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In January 1915, seventeen-year-old Aladino Viviani departed his home town of Fornovolasco, a small agricultural community nestled in the Appenine Mountains of Tuscany. Following the route of previous immigrants, Viviani traveled through the mountains to the city of Lucca and then north to Genoa, a bustling port city situated on the Ligurian Sea. In Genoa, Viviani boarded the passenger steamship *Verona*, and began the trans-Atlantic voyage to the United States of America.[1]

After arriving in New York on 17 February, Viviani produced papers declaring him in good health and subsequently passed the immigrant medical examinations administered at Ellis Island. Although unfamiliar with the city and incapable of conversing in English, Viviani managed to locate the New York railroad depot and boarded a train destined for New Mexico. Following a long train journey, he arrived in Albuquerque and was reunited with his brother Luigi.[2]

Through his brother's connections, Viviani immediately secured a job at the Santa Fe Railroad shops located on South First Street. For lodging, he relied on the support of Pietro Vichi, another immigrant from Fornovolasco who operated a small grocery store in Albuquerque. Eventually, Viviani resigned his position with the railroad in order to seek a better job. In 1921, he began working as a clerk at the Montezuma Grocery operated by Antonio and Cherubino Domenici, two other immigrants from Italy.[3] Nine years later, Viviani operated his own grocery store at 1523 North Seventh Street, owned a modest home at the same address, and was the head of a household of four.[4]

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The experiences of Aladino Viviani and the hundreds of other Italian immigrants who settled in Albuquerque between 1900 and 1930 is the central focus of this article. For the sake of time and space, only one dimension of the Italian immigrant experience in Albuquerque is explored herein—economic success and mobility. In addressing the notion of immigrant assimilation and acculturation, historians and sociologists have long included detailed analyses of economic mobility in their works.[5] Using previous studies as a basis, this article will demonstrate how Albuquerque's Italians fit into the ideas posited by leading immigration scholars. Did Italian immigrants who settled in Albuquerque experience significant mobility? How did the unique conditions of the city of Albuquerque affect the immigrants'economic development? To what extent did the perserverance of Old World ties support or hinder their ability to succeed economically? Were Italian immigrants in Albuquerque more successful economically than their countrymen who settled in larger American cities? In terms of economic mobility, was Italian immigrant settlement in the West distinctive from that in the East?

Between 1900 and 1930, Albuquerque witnessed a substantial in-migration of foreign-born Italians.[6] Many of these immigrants learned about Albuquerque from family and friends already residing in the city and immigrated through the process of chain migration. Other Italian immigrants moved to Albuquerque after living elsewhere in the United States or in another part of New Mexico. Still other Italians stumbled upon Albuquerque by chance and then decided to stay permanently or settled in the city because of its reputation as a haven for health seekers. In 1900, Albuquerque was home to ninety-nine foreign-born Italians.[7] Thirty years later, the number of foreign-born Italians living in the city peaked at 238.[8] Even though immigrants from throughout Italy constituted Albuquerque's foreign-born Italian population during this period, the majority hailed from Lucca, a province situated in the northern Italian region of Toscana.

Although many elements prompted emigration from Italy, most Italian immigrants to Albuquerque left their homeland for economic reasons. In the late 1800s, a large percentage of the Italian people relied on agriculture for survival. Even though marked progress in industrial development was apparent in certain areas of northern Italy by 1900, the fruits of an industrial state did not yet affect the lives of lower-class Italian peasants and many continued to practice primitive agriculture. Long working hours, obsolete tools, vast distances between home and field, and little tangible crop reward combined to make farming an extremely difficult undertaking. In some regions of Italy, large landowners

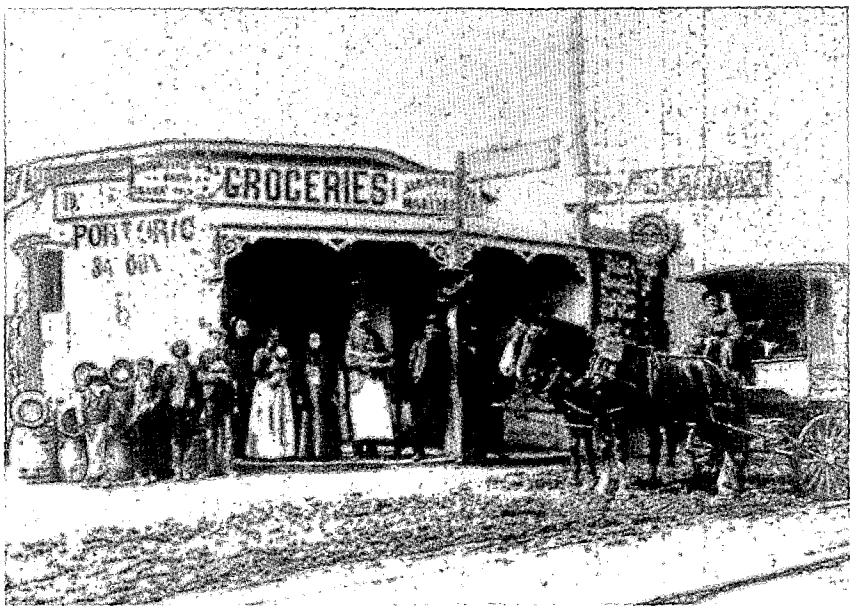
charged exorbitant rents and paid low wages to farmers willing to work the soil.[9] In their quest for personal wealth, these landowners bought out small family farms forcing the former owners to seek employment as day laborers on plantations owned by others.

The problems of the Italian agrarian sector increased between 1870 and 1900 when substantial population growth resulted in increases in the average family size. In many agricultural communities, household heads became incapable of providing for these larger families. Coupled with outbreaks of malaria, cholera, pellagra, dysentery, and other diseases, Italy's agricultural disorder prompted many Italians to emigrate to the United States.[10] The degree of unrest, of course, differed significantly from region to region. In general, the populations of southern Italy encountered greater agricultural and climatic hardships than those living in the north.[11] Nevertheless, some provinces of northern Italy, including Lucca, experienced noticeable agricultural strife, the result of which was the widespread emigration of its citizenry.

Employed as small farm owners and laborers in Italy, the majority of Albuquerque's Italian immigrants left their native country to escape agricultural hardship and seek economic opportunity abroad. Antonio Domenici, a young immigrant from the province of Lucca, left Italy for New Mexico when he realized his parents' modest family farm could not support him and his six siblings.[12] Not wishing to risk the insecurity of an agricultural existence in his country of birth, Luigi Del Frate also left Italy in hope of finding economic success in Albuquerque. Upon hearing of the city's economic potential from his brother Giuseppe, Luigi Del Frate emigrated from Italy in 1914, arriving in Albuquerque at the age of twenty-two.[13] Thelma Bachechi, a long time member of Albuquerque's Italian American community, explains how economic hardship initiated the process by which her family left Italy for New Mexico.

