

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE 1920s

A Historical Perspective

Thomas J. Archdeacon

Introduction by Lawrence H. Fuchs



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Note: Biographical information was compiled at the time the individuals contributed to Americans All®.

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Contents

	Page
Preface	iv
Introduction	v
European Immigration from the Colonial Era to the 1920s	1
Immigrants All	1
The Colonial Era	1
The Hunger for Labor	2
Non-English Immigrants	3
The First Census	3
1790 to 1890	4
Europe's Surplus Population	4
Ireland's Potato Famine	4
Germans' Mixed Motives	5
The Scandinavian Influx	5
Two-Way Flow	6
Factors Influencing Destinations	6
The Population in 1890	7
From 1890 to Restriction	8
Return Migration	8
The Waning Welcome	9
Forces Encouraging Immigration	10
Italy's Economy	10
The Jewish Exodus	11
Three Groups of Slavs	12
Adoption of Immigration Restrictions	12
Calls for Curtailment	12
The Restriction of Immigration	13
Student Background Essays	14
The Photograph Collection	15
Bibliography	18
Photo Credits	21
Front Cover	21
Back Cover	21
Text	21
The Photograph Collection	21
Map of Europe, c. 1926	Back Cover

Today's youth are living in an unprecedented period of change. The complexities of the era include shifts in demographics, in social values and family structures as well as in economic and political realities. A key to understanding young people's place in both the present and the future lies in history. History is so much more than a collection of facts. When appropriately studied, it is a lens for viewing the motivations, beliefs, principles and imperatives that give rise to the institutions and practices of people and their nations. As our nation's schools reform their curricula to reflect the diversity of our school-age population, a major challenge arises. Is it possible to teach United States history as a history of diversity without evoking feelings of anger, bitterness and ethnic hatred? Is it possible to diversify classroom resources without generating feelings of separatism and alienation?

Americans All® answers "yes" to both these questions. The Americans All® program has proven that not only is it possible, it is preferable. By choosing to chronicle the history of six diverse groups—Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans—the program provides a frame upon which an inclusive approach to education on a nationwide basis can be built.

Nomenclature, regional differences, language and the demands of interest groups will always challenge an evolving diversity-based approach to education. These challenges are by-products of the freedoms that we treasure and strive to protect. This reality necessitates a process that becomes part of the product, however. Americans All® has integrated feedback from a diverse group of scholars in developing this program and maintains open lines of communication for continuous input from educators, parents and community members. The program's emphasis on six groups is based on historic patterns of migration and immigration. These six groups provide an umbrella under which many other groups fall. By developing 51 customized, state-specific resource packages, the continuing saga of diversity in the United States can and will be told.

Americans All® has succeeded in avoiding the land mines found in victim/oppressor approaches to our diverse history by using a thematic approach. The theme focuses on how individuals and families immigrated to and migrated through the United States (voluntarily and by force). Carefully planned learning activities engage teachers and students in comparative critical thinking

about all groups simultaneously. These activities ensure sensitivity to the previously untold stories of women, working-class people and minority and majority groups. Results from the program's implementation in ethnically and culturally diverse school systems confirm the efficacy of this approach.

We have answered "yes" to the frightening questions about teaching diversity without teaching hate. Our nation's leaders must now answer even more frightening questions: Can we afford not to teach history that is diverse and inclusive when school dropout rates range from 25 percent to 77 percent among Native American, African American, Asian American, Hispanic and foreign-born youth? Can we afford to continue preparing so many of our nation's youth for a future of exclusion from the economic mainstream—a future that mirrors a history curriculum that excludes them?

To compound the problem, we must add the very real constraint of urgency. The future of our nation is characterized by computer technology and global interdependence. All students, regardless of their gender or their socioeconomic, ethnic or cultural status, must be helped to see themselves as participants in this human continuum of scientific and mathematical development to both visualize and actualize a place for themselves in our future.

Students need to be challenged to think critically and examine how today's technology grew out of yesterday's industrial era, an era spawned by the agricultural accomplishments of prior generations. They need to understand that even the simple tasks of weaving fabric and making dyes from fruits or plants required mathematical and scientific understanding; that today's freeways grew out of yesterday's hand-hewn trails; that ancient tribal herbs from many cultures formed the basis of many of today's wonder drugs; and that it took the agricultural skills of many different peoples to produce the nucleus of today's complex farming and food industries. Students must also see the relationship between citizenship responsibilities and privileges and understand their own importance in that dynamic.

The Americans All® materials provide diverse and inclusive images of history that can be a catalyst for this type of understanding. Not only is it wise to teach about diversity, using an inclusive approach as modeled in the Americans All® program, it is essential.

Gail C. Christopher
January 1992

Introduction

As educators respond to the call for diversity-based education, it is important that they avoid the superficial—teaching a little about everyone—and the chauvinistic—teaching a lot about the students’ own backgrounds.

American diversity-based education must focus on the ways in which the many have shaped the one, giving new and expanded meaning to a nation of diversity held together by a belief in individual rights and the institutions established to protect them.

Americans All® provides an opportunity for teachers to adopt that approach. This program is not just about the victims and victimizers, but about the contributions many groups have made in creating a nation whose promise of justice, liberty and opportunity for all now has greater significance than ever before.

Speaking in 1860, Abraham Lincoln observed that even though the French, German, Irish and Scandinavian

immigrants of his time could not identify personally with the American Revolution and the early days of the Republic, they felt “a part of us” because “when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that ‘we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,’ and then they feel . . . that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence,” and, Lincoln concluded, “so they are.”

Immigrants now come from more than 160 different countries all over the world, speaking several dozen languages. In Americans All®, students and teachers will learn again what the writer Herman Melville wrote more than 100 years ago, that “we are not a nation so much as a world.” Yet they will also learn we are a nation, too.

Lawrence H. Fuchs

European Immigration from the Colonial Era to the 1920s

Immigrants All

People who came to this nation after the declaration of American independence from England are considered immigrants to the United States. Europeans who lived, prior to 1776, in the English colonies along the Atlantic Coast that became the 13 original states are usually referred to as colonists. Those colonists, however, were also immigrants to America or the offspring of such pioneers. Likewise, Hispanics who, during the eighteenth century, established frontier colonies in what later became the southwestern United States were migrants from Mexico and, more remotely, heirs of Spanish immigrants to the Americas.

Africans brought by force to the colonies and to the United States prior to the end of the slave trade in 1807 are usually distinguished from immigrants and colonists. As bondsmen and bondswomen, they had no choice about coming. Still, these Africans shared the experience involving permanent movement from one continent to another. The peoples known to the colonists as Indians have ancient ties to the northern tier of the Western Hemisphere that entitle them to the name Native Americans. Many scholars theorize that these peoples descended from forebears who came from Asia thousands of years ago.

