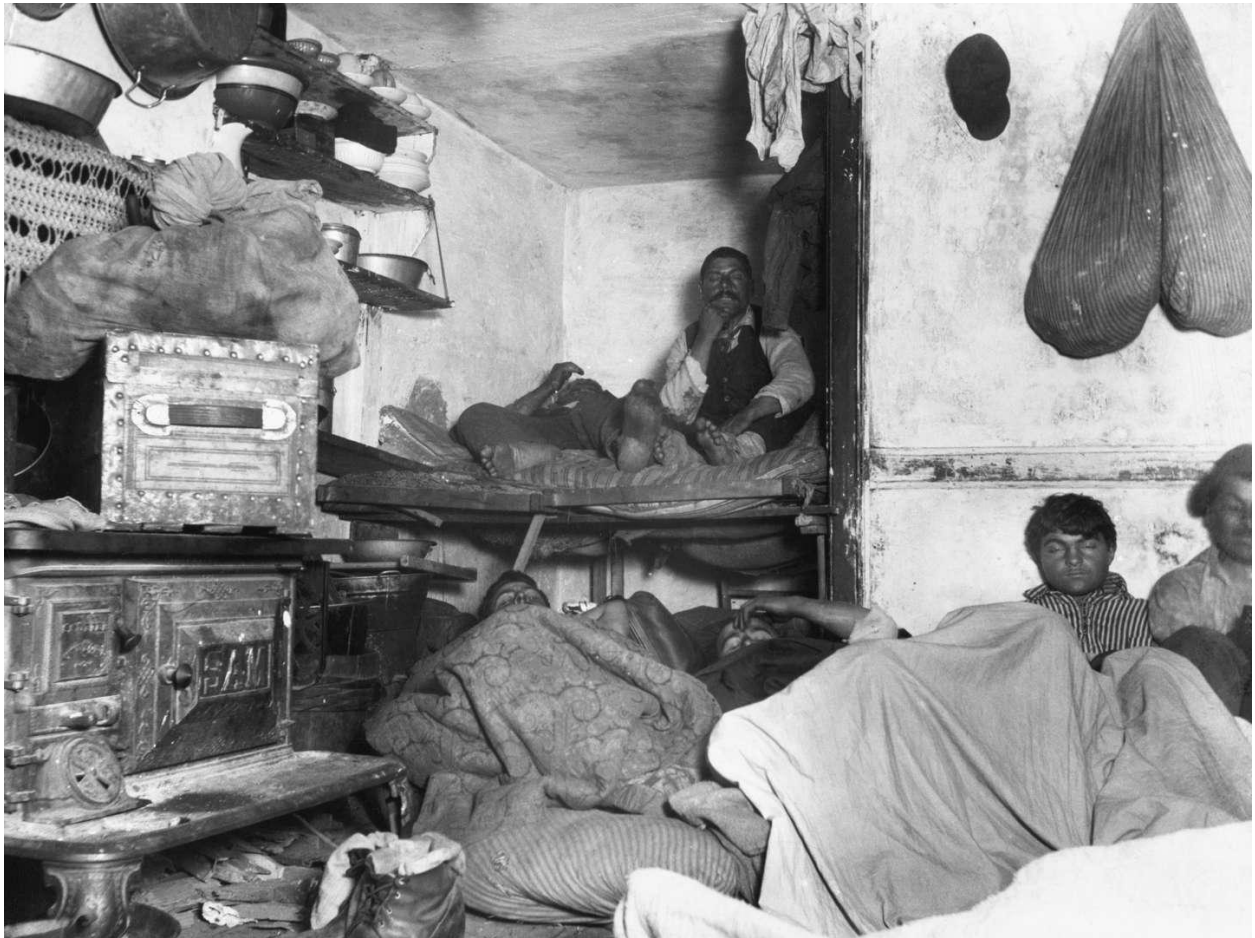


The scene depicted above is described by Anbinder's in his book, which was published 114 years after the photograph. It is interesting, even with the passage of time how Anbinder described the scene, "In Riis's image, the pavement is damp and dotted with puddles. Overflowing ash barrels are visible on the left, while clotheslines heavy with the day's wash filter the afternoon sunlight ominously. Tall tenements, the rear of buildings 57 and 59 Mulberry Street, loom on either side. The people add to the sense of foreboding. In the right foreground stands a neatly dressed young man in a bowler hat who would have been recognized by contemporaries as a menacing gang member. Just behind him is an older, bearded figure apparently holding a double-barreled shotgun. Above these two toughs, one of Riis's omnipresent "old hags" leans out the window. Stairs leading to the alley's numerous stale-beer dives are visible as well. Most of Riis's photos inspire pity or disgust at tenement dwellers' wretched conditioned, but this image of "Bandits Roost" creates a sense of menace and dread that is nearly palpable today as it was in 1888 when Riis first exhibited it".

As this is a photo of a Basilicata section of the Five Points circa 1888, I suggest a different explanation for what the photo shows. Obviously, the photo shows or suggests elements of extreme poverty in an area structurally worn-down and worn-out by generations of successive waves of mostly immigrant poor. It also correctly identifies that the alley is lined with basement and first floor "stale beer saloons" or "two cent restaurants" as they were called. These, "saloons" were establishments where patrons were given a hot liquid made with a base of beer dregs and a loaf of stale bread for two cents. The patrons who frequented such bars were described in the Riis book as "homeless" people. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century our social notion of poor, homeless, or alcohol consuming street people, is not actually what we see here.