> They left to try to better themselves. Our family was very poor and they had all these children. It was hard supporting a family that large so [the children] all tried to leave Italy. Not all of them, but a majority came to this country to try to better themselves. I remember them saying that my grandmother used to yell about Christopher Columbus. She hated him because he had taken all of her children away from her. You see, he discovered America.[14]

Although raised in farming communities, Italian immigrants to Albuquerque, like Italian immigrants to the United States in general, rarely pursued agricultural endeavors upon arriving in America. The *United States Immigration Office Public Use Sample*, for example, indicates that only six percent of foreign-born Italians living in the United States



Alessandro Matteucci exemplified the economic success achieved by many Italian immigrants in Albuquerque. This photograph shows Matteucci and his family in front of his first business endeavor—the Porto Rico Saloon in Old Town, ca. 1899. Yolanda Matteucci Marianetti collection, courtesy of Paul and Patti Marianetti.

in 1910 were employed in agricultural pursuits.[15] Some Italian immigrants to the United States, however, did enjoy profound success in agricultural endeavors. In the early 1900s, for example, approximately three hundred northern Italian immigrants instituted a cooperative farm colony in St. Helena, North Carolina.[16] In Alabama, significant numbers of Italian immigrants sought work in fields owned by wealthy planters. The interest in Italian immigrant labor became so great in 1907 that a group of Alabama planters met with the Italian ambassador hoping to increase the influx of immigrant Italians into the state.[17] Italian farmers also prospered in parts of the western United States. In California, for example, they found success in truck farming, wine making, dairying, and other agricultural enterprises.[18]

Several Italians who settled in the Albuquerque area also made a living from the trade of their ancestors. For the most part, Italian-born agriculturists lived outside of the city limits rather than in the downtown district. In 1900, for instance, several Italian immigrants farmed small plots of land in Los Duranes and Los Griegos, two predominately Hispanic communities located on the outskirts of Albuquerque.[19] In the 1920s, farming continued to be a popular occupation for Italian immi-

grants living in Los Duranes. In that decade, Felix Speronelli operated a small truck farm in the community. George Domenici, a second-generation Italian American born and raised in Albuquerque, recalls Speronelli's making periodic visits to the city in order to sell his produce.

> He was an Italian who had a truck farm [and] he had a horse and wagon. I can remember when he came, he'd stop in front of the house and he had a big cast iron weight. It must have been ten or twelve pounds. He'd put it on the ground right in front of the horses and snap the rope to the bridle and the horses would just sit there all the time he was [selling]. He didn't stop at every house. He'd stop [in between several homes] and two or three women would come from the neighboring houses and then he'd move down a half block or so and then he'd do the same thing.[20]

Albuquerque's South Valley was also a popular locale for Italian-born farmers. In 1930, for example, Giuseppe Gherardi, an Italian immigrant who originally left Italy to work as a miner, migrated from Dawson, New Mexico to Albuquerque's South Valley to operate a truck farm. During the 1930s, Giuseppe and his son James delivered produce to private homes and retail grocery stores throughout the city.[21] Two additional South Valley farming families, the Lucchettis and the Gherardos, trace their history back to Italian immigrants who came to the area at the turn of the 20th century.[22]

One Italian immigrant actively sought to bring Italian farm workers to the Albuquerque area. Realizing the agricultural prospects of the Rio Grande Valley, Vittorio Nacamuli, an immigrant from Padua and the local Italian consul, planned to establish a colony of Italian farmers south of Albuquerque. In a 1907 article in the *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Nacamuli discussed his plans to bring Italians from the vicinity of Padua and set them to work farming the Rio Grande Valley. "The consul is confident," the article read, "that with a little boosting a large number of these immigrants can [be] brought to New Mexico and the Rio Grande Valley, particularly since Count Corte, the Italian consul general who was here Thursday, is so very favorably impressed with the climate and soil conditions of the valley."[23] Nacamuli's audacious plans, however, remained unfulfilled at the time of his departure for Colorado in 1912.

Despite the occasional farmer, the majority of Italian immigrants to Albuquerque abandoned agriculture for other economic pursuits. As a veritable western boom town, turn-of-the-century Albuquerque provided numerous job opportunities outside the realm of farming, particularly in proprietary, managerial, and other white-collar positions.[24] Realizing the opportunity for economic success and possible advancement in these areas, most Italian immigrants abandoned the trade of their European

Table 1

Occupations of Foreign-born Italian Males in Albuquerque, by Job Classification: 1900-1930

	Total	White Collar	% of Total	Skilled	% of Total	Unskilled	% of Total
1900	54	27	50%	19	35%	8	15%
1910	110	49	45%	35	32%	26	23%
1920	137	59	43%	48	35%	30	22%
1930	76	49	64%	17	23%	10	13%

Source: Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; Thirteenth Census of Population, 1910, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; Fourteenth Census of Population, 1920, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; and *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930* (El Paso, TX: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1930). 109-484.

ancestors after arriving in the city. Some Italians even made the decision to emigrate due to rumors of non-agricultural economic opportunities in Albuquerque. In 1888, for example, Angelina Giomi heard of the many possibilities for economic success from her sister Isola Bambini who had already settled in the city. Hoping to join her sister and take advantage of the economic potential of the area, Angelina convinced her husband Girolamo to leave Italy and go to New Mexico.[25]

Indeed, early Albuquerque provided an environment that fostered the economic success of immigrants living there. Italian immigrants were perhaps the most successful of all immigrant groups in Albuquerque. In fact, many foreign-born Italians secured white-collar positions or otherwise improved their economic status soon after arrival in the city.[26] Table 1 lists the number of Italian immigrants employed in three job categories—white-collar, skilled, and unskilled.[27] As evidenced by these statistics, Italian immigrants in Albuquerque were most commonly employed in white-collar jobs, an indicator of their collective economic success.[28]

During this period, the most popular job for Italian immigrants in Albuquerque was small business owner. In fact, in 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930, more Italians were employed as small business owners than in any other profession. In 1900, for example, nineteen Italian immigrants, or thirty-five percent of the total immigrant males listing jobs, were the proprietors of either merchant businesses, saloons, wholesale liquor dealerships, or restaurants.[29] In 1910, this was true for twenty percent of all Italian immigrants working in Albuquerque.[30] By 1920, the most popular occupations for Italian immigrants had become that of grocer or merchant. In that year, twenty Italians owned neighborhood grocery stores or other merchant businesses, either alone or in partnership with another Italian immigrant.[31] Ten years later, seventeen Italian immigrants were proprietors of these types of businesses.[32] As might be expected, the financial stability of these Italian-owned businesses differed mark-

Table 2

Occupational Mobility of Foreign-born Italian Males in Albuquerque: 1900-1910*

	Job Class, 1910		
Job Class, 1900	White Collar	Skillled	Unskilled
White Collar	20 (90%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
Skilled	5 (63%)	2 (25%)	1 (12%)
Unskilled	1 (25%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)

*Based on a sample of 33 foreign-born Italian immigrant males who could be traced in Albuquerque from 1900-1910.