The story of those who migrated from Europe to America between 1607 and the passage, in the 1920s, of laws that made entry difficult for people of many nationalities shows the fundamental role Europeans played in shaping the nation and creating its institutions. It also illustrates how fundamentally similar, across the centuries to the present day, the forces and hopes driving and inspiring men and women to migrate to the Americas have been.

The Colonial Era

The first Europeans to establish a permanent colony in the territory that would embrace the original 13 states of the American union arrived in the region of present-day Virginia in 1607. The 104 survivors of the Atlantic crossing began building their colony 30 miles inland from the mouth of the river they named in honor of their

king, James I of England. The newcomers soon fell on desperately hard times, in part because their expectations about their new home were misleading. They had hoped to duplicate the experiences of Spanish colonists who had found, in Central and South America, gold and silver as well as large, stable populations of conquerable native people. The English colonists, however, discovered neither valuable minerals nor a short-cut route that would lead them to Asia. Moreover, the native inhabitants, though willing to trade with the English, resisted them or faded into the forests when threatened with subjugation.

The hardships suffered in Virginia taught the English colonists important lessons. The region of America they had reached could offer prosperity, but not if it were just the site for outposts coordinating the exploitation of local labor and resources. These colonists had to be willing to establish self-supporting communities of people farming and performing the other ordinary tasks done in the villages and towns of Europe. Indeed, some people might even earn riches by providing—not only for nearby but also faraway markets—rice, fish, furs, tobacco and other products that could be grown or found more easily in America than in England.

Starting in 1620 English travelers expanded their area of colonization to the region of America where the demographic characteristics and economic pursuits would most closely resemble those of England. The peopling of the aptly named New England colonies began with the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The town lies on the coast of present-day Massachusetts southeast of Boston, which a group of English Puritans founded in 1630. Pilgrims and Puritans were Dissenters, people who were dissatisfied with the established Church of England, which was the ecclesiastical beneficiary of the royal government's financial and political support. Like the Anglicans, as members of the Church of England were known, the Pilgrims and Puritans were Protestants. However, these Dissenters thought that the officially endorsed church remained too Catholic in spirit and did not adequately put into action the changes in beliefs and practices associated with the Reformation.

Pilgrims and Puritans came to America to practice religion in a manner they believed correct. Many also came



The peopling of the aptly named New England colonies began with the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

to escape economic problems, such as the loss of farmland to sheep ranchers and a decline in the textile industry. The combination of motives was powerful, and more than 20,000 people came to Massachusetts and the spin-off colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire by the 1640s.

The Hunger for Labor

Despite the numerous arrivals in New England during its first decades, peopling the colonies was difficult. Not many men and women were willing to risk a dangerous ocean voyage of almost two months to spend the rest of their days in an alien wilderness. The fundamental truth was that the colonies badly needed people, and their hunger for labor helped shape the character of their communities and eventually of the nation. Indeed, the inability of planters in Virginia and other southern provinces to attract Europeans to perform the unrewarding gang labor involved in producing tobacco was a major reason for the introduction of slavery.

Convincing European immigrants to come to English America required flexibility. Every colony gladly greeted those whose money, albeit insufficient to purchase a

farm in densely occupied Europe, was more than enough to buy cheap acres here. Yet colonists were also willing to take chances on less obviously desirable arrivals, including those too poor to pay their way to America. About half of the people who came to the English colonies immigrated as indentured servants. They contracted to do labor for approximately four years for whoever had paid for their passage across the ocean. With reluctance, some colonies even received as indentured servants convicts to whom English courts had given the choice of going to America or to jail. The English colonies, to a greater extent than those of the French and Spanish, continued to take in people who were out of step socially and religiously; for example, Maryland and Pennsylvania, respectively, became refuges for Catholics and Quakers.

The colonies' need for workers made the admission of non-English Europeans a logical policy from the beginning. Before slavery took hold in Virginia, many early immigrants were indentured servants from Ireland. When English forces conquered the Dutch colony of New Netherland in 1664 and renamed it New York, the ethnic mix in English domains became even

more elaborate. As early as 1643, a visitor had reported hearing 18 different languages spoken in the small port of New Amsterdam, which the English renamed New York City after the takeover. During the 1650s Dutch administrators had allowed a band of Sephardic Jews to join the population; the roots of the newcomers were in Spain and Portugal, but most recently the Catholic Portuguese had thrown them out of Brazil.

With the approach of the eighteenth century, England grew prosperous, and earlier fears that the nation was becoming overpopulated eased. Forces in favor of emigration became less strong. As a result, from the late seventeenth century through the coming of the American Revolution, the European mainland and the peripheral districts of the British Isles were left to play a growing role in immigration to the English colonies. The states that make up modern Germany joined Scotland and Ulster, the northernmost of Ireland's four provinces, as the most notable contributors of people.

Non-English Immigrants

From 1680 through 1720, the most distinctive groups to come to the English colonies were political and religious refugees. Huguenots, or French Protestants, came to the colonies, and especially to New York and South Carolina, after the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed them protection as a minority within their Catholic homeland. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, Germans from the Palatinate region along the Rhine River found new homes in New York and, to a lesser extent, in Pennsylvania. Allies of the English, they had been uprooted during the War of the Spanish Succession. Finally, throughout the period, members of various sects whose beliefs were akin to those of the Quakers or whose practices, such as rejecting the baptism of infants, put them in danger of harassment by mainline Protestant or Catholic authorities fled from various areas of Europe to Pennsylvania. Ancestors of the people known today as the Amish were among them.

The flow of immigrants to the English colonies became stronger after 1715, and people whose lifestyles were quite conventional far outnumbered the exotic arrivals. Germans entered at a high and steady rate throughout the half-century before the Revolution. Like many other eighteenth-century immigrants, Germans often landed at Philadelphia, which was the largest and most commercially dynamic city of the era. Able German farmers, who recognized the quality of the land available nearby, frequently established their homes in Pennsylvania. Their presence became so obvious by the 1750s that even the ordinarily calm Benjamin Franklin worried that German eventually would displace English as the language in his colony.

Today the Scots and the people of Northern Ireland are citizens of the United Kingdom, and Americans tend to think of the peoples of the British Isles as being culturally homogeneous. That was certainly not true in the eighteenth century—or even now. In that era the English thought of Ireland as a colony, and immigrants who went there were often in conflict not only with the native peoples of the island but also with the government in London. Likewise, Scotland was officially joined to England by an Act of Union only in 1708, and dissident Scots staged serious rebellions in 1715 and 1745.

Most Ulsterites who came to the English colonies before the Revolution were Scotch-Irish. They were descendants of Scottish Protestants sent to Ireland in the early 1600s by King James I, a Scot who had inherited the English throne from his kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth I. These Ulsterites were to form the base of a population that would keep the native Irish, who were predominantly Catholic, in submission. However, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the situation of many Ulster Scots was deteriorating. When the leases on their lands periodically expired, they had to renew them at substantially higher rents. The woolen articles they manufactured were legally the products of a colony and, as such, were not allowed to compete with English goods. Finally, the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish were required to pay for the support of the Anglican church and were blocked from certain opportunities available only to Anglicans.