First, what is called "stale beer" is a 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian peasant emigre concoction which in this case starts with the barley-based dregs from casks of beer which the Basilicata residents could obtain for free by cleaning out the casks. The casks were owned by local breweries. The Basilicatans used the dregs as a nutritional base, which was then supplemented with other vegetables and additives to make a porridge which the stale bread purchased could be added, pane cotta. This meager but inexpensive meal would ward off hunger and was served to the "street" poor in the "bars". So, this is not about intoxication or chronic alcoholism but rather, an attempt at bare minimum sustenance.

As to the homeless nature of the patrons of these stale beer saloons, most Italian emigrants especially Basilicatans, arrived poor. When they were able to afford to rent a room, they often did so by stacking as many as possible into a single room to share costs and save the meager wages they were making. See Riis photo below:



Five Points Tenement Living

But some Basilicatans could not afford to even acquire this degree of shelter from the basic elements. Living on the streets during this period was an extremely dangerous proposition in the Five Points. It exposed the homeless to all kinds of dangers from assaults, robberies, arrests and waste from animals and humans. For two cents you could acquire a meager meal and were allowed to spend the entire night without further expense in the basement or first floor “saloon” protected from these elements. So rather than this Bandits Roost photo showing an ominous and foreboding scene it is really showing a very poor and struggling neighborhood finding ways to feed and shelter itself with the little resources at hand. These saloons were de facto soup kitchens and homeless shelters, financed not by charity but by the meager resources of these working poor.