Source: Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; and *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1910-1911* (Dallas, TX: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910), 75-304.

edly from one firm to the next. Some immigrants amassed fortunes from their stores, using their incomes to build grandiose homes and purchase plots of land around the city. Others earned just enough to survive. Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of Albuquerque's Italian immigrants were able to escape from, or altogether avoid, pick-and-shovel work and eventually own and operate businesses of their choosing is an important sign of the group's economic success.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 indicate that Italian immigrants in Albuquerque also experienced upward occupational mobility.[33] In other words, they often moved from lower status to higher status job-positions. For example, 50 percent of the Italian immigrants holding unskilled jobs in 1900 had obtained either white collar or skilled positions by 1910. Furthermore, as evidenced by Table 3, 62 percent of Albuquerque's unskilled Italian workers improved to white-collar or skilled jobs between 1910 and 1920.[34] Italian immigrants holding unskilled jobs enjoyed the greatest upward mobility between 1920 and 1930. As revealed by Table 4, 83 percent of Italian immigrants employed as unskilled workers in 1920 had secured white collar or skilled positions by 1930.

Many Italian immigrants in skilled professions also improved their economic status after living in Albuquerque for several years. Table 2 demonstrates that sixty-three percent of Italian immigrants holding skilled positions in 1900 had secured white collar jobs by 1910. Between 1910 and 1920, 50 percent of the Italian immigrants holding skilled jobs improved to white collar positions while thirty-five percent did so between 1920 and 1930.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 also show that Italian immigrants in white collar occupations rarely fell to lower status jobs later in life. For example, 90 percent of Italian immigrants with white collar jobs in 1900 continued to hold jobs in that category in 1910. The persistence rate for white collar workers was also high during the period from 1910 to 1920. Furthermore, as shown in Table 4, 88 percent of immigrants who held white-collar jobs

Table 3

Occupational Mobility of Foreign-born Italian Males in Albuquerque: 1910-1920*

	Job Class, 1920		
Job Class, 1910	White Collar	Skillled	Unskilled
White Collar	30 (91%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)
Skilled	8 (50%)	6 (38%)	2 (12%)
Unskilled	5 (31%)	5 (31%)	6 (38%)

*Based on a sample of 65 foreign-born Italian immigrant males who could be traced in Albuquerque from 1910-1920.

Source: Thirteenth Census of Population, 1910, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; and *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920* (El Paso, TX: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1920), 184-543.

in 1920 continued to do so in 1930. Like white-collar workers, immigrants holding skilled jobs rarely dropped to lower status jobs later in life. Overall, Italian immigrants in Albuquerque experienced a high rate of upward occupational mobility and a low rate of downward mobility, another indicator of their economic success in the city.

When compared to other immigrants, Italians may have been the most upwardly mobile foreign-born group in Albuquerque. Although data was not collected for ethnic groups other than Italians for this article, Judith DeMark's study of Albuquerque's immigrants yielded some interesting comparative data. Between 1900 and 1910, DeMark writes, "a larger percentage of Italians than Germans, English or Irish improved their job status."[35] In a later work, DeMark draws comparative conclusions between foreign-born groups in Albuquerque, including Italians, and immigrants living in other areas of the United States. Albuquerque's foreign-born, she states, may have done comparatively better than their eastern contemporaries and thus, "American immigration history may need to be redefined."[36]

The economic experiences of Italian immigrants in Albuquerque varied greatly from one individual to the next. As might be expected, some Italian immigrants did not enjoy the economic success and upward mobility common among others. John Ross, for example, an Italian immigrant who secured his first job as a day laborer, never managed to move up to a skilled or white collar position while living in Albuquerque.[37] Nicola Tagliaferro, like Ross, also failed to advance from laborer to a higher status job. Although promoted to foreman, Tagliaferro continued to be employed as a day laborer while living in Albuquerque between 1900 and 1920.[38] Some foreign-born Italians even experienced downward economic mobility. Angelo Parenti, an immigrant who operated a merchant business on North Broadway in 1900, was employed as a night

Table 4

Occupational Mobility of Foreign-born Italian Males in Albuquerque: 1920-1930*

	Job Class, 1930		
Job Class, 1920	White Collar	Skillled	Unskilled
White Collar	23 (88%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)
Skilled	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	0 (0%)
Unskilled	4 (33%)	6 (50%)	2 (17%)

*Based on a sample of 55 foreign-born Italian immigrant males who could be traced in Albuquerque from 1920-1930.

Source: Fourteenth Census of Population, 1920, Bernalillo County, NM, precincts 12, 13, and 26; and *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930* (El Paso, TX: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1930), 109-484.

watchman ten years later and as an unskilled railroad laborer in 1920.[39] Furthermore, many of the Italian immigrants who returned to Italy or left the city for undisclosed locations may have done so because of economic disappointment in Albuquerque.

Although some suffered economically, a substantial number of Albuquerque's Italian immigrants experienced upward occupational mobility. The life stories and economic achievements of many individual Italian immigrants in the city can be gleaned from the biographies of five representative figures—Oreste Bachechi, Ettore Franchini, Aladino Viviani, and Pompilio and Alessandro Matteucci.[40]

Many of the Italian immigrants arriving around the turn of the twentieth century capitalized on the influx of settlers and the physical expansion of the city to open service-related businesses such as saloons, hotels, and general stores. The 1892 City Directory, for example, reveals that Italians living in Albuquerque were most commonly employed as small business owners. In that year, for instance, Giuseppe Badaraco operated a grocery, wine, and liquor shop at 223 North Third Street and Charles Melini had a merchant tailor shop at 117 West Railroad Avenue.[41] As a result of their enterprising actions, these and other early arrivals actually began their economic careers in Albuquerque as business owners.

Oreste Bachechi was one of the most economically successful Italian immigrants in Albuquerque. Like many of the early arrivals, Bachechi began his economic career as a small business owner when he opened a tent saloon in the city shortly after his arrival.[42] By 1901, Bachechi had instituted a partnership with Girolamo Giomi, another Italian immigrant, to form Bachechi & Giomi, a wholesale liquor enterprise.[43] Bachechi's initial undertakings were so successful that he was soon able to move his family to a new home on the 400 block of North Second Street.[44]

In 1907, Bachechi and Giomi expanded their partnership into the Consolidated Liquor Company, a corporation managed by Bachechi, Giomi, Charles Melini, and J.D. Eakin.[45] In 1917, Bachechi established the Bachechi Mercantile Company, naming himself president, Siro Chiordi the vice president, and P. Pucchetti the secretary/treasurer.[46] The Bachechi Mercantile Company billed itself as an agent for Schlitz Beer, Manitou mineral water, Kentucky whiskeys, and olive oil imported from Lucca, Italy—Bachechi's home province. In order to accommodate the travel needs of his fellow Italians, Bachechi's company also served as a ticket and information agent for Europe-bound steamship lines. In 1920, Bachechi turned this profitable business over to his son Arthur.[47]

Although he made his living from liquor, the advent of Prohibition in 1920 did not hinder Bachechi's economic success. With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, Bachechi became the proprietor of the Pastime Theater, while his son converted Bachechi Mercantile to conform to national prohibition.[48] In 1922, Oreste Bachechi became president of the Anchor Milling Company, his latest economic endeavor, and continued to serve as proprietor of the Pastime Theater.[49] While building a prosperous career from his liquor, mercantile, and theater dealings, Bachechi made numerous additional investments which served to increase his personal wealth and reputation among fellow immigrants and residents of the Albuquerque community at large.