Most of the emigration from Scotland to the English colonies took place between 1745 and the Revolution. The collapse of the Scots' rebellion was the death knell for the feudal lords who had managed to retain their power in remote Highland regions. As English influence penetrated farther into Scotland, knowledge of America and interest in emigrating spread. During the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763, many Scottish military chiefs served in America and, as bonuses, earned titles to land there. They were frequently able to convince members of their clans, or extended families, to join them in such provinces as New York, North Carolina and Nova Scotia (New Scotland). The immigration of Scots, many of whom spoke Gaelic rather than English, differed from that of other groups in that it often involved not a movement by individuals but a transfer of whole villages.

The First Census

The federal census of 1790 was the first effort to count in the same year the almost 4 million people residing in the United States and its territories. Analysis of the family names found in that census makes it possible to develop at least a rough picture of the European and African populations shortly after the adoption of the Constitution.

The mixture of ethnic groups was remarkable. About 19 percent of the population was African. English people comprised just under 50 percent of the population, but their percentage rose to 77 in Massachusetts. Germans accounted for about 7 percent, and for almost one-third of Pennsylvania's people. Scotch-Irish colonists, who were strongly represented in "frontier" areas, amounted to nearly 5 percent, and the Scots close to 7 percent. Estimates of Irish and French in the population were approximately 3 percent and 1.5 percent, respectively, but the former may be low. Dutch amounted to more than 2.5 percent of the population, including more than 15 percent of the people in New York and New Jersey. Almost 6 percent of the population was classified as "unassigned white."

1790 to 1890

Most scholars of immigration believe that the influx to America was modest between 1775 and 1815. Revolutions in the English colonies and in France, disruption of transatlantic trade during those uprisings as well as throughout the ensuing Napoleonic Wars, and periodic economic slumps worked to keep down the numbers of arrivals. Most estimates place the influx of immigrants at an average of 5,000 per year, but some researchers believe that figure is conservative. Nevertheless, it can be safely said that the flow of people was much smaller than it would be thereafter. Before 1820 the United States did not consider the number of immigrants great enough to merit counting them.

Europe's Surplus Population

No single factor explains why the nineteenth century became such a great era of European migration. Yet absolutely essential to the movement was the existence of masses of Europeans who were unneeded in their homelands. That surplus population came into being due to the interplay of several forces. Medical and nutritional advances led to a sharp decline in death rates, especially among children. People who would have died in earlier times lived to have children of their own. As a result, even though the number of children born per woman declined through the century, the European population boomed.

Europe's growing populations entailed problems and possibilities. Farmers did not have enough land to divide among their children and, as technology improved agriculture, they needed fewer workers to produce their crops. Without employment opportunities in the countryside, young men and women drifted to nearby towns and larger cities, where they supplied cheap labor for the industries developing in such countries as France, England and Germany. Not everybody, however, found

work or liked the work they found. For those people, moving farther from home—to the United States, perhaps—became attractive.

America was a powerful magnet for aspiring people. Especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States was a radically different country. The Revolution, and the half-century of subsequent political thinking that spelled out its meaning, rejected the European scheme of values. The first and obvious rebuke was to the monarchy and to the idea that birth into the aristocracy gave special rights to rule. The second and more subtle challenge was to the expectation that ordinary people would enjoy little economic success. In the United States, opportunity seemed to be everywhere; people drove westward conquering a continent, and the legal system evolved in ways that fostered individual initiative and rapid development.

Despite its attractions, going to the new nation was a major step. Emigration was often an irrevocable decision in the middle of the nineteenth century. Costs, modes of transportation and the kinds of work people pursued made returning to Europe unlikely. Immigrants often followed a kind of chain in their travels. An intrepid soul—usually, but not always, male—would leave home for the "New World." Once established, the pioneer would write back, telling relatives and friends of what had been encountered. In many cases, the immigrant would advance passage money for others to follow. Those who came repeated the practice. The men and women who took the leap formed the cores of ethnic neighborhoods and communities that soon emerged in the cities and rural areas of the United States.

Although emigration involved a radical decision, the goals of those people undertaking emigration could be quite conservative. European farmers with too little land to divide among their children could sell their property and use the proceeds to buy many acres in the United States. This way, their offspring need not abandon the soil. Skilled European workers, threatened with increased competition as improved transportation and political changes brought markets closer together, could get to a place where their talents were in demand. They, too, could increase the prospects that their children would continue to follow in their occupational footsteps.

Ireland's Potato Famine

Not all Europeans who came to the United States had the luxury of thoughtful decision and careful planning. Emigration from Europe was sometimes an unavoidable flight rather than a voluntary choice. That was certainly the case for many who escaped Ireland during the potato famine of the mid-1840s. Their coming was the earliest

mass ethnic migration and one of the most important and compelling elements in the story of nineteenth-century immigration.

Ireland is not an inherently poor country. Its soil is fertile, and Irish farmers fared well during the era of the Napoleonic Wars. Prosperity encouraged early marriages and larger families. The population grew so fast that by 1840 the island was densely occupied. Approximately 8 million people lived there, about twice Ireland's current population. Farms were extremely small—many fewer than five acres—and the fact that the agriculturalists were frequently tenants of absentee owners complicated the situation. Forced to sell their grain crops to pay the rent, many Irish relied for survival on the potato, which produced a large, nutritious yield from little land.

The failure of the Irish potato crop in 1845 and the years immediately following set off a dramatic exodus of people fleeing starvation and the diseases that prey on the hungry. The worst off probably had the least chance to get away, but even those who escaped were often in pitiable shape. Decisions by callous landlords to ship their tenants off to the United States rather than to pay for their relief in Ireland aggravated the suffering. Because of the weakened physical condition of the passengers, some of the ships carrying Irish people across the Atlantic had death rates 20 times as high as those usually encountered on African slave ships, whose owners had an economic interest in keeping their human cargo alive. The best estimate is that Ireland lost more than 1 million people to the famine. Perhaps half of those died; the remainder emigrated, mostly to the United States.

Germans' Mixed Motives

Germans constituted the most numerous European ethnic group to come to the United States during the nineteenth century. They were often identified in immigration records, however, as Bavarians, Prussians or subjects of some other kingdom or principality because the unification of the hundreds of states that joined to form modern Germany was not completed until 1870. Although some Germans were victims of the same potato blight that struck Ireland, and others were political activists who fled after the collapse of the Republican revolutions of 1848, most were ordinary folk—small farmers, artisans or unskilled laborers hopeful of improving their fortunes.

German migration to the United States reached a peak during the 1850s, surpassing the fading influx from Ireland. More than 1 million Germans landed in the United States between 1845 and 1854. All immigration from Europe then ebbed during the tumult of the Civil War and into the 1870s, when the United States saw a prolonged economic depression. German emigration finally

reached its record high during the 1880s, when almost 1.5 million people departed.

