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ESSAYS ON IMMIGRATION RESEARCH

A guide for interpreters

at the

STATUE OF LIBERTY
and
ELLIS ISLAND

1980?

Institute for Research in History
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New York, New York 10016

The short essays in the handbook were written by a team of scholars from the Institute for Research in History for National Park Service interpreters at the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. They are intended to assist the guides in developing their own museum tours.

The first three essays provide bibliographical guidance for further research. The second three essays answer questions commonly asked by visitors. What was it like to travel in "steerage?" Did most people come to the United States in family groups? Did Ellis Island officials change the names of immigrants passing through their doors?

The Institute historians who worked on the project wish to dedicate this booklet to the interpreters--who work in the "front lines" of public history, teaching thousands of museum visitors with boundless patience, energy and enthusiasm. We also wish to thank the New York Council for the Humanities and the New York State Council on the Arts for their generous support.

Katherine B. Crum
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NEW PERSPECTIVES IN IMMIGRATION HISTORY

Lois Fenichell

That America is a nation of immigrants is now a widely accepted fact. It is hard to remember how long the study of immigration was stunted by the isolationist and assimilationist biases that once dominated research in American history. The interest and activity in ethnic and immigration history which grew up after World War II was produced by interrelated developments in both the political and academic spheres and in the popular mind. International travel and scholarly exchange programs increased. The tragic consequences of racial prejudice at home and abroad became evident. A generation of scholars from various ethnic backgrounds matured and began to publish. President Kennedy wrote A Nation of Immigrants. A search for continuity and stability stimulated by the Bicentennial celebration found expression in both the historic preservation movement and in the "Roots" phenomenon. All of these forces interacted dynamically with the emergence of hitherto submerged concepts of class and ethnicity as major independent variables in social science theory and analysis. The study of ethnic groups, interdisciplinary by definition, and amenable to social science methodology, threatened for a time to engulf some of the historical profession's more traditional concerns. By the 1970's, however, immigration history had become integrated with the broader themes of American and world history in ways that shed new light on American history in general and on the various specialities within the field.

One of the earliest of the new perspectives in immigration history came from historians who were able to set the peopling of America into a global context. They saw "immigration" as a process that began with Europe's discovery of America and other "frontier" regions and continued through the next four centuries, settling nearly seventy million uprooted Europeans

throughout the earth. Walter P. Webb's The Great Frontier (Boston, 1952) and Philip Taylor's Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A. (London, 1971) followed M. L. Hansen's The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (New York, 1940) and The Immigrant in American History (New York, 1941) in establishing the ideas that an understanding of emigration is necessary to an understanding of immigration. All three of these authors show that the process was very much the same for people variously labeled as colonists, settlers, immigrants or refugees. They also emphasize that not all emigrants came to America. Hansen's books and Edwin C. Guillet's The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing By Sailing Ship Since 1770 (New York, 1937) contain valuable accounts of the actual process of emigration - winding up affairs at home, obtaining supplies for the voyage, making the crossing and searching for lodgings and employment after debarking. These books also help to explain why people settled in certain areas.

The emigration of specific national groups is described in William F. Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World, From 1815 To the Famine (New Haven, 1932); Mack Walker, Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885 (Cambridge, 1964); Robert Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (Cambridge, 1924); Harold Runblom and Hans Norman, eds., From Sweden To America: A History of the Migration (Minneapolis, 1976); Kristian Hvidt, Flight To America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Immigrants (Copenhagen, 1975); Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., The Intellectual Migration: Europe To America, 1930-1960 (Cambridge, 1969); Hilary Conroy and T. Scott Miyakaka, East Across the Pacific: Historical and Sociological Studies of Japanese Immigration and Assimilation (Santa Barbara, 1972).