Other Italian immigrants did not begin their careers as white-collar workers but worked their way up to such positions from skilled or unskilled jobs. Ettore Franchini, for example, first worked in Albuquerque as a driver, porter, and janitor in a saloon owned by Oreste Bachechi and Girolamo Giomi.[50] In 1902, Franchini left this job to work as an engine wiper in the Santa Fe Railroad shops located on South First Street.[51] After working his way up to machinist in the shops, Franchini abandoned his railroad career in order to pursue other economic endeavors. With the help of Oreste Bachechi, Franchini obtained his first white-collar position as a partner with A.O. Bachechi & Company.[52] Over the next eleven years, he was affiliated with A.O. Bachechi & Company, Bachechi Mercantile Company, and the Anchor Milling Company, serving as vice president in two of these enterprises. Together with his brother Ovidio, Ettore eventually opened Franchini Brothers, a wholesale and retail grocery and general merchandise store. This establishment specialized in imported groceries, Italian specialty items, olive oil, and steamship tickets to Europe.[53]

Aladino Viviani also made the transition from unskilled railroad laborer to small business owner. Between 1917, the year of his arrival in the city, and 1920, Viviani progressed from an unskilled railroad laborer to a machinist at the Santa Fe Railroad shops. Although a capable ma-

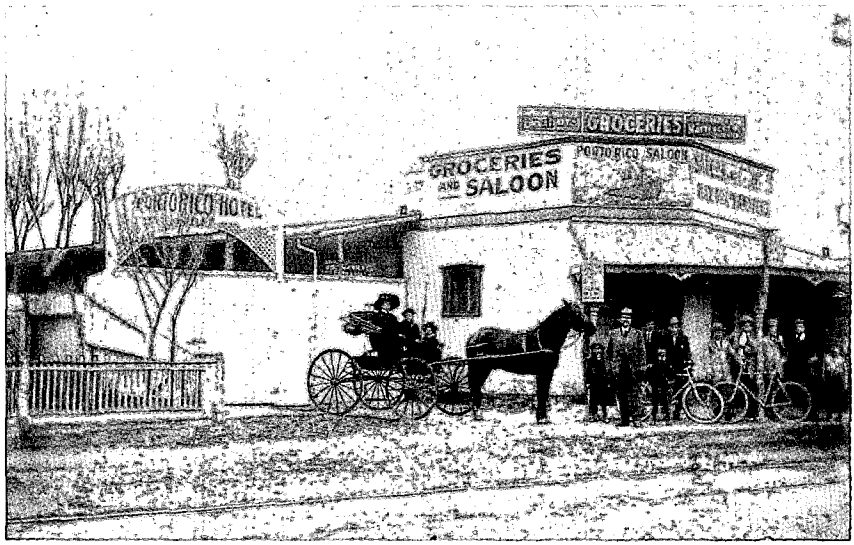
chinist, Viviani made the decision to leave his railroad position following a near-fatal accident in the shops. Aladino Viviani's son Henry recounts the interesting incident that prompted his father to leave his job with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

> [One day] he fell off the steam engine, off the hood of the steam engine, onto the concrete floor [and lost] all of his hair on one side of his head. They didn't think he was going to live because he had so much blood in his scalp. But he was living with the [Pietro Vichi family] and they had a little Mexican woman who [told] Mrs. Vichi that she could cure him. She said, "If you don't do something, he is going to die because he has all this blood in his head." This little lady made some black coffee, steaming black coffee, and put some herbs in it and made a canopy over [his] head and made him breath it. He did this every two or three hours and then, all of a sudden, my dad's nose started to bleed and all that blood came out. If it hadn't been for that little lady, he would be dead. She was a *curandera*.[54]

This life-threatening experience behind him, Viviani next secured successive positions at the Montezuma Grocery, Central Milling Company, Liberty Coal Company, and Union Bakery.[55] In 1928, he opened his own grocery store at 301 North Broadway, later moving the successful business to 1523 North Seventh Street.[56] Viviani's grocery and meat market soon acquired a city-wide reputation for homemade Italian sausage and therefore earned the steady patronage of many residents of the local Italian American community.[57]

Some Italian immigrants holding skilled job positions turned their expertise in a particular field into profitable businesses. Pompilio Matteucci, for example, built on his shoe-making skills. After emigrating to Albuquerque in 1905, Matteucci opened a small shoe repair shop at 105 North First Street to serve the needs of the growing Albuquerque community.[58] Having mastered the shoe-making trade while serving in the Italian army, the young immigrant soon acquired a city-wide reputation as a capable craftsman. Although only a shoe-maker by trade, Matteucci eventually decided to turn his shoe repair shop into a retail shoe store. Matteucci named this modest business the Paris Shoe Store in honor of the city that most caught his attention during the long trip to the United States.[59] With the help of his children and grandchildren, Matteucci expanded the Paris into one of the largest retail shoe stores in the Southwest.

Like Pompilio Matteucci, many foreign-born Italians used their skills to become proprietors of specialty businesses. In 1920, for example, Albuquerque was home to ten Italian immigrant tailors, eight of whom were also the proprietors of their own tailoring businesses.[60] Other Ital-



The Porto Rico saloon as it appeared following renovations to the building's facade, ca. 1904. Yolanda Matteucci Marianetti collection, courtesy of Paul and Patti Marianetti.

ian immigrants turned their stonemasonry and architectural skills into lucrative contracting businesses.[61] Julio and Amerigo Menicucci, meanwhile, capitalized on their experience in automobile service and repair. After emigrating to the Midwest to work in the mining industry, the Menicucci brothers relocated to Albuquerque in 1922 and opened the Safety First Tire Company in partnership with Astutillio Giannini, another immigrant from Italy.[62] Several years later, Julio and Amerigo left this endeavor to open the Super Service Station and Tire Company at 401 North Fourth Street.[63] Unlike other areas of the United States where skilled workers commonly worked in large factories, shops, or firms owned by others, the Italians of Albuquerque were often able to turn their skills into private business endeavors. In Albuquerque, then, skilled work provided yet another direct avenue to small business ownership.