The Scandinavian Influx

After the Civil War, Irish and German people remained the two largest groups in the European immigrant influx. Arrivals from Scandinavia, however, joined the ranks of the newcomers in increasing numbers. Sweden, the most populous of the Scandinavian nations, sent the largest numbers; more than 700,000 Swedes arrived between 1869 and 1893. In terms of a proportion of population, however, Norway suffered the greatest loss; the more than 260,000 Norwegians arriving between 1879 and 1893 amounted to more than two-thirds of the nation's surplus of births over deaths in those years. Denmark sent the fewest of its citizens; almost 160,000 Danes emigrated between 1869 and 1893. The estimate of Danish immigration may be low by about 50,000, because it does not include Danes who left Schleswig and Holstein after the German state of Prussia seized those districts in 1866.

Scandinavians migrated for the same reasons as Irish and Germans, though they did not experience the extra push that the potato failure created in Ireland in the 1840s. Scandinavians who were farmers, or who wanted to be,



A Norwegian woman preparing to leave for America

needed land. Those who grew grains were also being undercut by crops exported from larger and more efficient North American agricultural operations. Likewise, Swedish workers sought to escape mounting competition from the English and German industries.

Part of the reason for Denmark's lower rate of emigration lay in its more successful adjustment to the changing world economy. Relatively more urban and industrial than its neighbors, Denmark offered its people better prospects for employment close to home. Moreover, Danish farmers quickly switched to dairying, which, due to the perishable nature of its products, was more immune than other forms of agriculture to onslaughts from faraway competitors.

Two-Way Flow

Britons and Canadians dominated among the remaining immigrants who came to the United States in the nineteenth century. The arrival of English men and women was basically the continuation of a pattern in existence for two centuries, but the growing similarities and connections between the British and American economies added interesting dimensions to the traffic of the late 1800s. Skilled workers trained in Britain's industries and mines often found quick advancement in transferring themselves to newer American operations.

Some British workers even moved back and forth between the Isles and the United States, when economic conditions weakened on one side of the Atlantic while gaining strength on the other.

Defining who the Canadian immigrants to the United States were is not easy. Many Europeans, and especially people from Ireland and the rest of Britain, simply used Canada as a stopping point on the way to the United States. The cost of ship passage was often cheaper to Canada than to the United States.

Yet the traffic from Canada also contained people who had lived there for substantial periods. Migrant streams had flowed, in both directions, across the long and basically uncontrolled United States–Canadian border throughout the 1800s. Especially before the Civil War, Americans heading westward via New York's Erie Canal frequently turned north instead of south at Buffalo. Later in the century, as Canadians moved westward across Ontario, they frequently turned south toward the more fertile acres of the middle western states. Overall, it seems likely that, before the final decade of the nineteenth century, most people leaving Canada for the United States were of British or Irish origin.

Factors Influencing Destinations

Immigrants never randomly distribute themselves in the country to which they come. The transportation

available to the newcomers, the resources and skills they brought, political conditions and the stage of the nation's development at their arrival helped determine where most nineteenth-century immigrants located. Those four factors produced different outcomes for various ethnic groups, and recognizing the patterns of dispersion can provide insights into the kinds of people who emigrated and into the circumstances under which they made the crossing. Moreover, where they made their homes gives clues to how the newcomers helped shape different regions of the country.

Before the 1850s ships devoted primarily to carrying passengers across the Atlantic were uncommon. In the earliest phase of the immigration wave of the mid-nineteenth century, emigrants often left Europe on vessels that had carried raw materials from North America on the eastbound half of the round trip between the continents. Housed in makeshift arrangements, the immigrants served as a revenue-generating cargo for the westward leg, during which the ships' holds might otherwise have been empty.

Cargo vessels followed specialized routes between American and European ports linked in the production and processing of specific raw materials. Ships sailing out of Boston ferried lumber from New England and the St. Lawrence River Valley to the city of Liverpool on the west coast of England. From Liverpool, which served as the first point of escape for many from nearby Ireland, the ships returned to the United States loaded with immigrants. Immigration through Boston thus took on an especially Irish flavor. Likewise, ships that carried tobacco from Baltimore to Bremen helped turn the Maryland port into one where German immigrants predominated.

With the emergence of passenger lines, which made considerable progress toward replacing sail-powered vessels with steam-driven ships by the mid-1860s, the immigrant traffic normally followed routes between leading commercial centers. Most immigrants entered the United States through New York City, even if they did not intend to live near the American metropolis. Nevertheless, even after the Civil War, ports serving specialized traffic continued to play interesting roles. Not surprisingly, Asian immigrants tended to pass through San Francisco, the leading American city on the coast closest to their home continent. In a more unusual example, a sizeable number of Scandinavians, and especially of Norwegians, entered the United States through the inland port of Huron, Michigan, after passing through the St. Lawrence Valley into the Great Lakes.

Many immigrants established their new homes in or near the ports where they entered the United States. Given the economic role of those cities, the newcomers had good prospects of finding jobs there, or in the areas immediately

surrounding them. The choices made by the immigrants had important impacts on the nation's ethnic demography. Around New York and other points of entry for a cross-section of arrivals, populations became variegated, reflecting the composition of the overall immigrant flow at any given moment. The result was different ports receiving primarily one group. Irish immigrants thus became the stereotypical ethnic residents of New England.

The immigrants who moved the farthest from the ports of entry tended to be those who brought greater resources with them, who had saved money after a period of work in a coastal state or who were joining compatriots already established at their destination. Particularly when the objective was farming, German and Scandinavian immigrants were more likely than Irish newcomers to travel immediately to the Midwest. Even though American land was cheaper than European land, starting a farm was an expensive endeavor. Moreover, the better-off Germans and Scandinavians had greater experience than the poorer Irish with the kinds of agriculture practiced in the United States.

Politics also affected regional demographic composition. With the exception of ethnic concentrations in a few cities, the South never emerged as an immigrant center. The existence of slavery before the Civil War and the exploitation of formerly enslaved African Americans after the war discouraged immigration by free workers. Many immigrants who entered through New Orleans, for example, simply took advantage of the water and rail transportation linking that city with the nation's interior.