By the 1970's the increased interest in ethnic identity had produced such a flood of publications that bibliographers were stepping in to exert a measure

of order. Now the bibliographies themselves are proliferating. Among the most useful of these guides is the 1977 Immigration and Ethnicity: A Guide To Information Sources, compiled by John D. Buenker and Nicholas C. Burckel and published by the Gale Research Company of Detroit. It has sections on Old, New, and post-1920's immigration, essays on assimilation and legislation, and listings of government publications. Also published by Gale, in 1976, is a directory of current ethnic activity, compiled by Paul Wasserman, Ethnic Information Sources of the United States: A guide to Organizations, Agencies, Foundations, Institutions, Media, Commercial and Trade Bodies and Government Programs. A specialized guide to immigration since the 1965 changes in immigration policy is Recent Immigration to the United States: The Literature of the Social Sciences, prepared for the Smithsonian Institution's Research Institute on Immigration & Ethnic Studies by Paul Meadows et al. An excellent starting point for a study is Jack F. Kinton, American Ethnic Groups and the Revival of Cultural Pluralism: An Evaluation Source Book for the 1970's (Aurora, Ill: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 1979) which lists major texts, journals, films, research centers and publishers of ethnic studies European Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States and Canada, edited by Donald Brye,(Santa Barbara, 1977), contains over 4,000 abstracts of articles.

Some bibliographies of particular groups include Don Heinrich Tolzman, German-Americana (Metuchen, N.J., 1975); Francisco Cordasco, The Italian-Americans (Detroit, 1978); Leo Pap, The Portuguese in the United States (1970), and Michael Cutsumbis, A Bibliographic Guide To Materials on Greeks in the United States (1976), both published by the Staten Island Center for Migration Studies.

Aids to the study of various East European groups are Adam S. Eterovich, A Guide and Bibliography To Research on Yugoslavs in the United States and Canada (San Francisco, 1975); Esther Jurabek, Czechs and Slovaks in North America (N.Y. 1976); Joseph Szeplaki, Hungarians in the United States and Canada (St. Paul, 1977); Joseph W. Zurawski, Polish American History and Culture (Chicago, 1976); Roman

Weres, Ukraine: Selected References in the English Language (Chicago, 1974); William W. Brickman, The Jewish Community in America (N.Y., 1977). Philip Kayal has compiled "An Arab-American Bibliography" for Barbara Aswad's Arabic-Speaking Communities in American Cities (Staten Island, 1974). Bibliographies on Filipinos, Koreans and East Indians are appended to H. Brett Melendy's Asians in America (Boston, 1977); Chinese and Japanese are included in Isao Fugimoto, Asians in America (Davis, Calif., 1971).

Recent bibliographies on immigration from the Western Hemisphere include Lambros Comitas, The Complete Caribbeans, 1900-1975, Vol. I: (Millwood, N.Y., 1977); the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development's Hispanic Americans in the United States (1975); Frank Pino, Mexican Americans (East Lansing, 1974); Francisco Cordesco, Puerto Ricans on the United States Mainland (Totowa, N.J., 1972).

Studies containing bibliographies of groups not listed above are:
William A. Douglas and John Bilbao. Amerikanauk: Basques in the New World (Reno, 1975);
Edward Minasian, ed. Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History (Cambridge, 1972);
Lawrence McCaffrey, The Irish Diaspora in America (Bloomington, 1976);
Henry S. Lucas, Netherlands in America (Ann Arbor, 1955);
Leo J. Alilunas, ed. Lithuanians in the United States (Palo Alto, 1978)
Walter C. Warzeski, Byzantine-Rite Rusins in Carpatho-Ruthenia and America (Pittsburgh, 1971);
Josef J. Barton, Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950 (Cambridge, 1975);
Arlow Anderson, The Norwegian Americans (N.Y., 1975);
Sture Lindmark, Swedish America, 1914-1932 (Uppsala, Sweden, 1971);
Johanne Knudsen, The Danish American Immigrant (Des Moines, 1950);
Ralph J. Jalkanen, The Finns in North America (Lansing, Mich., 1967)

A very important conceptual development resulted from the application

of sociological theory and analysis to historical problems. Historians have come to recognize that the absorption of immigrant groups helped to form this country's urban industrial working class. Some recent works include:

Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism (Chicago, 1957);

Herbert Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America (N.Y., 1976)

Rowland Berthoff, An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History (N.Y., 1971);

Charlotte Erickson, American Industry and the European Immigrant (N.Y., 1957)

Dean R. Esslinger, Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth Century Midwestern Community (N.Y., 1975)

Thomas Kessner, The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915 (N.Y., 1977)

Gordon Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City (N.Y., 1966)

David Ward, Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America (N.Y., 1971)

Ivan Light, "The Ethnic Vice Industry, 1880-1944." American Sociological Review, 42 (June, 1977), 464-478.