Interestingly, one prosperous Italian immigrant discovered that economic achievement did not necessarily guarantee success in Albuquerque politics. Alessandro Matteucci, the first of four Matteucci brothers to immigrate to Albuquerque, came to the city in 1899 to work as a clerk at the Porto Rico, a saloon and grocery store owned by his uncle.[64] Soon afterward, Matteucci assumed control of the Porto Rico from its former owner. In 1905, Matteucci teamed up with Pio Lommori, another immigrant from Italy, to open Lommori and Matteucci's grocery on the corner of Seventh Street and Tijeras Avenue.[65] When Lommori left the business two years later, Matteucci made his brother Amadeo a partner and

Lommori & Matteucci Meat Market and Grocery located on the corner of Seventh Street and Tijeras Avenue, ca. 1906. Yolanda Matteucci Marianetti collection, courtesy of Paul and Patti Marianetti.

renamed the store the Champion Grocery and Meat Market.[66] Although Amadeo eventually abandoned the brothers' business to open his own grocery store, Alessandro continued to operate the Champion Grocery until 1938.[67]

Hoping to use business success to his advantage, Alessandro Matteucci ran as the Republican candidate for Bernalillo County Sheriff in 1920. In the year of national Prohibition, however, Matteucci's involvement in the saloon business worked against his political aspirations. In an *Albuquerque Morning Journal* political advertisement, Tony Ortiz, the Democratic nominee for County Sheriff, attacked Matteucci for his saloon and gambling ties. The advertisement emphasized the fact that Ortiz, unlike Matteucci, "never ran a joint, never frequents them, [and] is under no obligations to the gambling fraternity in Old Town."[68] Ortiz's supporters continued to target Matteucci's saloon and gambling ties in the weeks prior to the election.

In retaliation for the negative campaigning of his opponent, Matteucci emphasized both his economic achievements and reputation as a fair, respectable businessman. In his own political advertisement, Matteucci challenged the many "untruths" circulated about him in the local papers and touted his economic success. "Everybody knows," the advertisement read, "I have always been a friend of the working man,

and any businessman in this city will tell you my reputation for business integrity. . . . I have been connected with the Champion Grocery since 1900 and those who have traded with me know my reputation."[69] Despite his appeal to the Albuquerque business community and the political support of many Italian immigrants, Matteucci lost the election to Ortiz, winning only 3,259 votes to Ortiz's 5,997.[70]

The experiences of these five personalities illustrate the various paths that led Italian immigrants to economic success in Albuquerque. Some, like Oreste Bachechi and Alessandro Matteucci, secured white-collar jobs immediately upon arrival in Albuquerque and used these positions as stepladders for further advancement. Others, including Ettore Franchini and Aladino Viviani, worked their way up from unskilled jobs into white collar positions as small business owners. Still other immigrants, most notably Pompilio Matteucci, were able to turn their skills or trades into profitable business enterprises.

Although most did not hold a job outside the home, several Italian immigrant women also took advantage of the many economic opportunities available in Albuquerque. Oreste Bachechi's wife Maria, for instance, served as the proprietor of several Albuquerque hotels before opening a dry goods business with Armida Bonaguidi in 1917.[71] Although her exact role in the undertaking is unknown, Mrs. Bachechi may have also encouraged her husband to construct the Kimo Theater on the corner of Central Avenue and Fifth Street.[72] Like Maria Bachechi, Ettore Franchini's sister Fanny also enjoyed success in business. After working as a domestic servant at the Savoy Hotel on South First Street and as a manager at the Elms Hotel, Fanny Franchini went into the grocery business with her sister Lena and Siro Chiordi, another immigrant from Italy.[73] Between 1921 and 1925, Fanny Franchini served as a partner in the Santa Fe Grocery at 901 South Second Street.[74] Other Italian immigrant women became proprietors of boarding houses. In 1910, for example, six Italian immigrant women managed boarding houses in Albuquerque.[75]

What then accounted for the economic success commonplace among Albuquerque's Italian immigrants? According to Andrew Rolle, the unique western environment greatly contributed to the material success of Italian immigrants who settled in certain areas of the West. In *The Immigrant Upraised*, Rolle argues that Italians in the western United States generally escaped "ethnic crowding, slums, ghettoes, and a large measure of prejudice," all of which acted as barriers to economic achievement.[76] Despite some measure of initial suffering, Italian immigrants, according to Rolle, "found freedom in America's West rather than rigidity, openness rather than closed privilege," and demonstrated an ability to use the western environment to their advantage. Whether they advanced from railroad workers to small business owners, farm laborers to enter-

Alessandro Matteucci and family in front of the Matteucci home in Albuquerque, ca. 1910. Yolanda Mattuecci Marianetti collection, courtesy of Paul and Patti Marianetti.

prising agriculturists, or street peddlers to white collar employees, Italian immigrants in the West managed to avoid many of the restrictive features of other American cities—mainly ethnic prejudice and discrimination—and therefore enjoyed significant economic success.

In *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience*, Micaela di Leonardo, like Rolle, makes a strong case for the distinct nature of Italian immigrant settlement in the West. The Italians of California, di Leonardo argues, differed in a number of ways from their countrymen residing in other parts of the United States. For example, they tended to arrive earlier and hailed from northern Italian provinces rather than the Mezzogiorno. Most importantly, perhaps, di Leonardo argues that Italians in California occupied a higher position in the state's racial hierarchy than either Mexicans or Asians. In distinguishing themselves as part of the white working class, California's Italian-born managed to avoid the economic oppression often leveled against these minority groups. When coupled with the unique economic conditions of the state and the presence of strong kinship support networks, this absence of discrimination allowed California's Italians to enjoy a degree of upward social mobility uncharacteristic of many of their eastern contemporaries.[77]

Alessandro Matteucci, his wife Maria, and children, Pete and Yolanda, posing for a photograph in front of the Champion Grocery and Meat Market, ca. 1920. Yolanda Matteucci Marianetti collection, courtesy of Paul and Patti Marianetti.

One possible explanation for the lack of anti–Italian discrimination in Albuquerque lies in settlement demographics. In April of 1880, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad arrived in the city, then a small community populated mainly by Hispanics, Native Americans, and several pioneering Anglo American and European immigrant families. The railroad's arrival resulted in the immediate division of Albuquerque into "Old Town," the city's original plaza dating back to the Spanish Colonial Period, and "New Town," the area that sprouted up along the railroad tracks. Shortly thereafter, New Albuquerque experienced an immediate and unprecedented building boom, and, consequently, a steady increase in population. Between 1880 and 1930, Albuquerque's population increased from 2,315 to 20,750 as Anglo Americans and foreign-born immigrants such as the Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians made the city their home. Since the settlement of Anglo Americans—"Old Immigrants" such as Germans and Irish, and "New Immigrants," namely Italians, occurred simultaneously rather than in successive stages—there existed little animosity between early and later arrivals as was commonplace in other American cities.[78]

It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that Albuquerque was free from all ethnic and racial prejudice. The arrival of Anglo American and European immigrant groups to Albuquerque coincided with the onset of anti-Hispanic and anti-Native American sentiment directed by the new establishment at those peoples who had inhabited the land for countless generations. Italians, as white ethnics, managed to avoid this prejudice. In other words, prejudice and discrimination did exist in Albuquerque. However, it was not systematically targeted against the Italians because the city's so called "colored" ethnic groups, Hispanics and Native Americans, bore the brunt.[79]