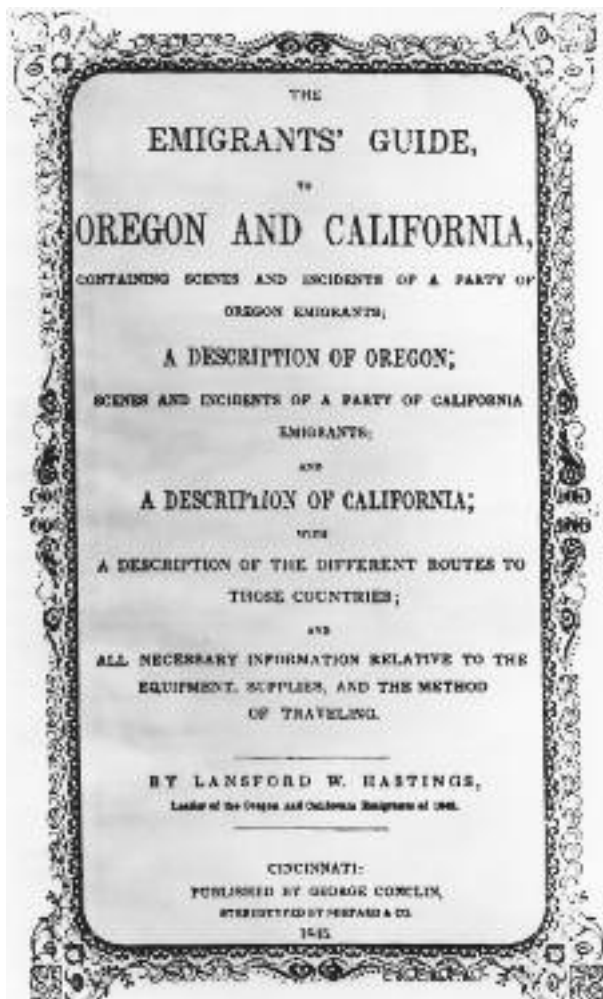
The clearest example of the importance of time of arrival involved the distribution of Germans and Scandinavians within the Midwest. The core of community life for Scandinavians, who began to come in large numbers after the Civil War, lay in states, such as Minnesota, west of the Mississippi River. Thanks to their earlier presence, Germans emerged as the dominant ethnic group in Wisconsin and became well represented in other states east of the river.

Words of caution must accompany the preceding paragraphs. Not all Irish immigrants stayed in the East, and many among the German and Scandinavian populations never went to the Midwest. A sizeable number of Germans relocated to the southern slaveholding state of Texas, and New Orleans retained numbers of its foreign entrants. Norwegians could be found in Wisconsin, and Germans in Minnesota. Yet, despite their limitations, the generalizations do provide insights into the forces at work.

The Population in 1890

By 1890 almost one-third of the 63 million residents of the United States were either new immigrants or the children of at least one foreign-born parent. Such people constituted the "foreign-stock" residents, or later European immigrants, of the nation. Among them were 6.85 million Germans, 4.91 million Irish, 2.68 million British and 1.54 million Scandinavians. More than 920,000 Americans had parents from two different foreign backgrounds, the majority of which involved combinations of the aforementioned groups.

Foreign-stock residents were found mostly in the northeast and north central regions in 1890; 85 percent of them resided in those states, compared with only 62 percent of the early European immigrant population. New England had approximately 10 percent of the foreign-stock residents, and the middle Atlantic states and the east north central states each had 29 percent. The west north central states—Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas—had about 17 percent. The imbalance of foreign-stock residents over early European immigrants was most obvious in a handful of states, including New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan and Minnesota.



The cover of a guide for emigrants going to the West

The peculiarities fostered by the arrival patterns of major groups were still obvious in 1890. New England contained almost 20 percent of the population that was of Irish stock, but fewer than 2 percent of those of German extraction. The middle Atlantic states held 42 percent of the Germans and 28 percent of the Irish. The east and west north central states were the homes, respectively, for 39 percent and 19 percent of the Germans and for 17 percent and 10 percent of the Irish. Scandinavian people clustered in the midwestern states, with almost 70 percent of them residing in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas and Nebraska.

From 1890 to Restriction

Around 1890 the immigration patterns began to undergo important changes. The most obvious difference was the growing importance of the countries of southern, eastern and central Europe as sources of immigrants. That demographic shift led contemporary commentators to make the observation that a “new immigration” had replaced the “old immigration” of peoples from the nations of northern and western Europe. Historians subsequently repeated those distinctions. Like most truisms, however, the division of American immigration into old and new eras contains a kernel of insight surrounded by layers of questionable interpretations.

Immigration to the United States did change substantially in ethnic composition during the final years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. Groups seen infrequently among earlier arrivals advanced to leading positions in the tally of newcomers. Between 1899 and 1924, for example, 3.82 million Italians, 1.83 million Jews and 1.48 million Poles came to American shores. Likewise, many of the peoples from the European regions of Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia made their first major appearances after the 1880s.

Changes occurring in immigrant traffic at the end of the nineteenth century should be kept in perspective. More than 18 million immigrants entered the United States between 1890 and 1920, compared with only 10 million between 1860 and 1890. Fewer than 5 million entered between 1830 and 1860. The ratio of arrivals to the existing population, however, did not differ much among the three periods. From that perspective, the 1850s made up the decade of most intense immigration; the 2.8 million arrivals from 1850 through 1859 equaled 12 percent of the American population in 1849. The first decade of the 1900s ranks second, with its 8.2 million immigrants amounting to 10.8 percent of the 76 million Americans counted in the 1900 census. Another “old immigrant”

decade, the 1880s, for which the corresponding percentage was 10.4, ranks a close third.

Return Migration

Assessments of the impact of the “new immigration” must take into consideration the fact that at least a third of those entering the United States during the early twentieth century eventually went back to their homelands. The high frequency of return migration was one of the few social features that truly distinguished the new immigration from the old immigration. Unfulfilled expectations and encounters with discrimination undoubtedly led some immigrants to become emigrants.

Changes in the technology and economics of immigration, however, explain much more of the phenomenon. The systematic connection between high rates of return for particular groups and the low representation of females among immigrants of those backgrounds suggests that most who returned to Europe had never intended to stay in the United States.

Crossing the Atlantic, which required more than a month in the middle of the nineteenth century, took less



During the first decade of the 1900s, 8.2 million immigrants came to America's shores.

than a third as long in the modern steamships of 1900. With time less of a factor and death rates for oceanic travel close to zero, Europeans no longer needed to consider the voyage to the United States a strictly one-way trip. Moreover, employment opportunities in the United States were increasingly found in manufacturing, mining and other industrial pursuits carried out in urban areas. The cash pay for such jobs could be saved and eventually taken home. Finally, quick transportation and payment in hard currency made it feasible for some Europeans to work essentially as migrant laborers, following routes that took them to North America and back to Europe with the rotation of the agricultural seasons.

Return migration did not affect all European nationalities equally. Arrivals from the countries of northern and western Europe uniformly went back at rates lower than the overall average. Certain “new immigrant” groups also remigrated at frequencies that were not out of the ordinary. Jews rarely returned; they had no homeland in Europe and had suffered persecution in some of the countries they had left. By and large, however, return migration occurred mostly among “new immigrants.”

To some extent, the rates for some groups may have been made artificially high by the presence in their ranks of so-called birds of passage, persons who crossed the ocean repeatedly in their careers as transient laborers. Such people are really part of a phenomenon different from immigration. Beyond that, however, people from non-western European backgrounds often lacked a cultural tradition in which permanent migration to the United States was the expected fate for many in each generation. They also were missing the ties to existing ethnic communities in the United States that might have facilitated their transition to long-term relocation. For many of them, staying in America just long enough to build a nest egg that would enable them to buy a better life in their homeland made more sense than moving forever to an alien environment.