The resurgence of ethnicity has also inspired more sophisticated approaches to the study of ethnic involvement in politics, aspects of which are considered in:

John M. Allswang, A House For All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1800-1936 (Lexington, Ky, 1971)

Paul M. McBride, Cutlure Clash: Immigrants and Reformers, 1880-1920 (N.Y., 1975)

Sally M. Miller, The Radical Immigrant (Boston, 1974)

Edgar Litt, Ethnic Politics in America: Beyond Pluralism (Glenview, Ill., 1970)

Another recent development in immigrant history is an emphasis on public education as an instrument of social control. The subject is treated in:

Joshua Fishman and Vladimir Nakimy, Lanugage Loyalty in the Schools (N.Y., 1966)

Robert Carlson. The Quest for Conformity: Americanization Through Education (N.Y., 1975)

Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973 (N.Y., 1974)

All the foregoing topics and many more are covered in the thematic essays included in the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (1980) and in its articles on over a hundred groups, some of them hard to find elsewhere. Frequent consultations of this encyclopedia must be one of the most pleasant ways to acquire an encyclopedic knowledge of American immigrant history.

SOURCES FOR STATISTICS ON AMERICAN IMMIGRATION

Betty Boyd Caroli

Before 1820 the United States did not require a report on incoming passengers, but historians have made their own estimates. William J. Bromwell, History of Immigration to the United States (1856) concluded that about 250,000 persons came to settle in the United States between the close of the Revolutionary War and the beginning of the collection of statistics.

For the years 1820-1970, statistics are available by country, by occupation, by sex and age in a U.S. Bureau of the Census document published under two different titles. The Bureau of the Census issued its Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 in Washington in 1975, and Basic Books issued the same material under the title The Statistical History of the United States From Colonial Times to the Present in New York in 1976. These two sources, hereafter referred to as the census monograph, are practically identical and one or the other is available at the reference desk of most libraries. An earlier version, covering the years up to 1957, is often available if the new edition is not.

The census monograph does not list each country of origin separately. The statistical divisions it lists for northern Europe are Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia and Others; those for central Europe are Germany, Poland and Others. In southern Europe only Italy is listed separately. These broad divisions present a problem for the researcher looking for material on the smaller groups. South American countries, for example, are all combined under one heading. National boundaries changing over the years cause additional problems. Between 1899 and 1919 Polish immigrants are included with those from Austria,

Hungary, Germany and Russia because Poland did not exist as a separate political entity at that time.

A slightly more complete account of immigration to America during the years before 1924 is available in Walter F. Willcox, ed., International Migrations 2 vols. (1929-31; New York: Gordon and Preach Science Publishers, Inc., 1969). Volume I includes statistics for most of the world. The section on the United States (pages 374-500 of volume I) contains some typographical errors, particularly transposed columns, but this is a valuable source, nevertheless, since it brings together in one place fairly specific information on American arrivals before 1924. Willcox's volume gives specific data for more countries than does the census monograph. In Europe, for example, he lists separately Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and others. South America still merits only one entry.

Beginning in 1899 Willcox changes from using "country of origin" to "country of last residence" reflecting the adjustment made by the U.S. immigration officials. Immigrants from the various countries are subdivided by age and sex. The age divisions are fairly broad (under 14, 14-44 and 45 and over).

American sentiment on racial superiority grew in the late 19th century, so that immigration officials decided to collect information on newcomers by "race or people." This policy, adopted in 1899, is explained and the various races are defined in the U.S. Immigration Commission, Report (1911) vol. 5 which has its own title: Dictionary of Races or Peoples. This report, part of the famous 41-volume report

on immigration, was also issued as Senate Document No. 662, 3rd sess. In the classification by race Hebrews are listed separately regardless of country of last residence. Immigration officials distinguished northern Italians from southern Italians, although not in a way corresponding to popular usage, which assigns to all Italians from south of Rome the name southerner. For the U.S. Immigration Office only Italians from the three most northern regions (Venetia, Lombardy and Piedmont) are northerners. All others, even those from Florence, are southerners.