Albuquerque's status as a bustling western community also contributed to the economic success of Italian immigrants living there. Rapid population growth in Albuquerque between 1880 and 1930 and the city's status as a major railroad stop resulted in a demand for saloons, groceries, merchant shops, hotels, rooming houses, and other service-related businesses.[80] In order to meet the needs of Albuquerque's growing population, many Italian immigrants opened these types of businesses soon after arriving in the city. Other Italian immigrants with skills such as shoe-making, tailoring, and automobile service and repair capitalized on an increased demand for their services also created by the physical expansion of the city. Unlike certain other American cities where arriving Italians encountered an established business sector difficult to penetrate, the Italians of Albuquerque came to the city when it was ripe for business development. Although most did not achieve the financial success of Oreste Bachechi or Pompilio Matteucci, the typical Italian immigrant earned enough to purchase property and a home, provide for the needs of his family, and live a comfortable life in the city.[81]

Since many foreign-born Italians earned their livelihoods from small businesses, the steady patronage of Albuquerque's citizenry played another important role in the immigrants' collective economic success. Although their businesses catered to Anglo Americans, Native Americans, and representatives of Albuquerque's other immigrant groups, the most popular customers of many Italian-owned groceries, saloons, and merchant enterprises were Hispanic New Mexicans. Luigi Del Frate, for example, catered mainly to Spanish speakers because his two businesses, the Pershing Cafe on South First Street and the Palms Beer Garden in Old Town, were situated in neighborhoods heavily populated by Hispanics.[82] As a result of daily interaction with his clientele, Del Frate, like most Italian-born store owners, developed an excellent knowledge of conversational Spanish. Native New Mexican customers were so prevalent in Modesto Dalle Piagge's Mint Bar that he employed a Hispanic

chef to prepare traditional meals for bar patrons.[83] Mattia Vaio's wholesale grocery, meanwhile, traded primarily with Hispanic farmers and ranchers residing outside of the Albuquerque city limits. According to Mattia Vaio's son George:

> These folks used to come in from Estancia and areas east of the Sandia Mountains. They'd come down in horse and wagons and a lot of them grew beans and brought beans in to sell—Pinto beans. Some brought in cedar posts to sell. When I was a kid, they used to park their horse and wagons behind the store and spend the evening. Then they would buy their supplies and go back. It was mostly mountain trade [and the business language] was Spanish.[84]

Although the particular social and economic conditions of Albuquerque played an important role in the Italians' economic success, Old World ties, in the form of ethnic community relationships, also helped facilitate the process by which the immigrants underwent economic advancement in the city. The beginning of Albuquerque's closely knit Italian immigrant community can be traced to the founding of the *Associazione Italiana di Mutua Protezione Cristoforo Colombo*, also known as the Colombo Society, on 24 April 1892. The organization's sixty-two charter members originally designed the Colombo Society to provide mutual assistance and protection for the Italian–born residents of Albuquerque. According to the conditions of membership, each member was required to pay an annual fee toward a sickness and accident fund.[85] Membership dues also provided assistance for immigrants in need of funeral expenses for a loved one and financed a modest plan to aid sick and unemployed immigrants.[86] Shortly after its formation, society members sponsored the construction of the Colombo Hall at 416 North Second Street to serve as the headquarters for the new society.[87]

The Colombo Society provided a solid foundation for the growth and development of a tightly-knit ethnic community—a community held together by the shared immigration experience and commonalties in language, religion, and culture. Inside the Colombo Hall's modest quarters, members of the Society sponsored dinners, dances, theatrical performances, concerts, and other community functions. These regular events attracted entire immigrant families, including children.[88] On some occasions, Italian immigrants even held their wedding receptions at this Italian community center.[89] In the evenings, Italian men visited the Colombo Hall to play Italian games such as *bocce* and *briscola* and socialize with their fellow countrymen.[90]

Strong interpersonal relations between members of this particularly tightly-knit ethnic community contributed to the economic success of individual Italian immigrants. In many instances, casual social relationships were transformed into economically prosperous business partnerships. In 1901, five Italian business partnerships, Bachechi & Giomi, Toti & Gradi, Morelli Brothers, Tartaglia & Ciddo, and Tomei & Brothers, served the residents of the Albuquerque community at large.[91] In 1910, the city was home to eighteen business partnerships between Italian immigrants.[92] Ten years later, the number of businesses operated by Italian-born partners increased to twenty-one.[93] By 1930, there were only fourteen Italian partnerships in Albuquerque, largely because many former partners had by then begun to initiate business endeavors of their own.[94]

Sometimes, Italian business partnerships consisted of two or more blood relatives. In 1910, for instance, Edward and Joseph Vaio were co-proprietors of Vaio Brothers general merchandise store at 307 North First Street.[95] Prior to opening his own wholesale grocery store, Edward and a third brother, Mattia, served as additional partners in the family business.[96] In most cases, however, future partners met one another in Albuquerque, established a good relationship through Italian community gatherings and functions, and later decided to pool their resources and start a business. As mentioned earlier, Oreste Bachechi and Ettore Franchini entered into a number of business partnerships with additional immigrants from Italy. Similarly, in 1920, Luigi Del Frate teamed up with Pasqualino Sei to open the Pershing Cafe at 109 South First Street.[97] For many immigrants, the partnership was the only means by which they could raise the necessary capital to invest in a business of their own.

Once an individual Italian immigrant achieved economic success, he often provided assistance to his countrymen still struggling to get ahead. In fact, many recently-arrived immigrants relied on the support of established Italian families to obtain a first job. Luigi Giacomelli, for instance, worked as a servant for Oreste Bachechi upon arriving in Albuquerque in 1899.[98] Like Giacomelli, Ettore Franchini and Antonio Bandoni found their first jobs in one of Oreste Bachechi's businesses.[99] Antonio Domenici and Cherubino Domenici, the proprietors of the Montezuma Grocery Store, also supplied jobs for recently-arrived immigrants from Italy. The Domenici's business, for example, employed four Italians in 1910, two as clerks and two as bartenders.[100] In that year, a total of twenty-four foreign-born Italians were employed as white collar or skilled workers in businesses owned by other Italian immigrants.[101] Many of the immigrants who got their start in the employ of another Italian eventually succeeded in opening their own small business as well.

Occasionally, Italian immigrants wishing to start a business sought financial support from established families. Giuseppe Gherardi, for example, relied on credit extended to him from several Italian-operated stores in Albuquerque to start his South Valley farming operation in 1930.[102] At one point in his business career, Ettore Franchini went to Joseph Massaglia, an Italian immigrant from Piedmont, and secured a generous loan to help with necessary expenses.[103] After leaving his railroad career, Aladino Viviani borrowed a substantial sum of money from Mattia Vaio in order to start his own grocery store.[104] Julio and Amerigo Menicucci, Luigi Giannini, and Oreste Ganzerla also relied on loans from economically successful families in order to initiate their own business enterprises.[105] In Albuquerque, close interpersonal relationships among foreign-born Italians helped facilitate the process by which Old World ties were transformed into economic success.