Differing rates of return among ethnic groups reduced the degree of demographic shift in post-1890 immigration. Estimates of the numbers of people who immigrated permanently to the United States in the first decades of the twentieth century still show southern and eastern Europeans as the largest groups of arrivals. Yet they also reveal that northern and western Europeans continued to come at a steady pace. Italians led the nationalities with a projected permanent immigration of 3.82 million between 1899 and 1924. With a total of 1.83 million, Jews from various parts of Europe ranked second. Third place, however, belonged to the Germans with 1.14 million. After Polish immigrants with 934,000, came Scandinavians (809,000), British (785,000), Irish (737,000),

English-speaking Canadians (467,000), Slovaks (341,000) and Mexicans (339,000).

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the post-1890 period was the variety of groups that made up the one-quarter of the immigrant traffic not accounted for by the nationalities named in the preceding paragraph. Croatians and Slovenians combined to send more than 300,000 permanent immigrants. Hungarians, French-speaking Canadians, Greeks, Ruthenians and Lithuanians each totaled more than 200,000. More than 100,000 each of Japanese, Finns, Dutch and Flemish combined, Bohemians and Portuguese came. Africans, Spaniards, ethnic Russians, French, Syrians, Armenians, Romanians, Cubans, members of various ethnic groups from the Balkans, West Indians, Koreans, East Indians, Turks and Pacific Islanders made up the bulk of the remainder. During the period, however, the Chinese suffered a net loss of their population group as a result of return migration coupled with restrictions against further entry by them.

The Waning Welcome

Critics at the time thought that the “new immigration” had several undesirable features. The propensity of immigrants to return home seemed to them evidence of an ingratitude bordering on theft. The concentration of the newcomers in the largest and most industrial urban centers, most of which were in the northeastern region of the nation, aggravated the already appalling conditions in the nation’s cities. The prevalence of unskilled laborers among the arrivals suggested a deterioration in the kinds of people joining the American population, and their willingness to accept low wages potentially threatened the living standards of the existing workforce.

Judging the accuracy of some of the complaints against immigration is difficult. What would the United States have been like without additional immigration after 1890? Would the slums of the great cities not have grown as fast? Would established European American workers, including the descendants of earlier immigrants, have been able to organize more quickly and secure better conditions? Would employers in their search for labor have drawn into the economic mainstream the African Americans who were systematically kept out? Would necessity have hastened the development of labor-saving technology? Making such assessments forces historians to pursue counterfactual lines of argument that unsettle scholars accustomed to searching for what was rather than for what might have been.

For the most part, the arguments of the critics have been found wanting. Economists have consistently argued that immigrants had positive, or at least only minimally negative, impacts on established European

American workers. They claim that the labor performed by the immigrant newcomers liberated most existing employees to do more creative and better-rewarded tasks. Moreover, historians have focused on a disturbing tendency among the critics of immigration to blame the problems of the era on the newcomers themselves or at least on those among them who belonged to the “new immigrant” nationalities.

Many of the unwelcome features of later immigration were not new or reflected changes occurring in the broader society. A high percentage of unskilled labor and a low proportion of farmers among immigrants had been common since the time of the Civil War. Persisting trends in those directions indicated the growing importance of industry on both sides of the Atlantic. Likewise, concentration in large cities was a continuation as well as an intensification of a pattern. Among European arrivals only Scandinavians were more likely than not to be found in rural areas. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, immigrants, including Scandinavians, had been more prone than established immigrants to live in cities. Finally, except with regard to remigration, immigrants from northern and western Europe in the post-1890 era were socially quite like their contemporaries from southern and eastern Europe.

Forces Encouraging Immigration

The general forces causing people to forsake the lands of their births for America were much the same in 1900 as they had been in 1850. The demographic shift away from northern and western Europe was evidence that the crisis of overpopulation was easing there, as births and deaths came into better balance and as industrialization provided greater occupational opportunities near home. The greater involvement of southern and eastern Europe showed that those regions had achieved the level of modernization reached earlier by their neighbors and had become integrated into the commercial and transportation networks of the Atlantic community. Beyond the broad forces at work, however, unique conditions affected emigration from every nation. A brief look at the experiences of Italians, Jews and Slavs, the leading ethnic groups involved in the post-1890 movement, can provide insights into those factors.

Italy's Economy

Like Germany, Italy was a nation that achieved unification by 1870. Unlike Germany, it was a country of little growth and poor prospects. Italy's economy was sharply

divided between an industrializing northern region and a backward southern one. Mountains and hills made up 75 percent of the country, and the plains covered only 19 million acres. Out of every 10 Italian men, nine engaged in farming, but not more than 10 percent of those owned even five acres of land. The rest of the agricultural workers were evenly divided between those who rented small plots of land and those who toiled as day laborers. Poverty was most severe between the southern city of Naples and the island of Sicily, which lies off the tip of the Italian boot. In that region the land was divided into such small holdings that almost nobody prospered, despite the severe exploitation of the illiterate peasantry.

Italy was ready for a wave of emigration at the end of the nineteenth century, and a series of crises—including high taxation, the ravages of the olive fly and the spread of disease in the vineyards—increased the numbers of people departing. The southern provinces accounted for approximately 80 percent of the exodus, with Sicily contributing 30 percent and the region around Naples 27 percent. The first Italians to migrate after unification had favored Argentina and Brazil. By the beginning of the



Italian immigrants leaving for America

twentieth century, however, two-thirds of the emigrants headed for the United States.

The Jewish Exodus

Jewish immigrants to the United States did not come from a single country. In the mid-1880s Jews appeared among the many newcomers from Germany. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, their principal points of departure lay to the east. During those years, central and eastern Europe lost more than one-third of its Jewish population, and 90 percent of the emigrants came to the United States. About three out of every four Jewish immigrants came from Russia or from other territories controlled by the *czar*, including the area that would become Poland after World War I. Almost 20 percent came from lands of the Austro-Hungarian empire; most of the remainder came from Romania.

European Jews valued early marriages and large families. Moreover, the sanitary and dietary practices prescribed by their religion helped protect them against some diseases. Increases in the population put at least as much pressure on Jews as on their neighbors. Furthermore, Jews were outsiders in Christian Europe. Especially within areas controlled by Russians, the state policy had been, through force or persuasion, to separate Jews from their culture. The *czars* limited where Jews could live to a circumscribed area of western territory known as the Pale of Settlement. They also blocked the Jews from certain economic pursuits, including the ownership of farms, and forced them into commercial and industrial occupations.

Jewish emigration started, ironically, among those who already had been loosened from their roots. The first to go were those who had abandoned the traditional Jewish villages, or *shtetls*, to seek work in cities such as Warsaw and Vilna. Among them were many who had been exposed to such secular intellectual movements as the *Haskala*, which called for the modernization of Jewish life; Socialism, which appealed to their economic rather than ethnic or religious interests; and Zionism, which supported the creation of a Jewish state.