### **Clever Men with Heavy Boots**

Both Anbinder and Riis point out the presence of armed “gang” members in the photograph. Gangs, especially criminal gangs with bad intent had been a feature of the Five Points since its earliest days. These gangs were often quite violent and preyed upon the poor and helpless of the district. In the movie, “Gangs of New York”, you can get some sense of how it was. So, it is probably natural that Riis would attribute the “armed” men as an extension of that district condition. That sense may have been heightened by the fact that as an outsider photographing the site he probably needed permission from these men to take his pictures. He also would have remained under close observation, creating a sense of menace. Today a reader might regard the men as mobsters or members of organized crime. This, however, is a snapshot of a 19<sup>th</sup> century Basilicata based community. Basilicata had no history of organized crime, no Mafia or Camorra. What it did have was a history of small unit retaliatory response units. These mountain fighters would militantly respond to oppressive government acts. The Basilicata emigres adapted this regional small unit resistance format to create neighborhood “protective cells”. These small loosely associated units would guard specific territories, primarily from outside aggressions. It initially was a form of community, self-policing, to which the neighborhood would contribute and support. The degree of potential violence faced by these emigrant communities combined by the lack of protection afforded by the police made the formation of such protective “gangs” necessary. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century such “protective” groups were known by several names. The most common names within the Italian community for these protective groups were the “Society of the Stiletto” or just the “Society”. The capacity of Basilicatans to form such groups garnered a reputation among other Italian regional groups leading to Basilicatans being considered “Clever men with heavy boots” by their contemporaries. This was a phrase that was meant both as a complement and as a warning.

### **The Feast of St. Rocco**

As I have written the first feast honoring St. Rocco, a healing figure, was celebrated in the Five Points, in 1889, making this year’s celebration on August 17<sup>th</sup> the 136<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The celebration was and is produced by the Potenza Society, a Basilicatan umbrella organization in New York City. I mention this because Riis photographed an early example of the celebration in 1894, see below



Riis Photograph St. Rocco Celebration 1894

What is interesting is that this is the exact same alley as the 1888 photo. It is even taken from the same camera's perspective. Riis identifies the festival as a Basilicata community based religious celebration. The photo demonstrates the remarkable transformation of both the alley and the general appearance of the people. While they may still be poor the joy, devotion and pride of the people is on full display in the 1892 photo. Gone is the sense of "ominous foreboding" replaced by bright lights and children dressed in their Sunday finest. Also gone, although I suspect only out of sight, is the intimidating presence of armed protection. Even the police noted that during most of its history, the Five Points was not a place where people of means, or women could roam without being accosted. Once the Italians began to dominate the neighborhood women and children could roam freely within their community without fear. Random acts of violence and petty street crime began to vanish.

The statue of St. Rocco is on display in the alley because the Irish Catholic dominated archdiocese of New York had forbidden such statues to be displayed in local churches. Italian religious patronal statues were not allowed in the archdiocese until it was finally allowed in the first Italian church in the Five Points in 1901. In fact, at the time this picture was taken, religious street festivals of this sort were also banned by the archdiocese. The fact that the observance is taking place means that it was not only unsanctioned by the Church but was held in direct

defiance of the archbishop's orders. Some have suggested that the emigrants were emboldened to display their religious culture when the Pope sent the Scalabrini priests and nuns. The Scalabrini priest and nuns, who understood the Basilicata religious cultural celebrations understood it differently. Basilicata religious orthodoxy has often not lined up with Vatican orthodoxy, although in the last century it has gotten closer. This deviation between "Rome's" rules and the traditional Basilicata religious practices is what gave rise to the five-century old Italian expression, "Christ stops at Eboli". This should not be confused with the book written by Italian Carlo Levi "Christ Stopped in Eboli".

(Note, this statue is the same one actually used in the film the "Godfather". If you recall the scene in the movie the statue is brought to the steps of the church, not from within the church prior, the procession). The statue was paid for by the Basilicata emigrants and is owned by the Potenza Society.

I hope that this article helped examine a little of how the early Basilicata -American community emerged. For all those interested in further research on the topic of early Italian emigration and development although there is a lack of easily accessible material following the structures of self- help, religion, economics, business, culture and protective unity are key to putting the story together. In the next article I intend to expand on the subject using the Basilicata Trenton community as my focal point. There are several reasons for my shift to the Trenton community. The Trenton community in many ways follows the organization of the Five Points community but on a smaller scale. Also, the Trenton community avoided starting in quite the dire circumstance of the Five Points as the community development was contemporaneous and financed by Trenton's rapid industrialization and urban expansion. As a result, there was no "Five Points" ghetto aspect to the story. However, there were interesting examples of social adjusting and of the building of community from within.