Whether they began their careers at the white collar level, worked their way up to such positions from unskilled jobs, or turned their skills and trades into profitable business enterprises, Italian immigrants in Albuquerque achieved substantial economic success shortly after their arrival in the city, a sign that they adjusted easily to life in the Southwest. Unlike other areas of the United States where foreign-born Italians were most commonly employed in unskilled positions, the Italians of Albuquerque succeeded in obtaining white-collar positions such as small business ownership soon after emigration or, at the very least, during the course of their lifetimes. The vast majority of Italian immigrants in Albuquerque were employed in white collar positions between 1900 and 1930 and the fewest in jobs requiring no special skills. Furthermore, Italian immigrants living in the city experienced a high rate of upward occupational mobility and a low rate of downward mobility, another indicator of their collective economic success. Overall, the unique social and economic conditions of the city, coupled with the ability of individual immigrants to use Old World relationships to their advantage, allowed Albuquerque's foreign-born Italians to make a successful transition from agriculturalists to entrepreneurs.

NOTES

1. Janet Pisenti, *Thirty-Eight Cousins From Italy* (Santa Rosa, California: Northwestern Graphics, 1989), 340–41; Naturalization Records, Declaration and Intent, 2nd Judicial District, vol. 7, New Mexico State Archives and Records Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

2. Henry Viviani, Paul Viviani, and Anna Viviani Machemehl, interview with author, 6 February 1996. All of the interviews cited in this essay were conducted by the author as part of the Albuquerque Italian American Community Oral History Project, a community research endeavor sponsored by the UNM Oral History Program, the Office of Graduate Studies, and the Division of Continuing Educa-

tion, and endorsed by the Department of History. The thirty-five interviewees—seventeen males and eighteen females—were selected randomly from Italian families who settled in Albuquerque prior to 1940. Interview cassette tapes, transcripts, and audio logs are housed at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico.

3. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1921* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1921), 464.

4. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1930), 463.

5. Studies addressing the notion of economic mobility among immigrants living in western United States include Andrew Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968); William G. Robbins, "Opportunity and Persistence in the Pacific Northwest: A Quantitative Study of Early Roseburg, Oregon," *Pacific Historical Review* 39 (August 1970); Alwyn Barr, "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio, 1870–1920," *Social Science Quarterly* 51 (September 1970); Judith De Mark, "The Immigrant Experience in Albuquerque, 1880–1920" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1984); DeMark, "Occupational Mobility and Persistence within Albuquerque's Ethnic Groups, 1880–1910: A Statistical Analysis, " *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (October 1993); Alan Balboni, *Beyond the Mafia: Italian Americans and the Development of Las Vegas* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996).

6. For a complete account of the factors that induced foreign-born Italians to leave their native country for New Mexico, see Nicholas P. Ciotola, "The Italians of Albuquerque, 1880–1930: A Study in Immigrant Adjustment and Assimilation" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1997), 49–54.

7. Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12, 13, and 26. Bernalillo census records are located on microfilm at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico.

8. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population 1930*, vol. 3, part two (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), 244.

9. Luciano J. Iorizzo and Salvatore Mondello, *The Italian Americans* (New York: Twayne, 1971), 56.

10. Patrick J. Gallo, *Old Bread, New Wine: A Portrait of the Italian Americans* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981), 22.

11. Robert Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*, 2nd ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 106.

12. George Domenici and Teresa (Domenici) Menicucci, interview with author, 26 January 1996.

13. Catherine (Del Frate) Domenici and Jeanette (Del Frate) Monahan, interview with author, 30 January 1996.

14. Thelma (Toti) Bachechi, interview with author, 6 February 1996.

15. Susan Cotts Watkins, ed., *After Ellis Island: Newcomers and Natives in the 1910 Census* (New York: Russell Sage, 1994), 376.

16. Felice Ferrero, "A Farm Colony in North Carolina," in *A Documentary History of the Italian Americans*, ed. Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren (New York: Praeger, 1974), 81–84.

17. Dino Cinel, "Italians in the South: The Alabama Case," *Italian Americana* 9 (1990), 10.

18. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised*, 272–76.

19. Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, precincts 8 and 35.

20. George Domenici and Teresa (Domenici) Menicucci, interview with author, 26 January 1996.

21. James Gherardi, interview with author, 18 April 1996.

22. Ibid.

23. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 17 March 1907, 8.

24. DeMark, "The Immigrant Experience in Albuquerque," 117.

25. Phyllis Cancilla Martinelli, "Italian Immigrant Women in the Southwest," in *Italian Immigrant Women in North America*, ed. Betty Boyd Caroli, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio F. Tomasi (Toronto, Ontario: Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario, 1978), 326.

26. Since the majority of Albuquerque's Italian immigrant women did not work outside of the home, economic statistics compiled for this study refer to Italian immigrant males. Throughout the course of this study, the term "Italian immigrants" is used in place of Italian immigrant males.

27. For the purposes of this study, "white collar" refers to professionals, clerical workers, and small business proprietors and managers. "Skilled" refers to immigrants who had positions requiring a trade such as shoemaking, tailoring, or stonemasonry. "Unskilled," refers to jobs that required no training, particularly that of a laborer. For a complete listing of the specific jobs held by Italian immigrants in these three categories see Ciotola, "The Italians of Albuquerque," 207–9.

28. In her analysis of Albuquerque's immigrants, Judith DeMark also found that foreign-born ethnic groups fared extremely well economically. In 1900, for instance, more than thirty-seven percent of all immigrants living in the city were employed as professionals, proprietor-managers, or clerical workers, the three highest job categories employed in the study. See DeMark, "The Immigrant Experience in Albuquerque," 125.

29. Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12, 13, and 26.

30. Thirteenth Census of Population, 1910, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12, 13, and 26.

31. Fourteenth Census of Population, 1920, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12, 13, and 26.

32. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930,* 109–484.

33. These tables were created by tracing the occupations of individual Italian immigrant males over ten-year periods of time using census records and city directories. The rows represent the immigrants' initial job categories while the columns represent their job categories after the trace. The numbers within the tables reflect the percentage of Italian immigrants from each job category who moved to a new job category or persisted in the same category during the given ten-year period. This sampling method relies on the technique utilized by Thomas Kessner in his comparative study of Italian and Jewish immigrants in New York City. See Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 104–20.

34. The percentages in Tables 2, 3, and 4 refer to the total number of immigrant males in each job category who could be traced and not to the total number of immigrants in each category living in Albuquerque.

35. DeMark, "The Immigrant Experience in Albuquerque," 149.

36. DeMark, "Occupational Mobility and Persistence," 398.

37. Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12 and 26; and Thirteenth Census of Population, 1910, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12 and 26.