Initially, a disproportionately large number of Jewish emigrants originated in Lithuania, Byelorussia and other districts in the northwest sector of the Pale. Departures later quickened in the south, when *pogroms*—organized physical attacks on Jews—broke out there in the first decade of the new century. Even without persecution, however, the flight of the Jews from Europe would have been massive. For example, the rate of Jewish emigration from the relatively benevolent Austro-Hungarian empire, was three-fifths as high as that from the more hostile states of Russia and Romania.

Forty Years of Jewish Immigration and Its Relation to Total Immigration to the United States, Annually, 1881–1920



Source: Developed from data provided by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, DC.

Three Groups of Slavs

Slavs were actually the largest ethnic group among the “new immigrants” who came and stayed in the United States. Approximately 2.3 million of them came here between 1899 and 1924. Treating Slavs as a unit, however, is misleading. Despite their common linguistic heritage, Slavs have been divided by geography and history into three separate cultural branches. Eastern Slavs, who are centered today in what was previously the Soviet Union, are the most numerous. They include Russians, Byelorussians, Ruthenians and Ukrainians—peoples who use the Cyrillic alphabet and have been associated with the Eastern Orthodox Church or the Eastern rite of Roman Catholicism. Western Slavs include Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks and Serbs of eastern Germany. In the era of the “new immigration,” nine out of ten Poles and four out of five Bohemians and Slovaks were Roman Catholic, and none of the western Slavs had an independent homeland before World War I. Southern Slavs included Slovenians, Croatians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians and Macedonians. Religiously they were a mix of Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims, and politically they were under the thumb of Austria-Hungary or Turkey. Today southern Slavs, except Bulgarians, are combined uneasily in Bosnia, Hercegovina and Croatia.

Slavs left Europe for essentially the same economic reasons as Italians and Jews. In the Austro-Hungarian territories, where the Slavic exodus accounted for two-thirds of the emigration in the first decade of the twentieth century, the province most affected was Galicia, on the Russian border. There, more than 80 percent of the farms had fewer than five acres. Political considerations, however, were a supplemental factor in Slavic emigration. Between 1870 and 1890 the government of Count Otto von Bismarck vigorously tried to eradicate Polish culture in the portion of modern Poland that Germany then controlled. After the fall of Bismarck, conditions improved in Germany only to become worse in the districts of Poland then owned by Russia. Likewise, the southern Slavs’ struggles for independence from the Austro-Hungarians and Turks kept the Balkans in turmoil and finally triggered the outbreak of World War I.

Adoption of Immigration Restrictions

The “new immigration” ended as a result of World War I and its aftermath. European emigration dropped after the outbreak of fighting in 1914. The war economy provided jobs in Europe, and nations were reluctant to allow the departure of men eligible for military service. Moreover, submarine warfare took an increasing toll on

civilian as well as on military vessels, probably leading many to view oceanic travel as unacceptably dangerous.

Emigration temporarily resumed after the restoration of peace late in 1918, and the immediate surge of passengers headed for the United States reflected the release of pent-up demand as well as a sometimes desperate desire to escape the ravages of war. The number of arrivals per month eventually exceeded 20,000 during 1920. Confronted with this unprecedented influx, the United States quickly began to close its gates.

The hostility that came to the fore after World War I was the culmination of a long history of ambivalence toward immigration. Americans celebrate the United States as a nation of immigrants, but they have consistently blamed newcomers for the problems of their society. In the colonial era, most provinces discouraged the immigration of Catholics. After the American Revolution, elements of the Federalist party blamed the immigration of French and Irish radicals for the opposition faced by George Washington and John Adams during their presidential terms. Before the Civil War, Irish immigration set off waves of anti-Catholic hysteria that won approval from most prominent political reformers of the era. The Irish were blamed for ruining the nation’s cities; Germans—both Catholic and Protestant—were defamed for not observing the Sabbath in a subdued manner; and all immigrants were charged with taking jobs from established residents.

At the end of the nineteenth century, many descendants of the “old immigrants” remained poor, and the Catholics among them were still thought to be inferior in morality and patriotism. Nevertheless, they had cut out niches for themselves in American society—their churches and other institutions were growing; their children were making economic progress; and, especially in the nation’s cities, they were gaining political power. Indeed, the coming of the worse off and more culturally alien “new immigrants” helped the longer established groups by making clear the extent of the progress the latter had made.

Calls for Curtailment

Calls for curtailing immigration increased after 1890. Nativists, Americans chauvinistically hostile to the foreign-born and their offspring, continued their usual ranting. The formation of the influential Immigration Restriction League in 1894, however, added voices of concern from the academic and professional elite. Opponents of unlimited immigration pointed to the poverty of immigrant ghettos, the undermining of American labor by workers accustomed to much lower standards of living, and the difficulties of absorbing peoples whose cultures were farther removed from the

Anglo-Saxon than were those of ethnic groups from northern and western Europe.

Proponents of restricting immigration initially focused their efforts on enacting a law that would require would-be immigrants to demonstrate an ability to read. The literacy test would be a proxy for determining the skills of the newcomers and would keep out those who had the fewest prospects of success and who were thought to provide the greatest competitive threat to established workers. Presidents Grover Cleveland, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson all vetoed literacy test bills on the grounds that the examination measured opportunity for schooling rather than innate ability. Congress eventually passed the measure, over Wilson's second veto, at the start of World War I.

Unfortunately, many advocates of restriction seasoned their criticisms of immigration with racial stereotypes that attributed the problems associated with it to inborn shortcomings of southern and eastern Europeans. Opponents of the "new immigration" found confirmation of their suspicions in the 42-volume report on immigration released by the government's Dillingham Commission in 1911 after a four-year study. They claimed additional proof for their arguments when persons belonging to "new immigrant" nationalities performed poorly on the intelligence tests administered to the Army's enlisted personnel during World War I. Historians have found, however, that such interpretations of the data were unwarranted. Indeed, the distortions of the evidence were so great as to suggest that those who made them were culturally biased to the point of being unable to see alternative explanations.

Long-standing prejudice against "new immigrants" and fears of inundation by war-weary Europeans set the stage for the restrictive laws passed in the 1920s. Additional concerns, tied partly to disenchantment with America's involvement in the overseas conflict,

made their enactment even easier. During the 1920s the United States turned inward. Demanding "100 percent Americanism," nativists condemned such political movements as Socialism as "foreign" infections. Their endorsement of a constitutional amendment outlawing the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was, in part, a rejection of Europe's cosmopolitan culture and its impact on American cities. Finally, the decade's infatuation with fundamentalist Protestantism and with the Ku Klux Klan once again targeted Catholicism and Judaism—the religions of so many of the immigrants—as inimical to American life.