Objectionable though the nomenclature may be, the information on the various peoples is extremely valuable. In Volume I Willcox gives the following information for 40 different peoples for 1899-1924: sex, age and occupation categories (agriculture, industry, commerce and finance, laborers and servants, professional and miscellaneous.)

Willcox also includes a section on passengers departing for foreign countries after 1868. The U.S. government did not collect information on people leaving to reside elsewhere until 1908 but Willcox, following the lead of other demographers, concluded that passengers departing in accommodations other than cabin were probably going to live elsewhere. He gives the totals for 1868-1902 for adults and children, broken down into males and females, but does not report the destinations of those leaving. After 1908 "emigrants departing" became part of American statistics and Willcox reports the "alien emigrants departing" and the country of future residence.

For more specific information on the years of mass immigration,

the researcher should go to the Annual Report of the Immigration Commissioner. These volumes are available only in large research libraries--42nd Street library in New York City has a complete set--and they are often in very poor condition. The Department of State collected statistics for 1820-1870 and the Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, for 1867-1895. Beginning in 1892 the Office or Bureau of Immigration--the name changes slightly over the years took over this responsibility and issued an Annual Report each year until 1933, when an abridged summary of that year's activities was included in the Secretary of Labor's Annual Report.

The Immigration Commissioner's Annual Report is full of valuable information including general observations about immigration in that particular year. The Annual Report varies slightly from year to year but includes the following information for most of the years between 1892 and 1910: the total number entering the U.S. by country and, after 1899, by race or people, port of arrival, period of year in which arrival occurred, sex, age, state of intended residence, and occupation reported. After first dividing each group of immigrants into three large occupational categories, professional, skilled, and miscellaneous, the Annual Report further subdivides, separating, for example, farm laborers from farmers under the "miscellaneous" category. After 1908 the Annual Report also reports the number of aliens leaving (both emigrant and non-emigrant), their sex, age, occupation, length of residence, state of residence, and country of intended residence. After 1910 more information is included on immigrants' marital status, the amount of money brought in, details of passage payment and a more detailed age breakdown. Reasons for

rejection and debarment are included in the Annual Report along with the numbers of people excluded.

Obvious problems exist with using these sources. The chief difficulty is that immigration officials did not keep records on people departing the U.S. until 1908. Since the rate of repatriation for some groups was very high, in some years over sixty percent in the case of the Italians, the pre-1908 figures exaggerated the number of people coming in. Those who were entering the U.S. for the second time were counted as new arrivals. A second problem is that the statistics did not accurately record the flow of immigrants through Canada.

Because of these problems, some demographers have rejected the use of immigration statistics altogether. To estimate the net population increase from immigration they have turned to census counts. Since birth and mortality rates are known, they can be applied to the census period figures and projected for the decade. The difference between the resulting figure and the actual count at the end of the period will show a net increase or decrease in population due to non-natural causes, such as immigration. Among those who have used this method, see Warren S. Thompson and P.K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States (New York, 1933) and Joseph J. Spengler et al., eds., Demographic Analysis (Glencoe, 1956), especially pages 277-97.

IMMIGRANTS IN LITERATURE

Sidney Weinberg

For students seeking to understand what life in America was like for immigrants who came through Ellis Island, novels and autobiographical literature provide invaluable insights often inaccessible in traditional historical sources. They permit the reader to get a sense of the immigrant's life as he or she perceived it and to comprehend aspects of life in old world cultures that facilitated adjustment to America for some groups while impeding it in others. Such literature helps explain the role of the individual in the family and community; it breathes life into the system of values brought over from the native land and details the adjustment of those values to cope with the needs of the new life in America. From novels like Cahan's The Rise of David Levinsky, one can learn of the economic benefits combined with psychic costs of pursuing the American dream.Conversely, from d'Angelo's Son of Italy one sees the penalties exacted for refusing to make the race. The pressures forcing people to leave their native lands are pictured vividly in Moberg's The Emigrants or Kazan's America, America. These images contrast with Moberg's Unto A Good Land or Saroyan's My Name is Aram, which describe how well America fulfilled their expectations. The remnants of a way of life imported in one generation are traced through the sons and grandsons in such novels as James T. Farrell's Studs Lonigan trilogy and help explain ethnic differences that persist even today.