38. Ibid.; Fourteenth Census of Population, 1920, Bernalillo, County, New Mexico, precincts 12 and 26.

39. Ibid.

40. These case studies of individual Italian immigrants are meant only to illustrate the possibilities of economic success prevalent in Albuquerque between 1900 and 1930. Although some Italian immigrants enjoyed similar economic success, other foreign-born individuals certainly did not.

41. *Correy's New Mexico Gazetteer and Business Directory* (Topeka, Kansas: George W. Crane & Co., 1892), 61–98. Other Italian immigrants owning businesses in 1892 were Oreste Bachechi, Ostilio Bambini, Girolamo Giomi, Cesar Grande, Charles Grande, Daniel Morelli, and Giuseppe Scotti.

42. Frederick G. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 164.

43. *Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide, 1901* (Albuquerque: Hughes & McCreight, 1901), 56.

44. Adelina Puccini Timofeyew, interview with author, 9 September 1996.

45. *Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide, 1907* (Albuquerque: Citizen Publishing Co., 1907), 25. See also advertisement in *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 24 January 1907, 5.

46. *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1917* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1917), 112.

47. Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, vol. 2 (New York: American Historical Association, 1925), 265.

48. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1920), 205; and *Albuquerque City Directory, 1921*, 199.

49. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1922* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1922), 206.

50. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico*, 172.

51. Ibid.

52. *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1910–1911* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910), 141.

53. Ioli Giomi, "The Italian Pioneers in New Mexico," *Il Giornalino* 4 (October 1977), 8–9.

54. Henry Viviani, Paul Viviani, and Anna Viviani Machemehl, interview with author, 6 February 1996.

55. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920*, 522; Ellis Arthur Davis, *The Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico*, vol. 1 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: New Mexico Historical Association, 1945), 805.

56. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1928* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1928), 440; *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930*, 463.

57. Henry Viviani, Paul Viviani, and Anna Viviani Machemehl, interview with author, 6 February 1996.

58. *New Mexico State Tribune*, 11 February 1932, 1.

59. Robert Matteucci, Sr., interview with author, 24 January 1996; Vivian Anderson, "Paris in Albuquerque," *Boot and Shoe Recorder* 166 (July 1964), 56.

60. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920*, 407, 505, 510, and 624. The eight Italian immigrant tailors who operated their own tailor businesses in 1920 were Agostino J. Morelli, Joseph P. Morelli, John Morelli, Amerigo Morelli, Fernando Arrighetti, Charles Tartaglia, Frank Tomei, and Leonello Tomei.

61. Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12, 13, and 26. In 1900, seven Italian-born stonemasons resided in Albuquerque, several of whom were also the proprietors of their own contracting businesses.

62. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1923* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1923), 466; Charlie Menicucci, interview with author, 6 March 1996; Dante Menicucci, interview with author, 23 January 1996; Mario Menicucci, interview with author, 19 January 1996.

63. Mario Menicucci, interview with author, 19 January 1996.

64. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico*, 174.

65. *Albuquerque City and Business Directory, 1905–1906* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Ives Publishing Co., 1906), 58.

66. *Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide, 1907* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Citizen Publishing Co., 1907), 79.

67. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico*, 175.

68. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 27 October 1920, 4.

69. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 2 November 1920, 4.

70. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 4 November 1920, 4; *New Mexico Blue Book, 1920*, 167.

71. Davis, *The Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico*, vol. I, 565; *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1917*, 112.

72. Adelina Puccini Timofeyew, interview with author, 9 September 1996.

73. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1921*, 271.

74. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1925* (El Paso, Texas: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1925), 291.

75. Thirteenth Census of Population, 1910, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, precincts 12 and 26.

76. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised*, 336.

77. Micaela di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class, and Gender among California Italian-Americans* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984)

78. In New York City, for instance, Italians were often at odds over jobs and places of residence with their immigrant predecessors, the Irish. For an interesting account of ethnic conflict among four immigrant groups living in New York, see Ronald H. Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians of New York City, 1929–1941*, 2nd ed., (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

79. According to Alwyn Barr, a similar phenomenon took place in San Antonio where the presence of Mexican Americans and African Americans reduced the degree of prejudice directed against European immigrants. See Barr, "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio," 403. In parts of California, meanwhile, Chinese immigrants were the main targets of ethnic prejudice thus reducing the amount of discrimination leveled at Italians. See Paola A. Sensi-Isolani and Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, eds., *Struggle and Success: An Anthology of the Italian Immigrant Experience in California* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1993), 77.

80. DeMark, "Occupational Mobility and Persistence," 394.

81. In their respective studies of Denver, Colorado; South Portland, Oregon; Birmingham, Alabama; and El Paso County, Texas, Robert M. Tank, William Toll, Robert J. Norrell, and Valentine J. Belfiglio also found that a city or county's economic characteristics greatly affected the ability of immigrants living there to succeed economically. See Tank, "Mobility and Occupational Structure on the Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier," 215; William Toll, "Ethnicity and Stability: The Italians and Jews of South Portland, 1900–1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 54 (May 1985), 188–89; Robert J. Norrell, "Steelworkers and Storekeepers: Social Mobility among Italian Immigrants in Birmingham," in *The Italian Americans Through the Generations: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association*, ed. Rocco Caporale (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1986), 106–8; Valentine J. Belfiglio, "Public Policy and the Mexican Italians of El Paso County, Texas 1880–1920," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 68 (1992), 39.

82. Catherine Domenici and Jeanette Monahan, interview with author, 30 January 1996.

83. Emma (Dalle) Menicucci, interview with author, 28 February 1996.

84. George Vaio, interview with author, 2 June 1996.

85. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico*, 193.

86. George Domenici and Theresa (Domenici) Menicucci, interview with author, 26 January 1996.

87. Bohme, *A History of the Italians in New Mexico*, 192.

88. Ibid., 193.

89. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 11 August 1914, 5.

90. Gino Matteucci, interview with author, 28 March 1996; Armando Giannini, interview with author, 14 February 1996.

91. *Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide for 1901*, 56, 123, 143, and 145.

92. *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1910–1911*, 76–304.

93. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920*, 184–543.

94. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1930*, 109–484.

95. *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1910–1911*, 287.

96. George Vaio, interview with author, 2 June 1996.

97. *Albuquerque City Directory, 1920*, 393; Catherine (Del Frate) Domenici and Jeanette (Del Frate) Monahan, interview with author, 30 January 1996.

98. Lidia (Giacomelli) Matteucci, interview with author, 22 February 1996.

99. George Franchini, interview with author, 5 March 1996; Mary (Bandoni) Gherardi, interview with author, 18 April 1996.

100. *Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, NM, 1910–1911*, 128.

101. Ibid., 76–304.

102. James Gherardi, interview with author, 18 April 1996.

103. George Franchini, interview with author, 5 March 1996.

104. Henry Viviani, Paul Viviani, and Anna Viviani Machemehl, interview with author, 6 February 1996.

105. Mario Menicucci, interview with author, 19 January 1996; Armando Giannini, interview with author, 14 February 1996; Oreste Ganzerla, Jr., interview with author, 25 March 1996.