The Restriction of Immigration

Legislation restricting immigration made its appearance in three stages. In 1921 Congress limited the number of immigrants allowed visas each year to approximately 350,000. Each European nation would receive a share of those visas proportionate to the representation of its natives among the foreign-born residents of the United States in 1920. Three years later Congress temporarily reduced the ceiling to approximately 150,000 visas and gave each European nation a share proportionate to the representation of its natives among the foreign-born residents of the United States in 1890. In 1890 few southern and eastern Europeans were part of the population.

In 1924 Congress also provided for a permanent program that went into effect in 1929. Under that final arrangement, Europeans were eligible for approximately 150,000 visas per year, with each nation receiving a share equal to the proportion of people from its lineage in the whole European American population of 1920. This National Origins Quota System, which was strongly biased against southern and eastern Europeans, remained in effect until the passage of the Immigration Act Amendments of 1965.

Student Background Essays

The Americans All® student essays provide background information on Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans, as well as on Angel Island, Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty. Adapted from the Americans All® resource texts, the student essays have been created to meet both

the language and social studies requirements of grades 3–4, 5–6 and 7–9. These essays are in blackline-master format and appear in their respective grade-specific teacher’s guides. Learning activities found in each teacher’s guide encourage the use of these student essays both in the classroom and at home.

The Photograph Collection

354. Many immigrants, such as these Greek men preparing to leave Patras in 1910, left their villages to work in American industry. When they had saved enough money, they sent for their families to join them. One factor contributing to migration to the United States was the existence of masses of Europeans who were unneeded in their homelands.
355. This woman, her possessions limited to one suitcase, bids farewell as she starts her journey to the United States. Scandinavians migrated for the same reasons as their European neighbors. Those who were farmers, or who wanted to be, needed land. Those who grew grains were also being undercut by crops exported from larger and more efficient North American agricultural operations.
356. When this group of Italian citizens lost their homes in an earthquake, immigrating to start a new life presented no more risks and many more possibilities than staying there. The United States was a powerful magnet for aspiring people. Opportunities seemed to be everywhere, and the American legal system evolved in ways that fostered individual initiative and rapid development.
357. Immigrants tended to establish homes in towns and cities with people who spoke their native languages, ate the foods they liked and followed the same customs they did. Because work, especially the type that could be done at home, was plentiful, New York City developed many major ethnic communities. This row of tenements in 1912 was typical of where many newcomers lived when they began their new lives in the United States.
358. To maximize production, factories frequently sent work home to be completed by their employees. Adolph Weiss, a Jewish immigrant, worked at home with his family and neighbors to make garters. When work was plentiful, the younger children would work until 9:00 p.m. and the rest until 11:00 p.m. From left to right: Mary (age 7), Sam (age 10), Mrs. Weiss, an unidentified boy (age 12), Mr. Weiss and three unidentified neighbor's children who came in regularly to work.
359. It was common for large families to live together in small, crowded quarters. The kitchen often served as dining room, laundry room, bedroom and work room. New arrivals were often given temporary lodging while they established themselves in their new homeland. This unidentified family's living conditions were typical of those that immigrants faced in urban areas in the early 1900s.
360. There was plenty of work for young children in both urban and rural areas in 1910. (top) In rural areas, including Browns Mills, New Jersey, boys like five-year-old Salvin carried two pecks of cranberries for long distances to the delivery station. (bottom) These three newsboys in Philadelphia bought their papers from the publisher and sold them at a profit on street corners, at railroad and trolley stations and at other busy places. City children also sold candy and gum on the streets.
361. Immigrant families had to work together to overcome personal tragedies. After her husband died in 1909, this widow, with her 11 children, left the farm to work in the cotton mills in Tifton, Georgia. Nell, the oldest girl, alternated with her mother in working in the mill and doing the household chores. With the exception of the four youngest children, all worked regularly in the mill for a combined weekly wage of \$9.
362. Immigrants who moved the farthest from the ports of entry tended to be those who brought resources with them, who had saved money while working in a coastal state or who were joining compatriots already established at their destination. This family, photographed in central Oregon, December 5, 1910, was headed for a new life.
363. A singing class meets at Hull House in Chicago in 1910. Started by social reformer Jane Addams, Hull House promoted the English tradition of the settlement house in the United States. Often called "neighborhood houses," these facilities opened in urban slum areas to enable trained workers to improve social conditions, chiefly by providing community services and fostering neighborly cooperation.

364. One of the results of American military involvement overseas has been the immigration of war brides, women of non-American nationality who have married American servicemen. Although marriage gave the brides citizenship status, they were referred to as foreigners. This group of French war brides arrived in Boston April 4, 1919, on the S.S. *Mt. Vernon*.
365. For new arrivals, neither age nor gender limited those who wanted to learn or make a living. In 1908 a mill superintendent in Newton, South Carolina, teaches one of the young spinners the art of handling the machine. (inset) In New York City in 1920, a highly skilled French craftsman makes a top-quality tapestry.

354



Greek men leaving for America

355



Norwegian woman leaving for America

356



Italian earthquake refugees

357



Tenements in New York City

358



Making garters at home

359



Tenement living conditions

360



Children at work

361



Family in Georgia

362



Family in covered wagon

363



Hull House

364



French war brides

365



Making tapestries

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Notes: This bibliography was compiled by the author at the time the publication was originally created.

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The author is grateful to the following for their aid in the search for unusual and interesting photographs with which to illustrate the text. In some instances, the same photograph was available from more than one source. When this occurred, both sources have been listed and the reference number is included for the photograph supplied by each organization.

Front Cover

- top left Greek men preparing to leave Patras in 1910. Library of Congress, photo LCUSZ62-66116
- top right Typical family living conditions for immigrants in the early 1900s. Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 1, photo 59
- bottom left A singing class meets at Hull House in Chicago in 1910. Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 1, photo 82
- bottom right After her husband died in 1909, this widow, with her 11 children, left the farm to work in the cotton mills in Tifton, Georgia. Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 2, photo 12

Back Cover

The Portfolio Project, Inc., photo 46

Text

- page 2 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-42824
- page 5 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-94442
- page 7 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-44416
- page 8 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-22338
- page 10 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-87554
- ## The Photograph Collection
- 354 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-66116
- 355 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-94442
- 356 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-87554
- 357 Lewis W. Hine Collection, Special Collections Department, Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery, University of Maryland, Baltimore County Campus, photo 2887
- 358 Lewis W. Hine Collection, Special Collections Department, Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery, University of Maryland, Baltimore County Campus, photo 2881
- 359 Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 1, photo 59
- 360 (top) Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 2, photo 92; (bottom) Lewis W. Hine Collection, Special Collections Department, Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery, University of Maryland, Baltimore County Campus, photo 1616
- 361 Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 2, photo 12
- 362 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-56404
- 363 Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 1, photo 82
- 364 Library of Congress, photo LC-USZ62-68369
- 365 Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 2, photo 7; (inset) Lewis W. Hine Collection, United States History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Unit 1, photo 52

EUROPE, c. 1926