A few warnings are in order about using novels and autobiography to understand the immigrant experience. Inevitably, distortions occur when people write about events that took place many years before, and sometimes there is a tendency to romanticize, to write the way the authors wish things had been rather than the way they were. It is also difficult for novelists to portray accurately a culture not their own, and many did not succeed. A book like Sinclair's The Jungle is all the more remarkable for its ability to recreate an ethnic milieu foreign to the author.

Below is a list of novels and autogiographies representing several ethnic groups which passed through Ellis Island.

Armenian:

Hagopian, Richard, The Dove Brings Peace. New York, 1944.
Kazan, Elia, America, America. New York, 1962.
Saroyan, William, My Name is Aram. New York, 1940.

German:

Aldrich, Bess Streeter, Spring Came On Forever. New York, 1935.
Dreiser, Theodore, Jennie Gebhardt. New York, 1911.
Jordan, Mildred, One Red Rose Forever, New York, 1941.
Suckow, Ruth, Country People. New York, 1924.

Greek:

Costakis, Roxane F., Wing and the Thorn. Atlanta, 1952.
Petrakis, Harry Mark, The Odyssey of Kostas Volakis. New York, 1963.
Vardoulakis, Mary, Gold in the Streets. New York, 1945.

Irish:

Dineen, Joseph, Ward Eight. New York, 1936.
Farrell, James T., Studs Lonigan (3 vols.). New York, 1938.
Father and Son. New York, 1940.
Deasy, Mary, The Hour of Spring.
Furcy, John, A Novel in Four Parts. New York, 1946.
McHale, Tom, Farragan's Retreat.
Principato.
McSorley, Edward, Our Own Kind. New York, 1946.
O'Connor, Edwin, The Last Harrah, New York, 1956.
The Edge of Sadness. New York, 1961.
Smith, Betty, A Tree Grows in Brooklyn.
Dooley, Roger, Days Beyond Recall. New York, 1949.
Powers, J.F., The Presence of Grace. New York, 1956.
Cullinan, Elizabeth, House of Gold. New York, 1970.
Curran, Mary Doyle, The Parish and the Hill. 1948.
Tully, Jim, Shanty Irish. New York, 1928.

Italians:

Valenti, Angelo, Golden Gate. 1939.
D'Agostino, Guido, Olives on the Apple Tree. New York, 1940.
D'Angelo, Pascal, Son of Italy. New York, 1924.
Ets, Marie H., Rosa, The Life of An Italian Immigrant. 1970.
Forgione, Louis, The River Between. 1928.
Lapolla, Garibaldi, The Fire in the Flesh. 1931
The Grand Gennaro. 1935.
Puzo, Mario, The Fortunate Pilgrim. New York, 1965.
DiDonato, Pietro, Christ in Concrete. Indianapolis, 1939.
The Women. New York, 1958.
Three Circles of Light. New York, 1960.

Cautela, Giuseppe, Moon Harvest. New York, 1925.
Fante, John, Wait Until Spring, Bandini. New York, 1938.
Mangione, Jerre, Mount Allegro. Boston, 1943.
Panunzio, Constantine, The Soul of an Immigrant. New York, 1924.

Jews:

Antin, Mary, The Promised Land. New Yokr, 1912.
Asch, Scholem, The Mother. New Yokr, 1930.
America. New York, 1918.
Cahan, Abraham, The Rise of David Levinsky. New York, 1917.
The Imported Bridegroom and other Stories.
Gold, Mike, Jews Without Money. 1930.
Yezierska, Anzia, Bread Givers.
Hungry Hearts. Boston, 1920.
Red Ribbon on a White Horse. New York, 1958.
Kazin, Alfred, A Walker in the City. New York, 1953.
Roth, Henry, Call it Sleep. New York, 1934.

Lithuanian:

Sinclair, Upton, The Jungle. Garden City, 1906.
Vitkauskas, Arejas, An Immigrant's Story. New York, 1956.

Norwegian:

Bojer, Johan, The Emigrants. New York, 1925.
Rolvaag, Ole, Giants in the Earth. New York, 1929.
Peder Victorious. New York, 1929.

Polish:

Bankowsky, Richard, A Glass Rose. New York, 1958.
Sienkiewicz, Henryk, After Bread. New York, 1897.
In a New Promised Land. New York, 1927.

Slavic:

Adamic, Louis, Laughing in the Jungle. New York, 1932.
The Native's Return. New York, 1934.
Sanjek, Louis, In Silence. New York, 1938.
Vecki, Victor, Threatening Shadows. Boston, 1931.

Swedish:

Cather, Willa, O Pioneers. Boston, 1913.
Moberg, Vilhelm, The Emigrants. Stockholm, 1950.
Unto a Good Land. New York, 1971.

STEERAGE CONDITIONS

Carl Zangerl

In 1908 a government commission, chaired by a United States Senator, investigated a whole range of issues relating to immigration. One of these was the condition under which "third class" passengers were transported across the Atlantic in sterrage. An 1882 law had called for decent accommodations, adequate sanitation, and healthy food for the many immigrants who could not afford passage in the first or second cabins. But the law lacked the power of enforcement. As a result, the few investigations of steerage conditions held prior to 1908 invariably disclosed an "evil and revolting" environment for steerage passengers.

The commission decided to conduct a more systematic investigation of its own. Several special agents traveled as steerage passengers on twelve trans-Atlantic steamers in order to collect first-hand evidence. Because the volume of immigration was relatively low in 1908, over-crowding was not a complicating factor. Even so, the agents discovered disturbing conditions in steerage on most of the steamers.

This was especially true for steamers with old-style steerage. This meant that as many as 300 passengers occupied one large "cabin;" typically, one of these large spaces was reserved for unaccompanied women, another for unaccompanied men, and another for families. Usually, a passenger in old-style steerage was confined to a bunk measuring 6' by 2' by 2½' for a voyage that might last from seven to seventeen days. Since there was no storage space, all hand baggage and other personal belongings had to be squeezed into the bunk area. The bunks themselves sometimes had life preservers serving as mattresses.

Sanitation was a particular problem. According to the commission report, the floors of the sleeping quarters were damp and filthy until the last day of the voyage, "when they are cleaned in preparation for the inspection at the

port of entry." Washrooms were much too small for the number of passengers. When combined with poor ventilation, the limited space and "much filth and stench" created almost unendurable conditions. As a result, the open deck was often filled long before daylight by passengers who could not tolerate the foul air between decks. Unfortunatley, the open deck space allotted to steerage passengers was very limited.

Meals were served in the sleeping quarters, where passengers waited in long lines for their rations. Simple but decent ingredients were often spoiled by "wretched" preparation. On one ship, the line would reform after dinner at one warm-water faucet where passengers washed their eating utensils. The ship stewards often conducted a lucrative business on the side by selling special food items to passengers who could afford to relieve the monotony of normal meals.

The decline of the death rate on trans-Atlantic voyages was more the result of the shorter time required for passage than of any improvement in health facilities. The special agents found that seriously ill passengers did receive medical care. Ironically, seasickness, the most common malady between decks, did not qualify as an illness. As a result, many seasick passengers spent an entire voyage in the sleeping quarters, where inadequate sanitation made conditions for both the sick and the healthy unbearable. To add to the misery, a female inspector encountered abuse of unaccompanied female passengers by the crew on the outside deck. "The atmosphere," she replied, "was one of general lawlessness and total disrespect for women."

On ships carrying passengers from northern Europe, a "new-style" steerage was introduced largely as a result of competition among the ship lines for a share of a shrinking market. New-style steerage offered passengers greater privacy, separate dining facilities, better sanitation, and a generally more civilized environment. It was patterened on the second cabin

accommodations, though on a more modest scale. An inspector described the following mealtime routine for female passengers: "For dinner each table received a pail of soup, a small dishpan of meat and potatoes, another of vegetables; for the other meals, a large tin kettle of either tea or coffee already containing milk and sugar, bread, a plate of prune jam or a butter substitute." The new-style steerage, which fully complied with the spirit of the 1882 law on steerage conditions, was not available to passengers from southern Europe. There the passenger lines had agreed to divide up territory on a noncompetitive basis, so there was no incentive to improve conditions.

Based on these findings, what were the commission's recommendations? To correct what it found to be deplorable conditions on several steamers, the commission called for the introduction of new-style steerage on all vessels. Government officials would enforce the regulations by continually monitoring steerage conditions, and the expense would be borne by the steamship companies. These measures, the commission hoped, would drastically improve the image of America in the eyes of steerage passengers.

FAMILY UNITS AND SINGLE IMMIGRANTS

Dorothy O. Helly

American tradition tends to picture immigrants arriving from Europe in family groups. The stereotypical image shows a husband and wife disembarking at Ellis Island with their two children, one of each sex.

If it were true that most immigrants arrived in family groups, then the statistics would indicate that at least half the incoming immigrants were children. Table III shows that 1,013,974 children entered the United States between 1899 and 1909. If every two children arrived with two parents, then the 1,013,974 children would have been accompanied by 1,013,974 adults. But, as the table shows, a total of 7,199,060 adults entered. This means that about 6,185,086 or 75.4% of the adults arrived without children. According to Table II, 69% of all immigrants were male, 31% were female. Thus, the number of adult males arriving without children was about 4.3 million, and the number of unaccompanied females was about 1.9 million. If one were to assume more than two children per family unit (of two parents), then the number of adults unaccompanied by children would be even higher. Assuming only one child per couple would reduce the total number of unaccompanied adults to 5,171,112 or 72% of the total.

The 1911 Immigration Report to Congress also indicated that one of the largest single ethnic groups among the "new" immigrants were the Jews. (The Commission distinguished between "old" type immigrant groups which came from northern and western Europe and "new" type groups from eastern and southern Europe.) Since the Jews included a large number of people fleeing from pogroms in Russian territory,

the largest percentage of children came in this group during the years 1899-1909. Among the 990,182 Jews who arrived, 24.8% were children under 14 years. This percentage is twice as large as that found among the "old" type immigrants of the period, 12.8%. The total percentage of children among all "new" immigrant groups was 12.2%. Not counting the Jews, the percentage of children among remaining "new" immigrants was about 9.7%. We can conclude, as the Commission did, that most immigrants of this period were unaccompanied adult males.

The number of women arriving without children was also large. Even if every child who arrived had been accompanied by one adult female, the number of women arriving without children would still have been larger than the number of women with children. Furthermore, independent evidence, such as that derived from British records on emigration to the United States, indicates that single women formed an important part of the flow westward (See Table IV). We also know from Robert E. Kennedy, Jr., The Irish, that single women predominated in emigration from Ireland from the 1880's on.

Table I gives the numbers and percentages of males entering the United States in five distinct years in an earlier period, between 1880 and 1914. It also shows the percentages of children under 14 who came in. In this period the largest percentage of children reached 19%. Applying to each of three years the percentages drawn from the total immigration figures for the period 1899 - 1909, we must conclude that family units of four could not have accounted for more than 38% of the total number of immigrants arriving between 1880 and 1890. It may well be that the earlier immigrants were more likely to arrive in

family units than those who came after 1900, but the stereotype still appears to be just that, a stereotype.

Table I

	1914	1910	1900	1890	1880
Total	1,218,480	1,041,570	448,572	455,302	457,257
Total Male	798,747	736,038	304,148	281,853	287,257
Percent Male	65.5%	70.6%	67.8%	61.9%	62.9%
Total Under 14	158,621	120,509	54,624	86,404	87,154
Percent Under 14	13.0%	11.5%	12.0%	19.0%	19.0%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U.S.: Colonial Times to 1970*, Part I, Chapter C, "International Migration and Naturalization," p. 112, Series C 138-142.

Table II

1899-1909 European Immigration		Percent
Male	5,667,928	69.0%
Female	2,545,106	31.0%
Total	8,213,034	100.0%

Table III

1899-1909 European Immigration by Age		Percent
Total under 14	1,013,974	12.3%
14-44 years	6,786,506	82.6%
over 45 years	412,554	5.1%

Source for Tables II & III: *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 4, *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, 61st Congress, 3d Session, Senate Doc. 748, Washington, D.C., 1911, pp. 23 & 25, Tables 6 & 9.

Table IV

*EMIGRATION TO U.S. 1881

	English	Scotch	Irish
Adults			
Married Male	10,027	1,180	2,669
Married Female	12,819	2,464	4,328
Single Male	36,589	7,927	27,840
Single Female	11,726	2,444	23,914
Children (1-12)			
Male	10,203	2,221	4,279
Female	9,156	2,002	4,309

Source: *British Sessional Papers, Emigration*, vol. 26, p. 182, Irish U.P.

COMPULSORY NAME CHANGES FOR IMMIGRANTS

William Zeisel

Almost everyone has heard the story of a family, usually of eastern European origins, whose last name was changed, more or less accidentally, because the United States immigration officials didn't read Yiddish (or Polish or some other tongue). We are inclined to accept the story as true, if only because we have all experienced bureaucratic ineptitude or ignorance at one time or another. Yet most immigrants who arrived during the great wave between 1870 and 1914 did not suffer an alteration in their names. Why were a few apparently changed, but not others? When the authorities misspelled a name, did the alien have to adopt the new spelling when he took up residence in his new homeland, or could he keep the old spelling?

Although the stories about names vary in detail, they all assume that when the alien was admitted to the U.S., the authorities issued him some sort of document that contained the government-approved version of his name. To determine whether or not these name changes actually occurred, one needs to know whether or not the new arrivals were given any such entry certificates.

In a statute of 1906, Congress re-organized the Bureau of Immigration into the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. As part of the reorganization a step was added in the procedures by which immigrants entered the country:

> ...it shall be the duty of the said Bureau to provide, for the use at the various immigration stations throughout the United States, books of record, wherein the commissioners of immigration shall cause a registry to be made in the case of each alien arriving in the United States <u>from and after the passage of this Act</u> (italics mine), of the name, age, occupation, personal description ...place of birth...intended place of residence in the United States, and the date of arrival of each alien, and, if entered through a port, the

> name of the vessel in which he comes. And it shall be the duty of said commissioners of immigration to cause to be granted to each alien a certificate of such registry, with the particulars thereof.

A footnote to the statute adds that the issuance of certificates "will be in practical use five years from the date the law went into effect," that is, five years after 1906.

This excerpt implies that before the 1906 law went into effect, that is, before 1911, no formal entry certificates were issued. There was no opportunity for the authorities to alter a name, since the entry proceedings were based solely on the name as written on the shipping manifest prepared by the steamship company. Even if the authorities had wanted to change a name, there was no legally binding document on which the change could have been made. After the alien was examined and found suitable for admission, he was allowed simply to walk through the door, and once on the street he could take whatever name he chose and spell it as he pleased. He was not required to carry or possess any official entry certificate containing his name. Even if the immigration officials had altered the spelling on the shipping manifest, they would not have forced the alien to accept their spelling, since the lists were not public notices but simply administrative documents that were immediately filed away.

Once the law of 1906 took effect the possibilities for bureaucratic interference--intended or accidental--greatly increased because now there was a legally binding vehicle for change, in the form of the entry certificate. Even so, it seems unlikely that officials would have taken the trouble to make alterations on purpose. The immigrants came to the processing stations in boatloads, hundreds at a time, and

the officials were expected to examine them quickly. There could have been little incentive for an official to agonize over how Franczy Joniec spelled his name, especially since that name had already been written on the shipping manifest that the official was holding.

Perhaps the officials erred when they transcribed names from the manifests to the entry certificates. But the process of filling out the original manifests offered more possibilities for mistakes. The ships' manifests were filled out by stewards and ships' doctors, who were often unfamiliar with the language of the passengers and who could easily have made alterations out of haste, ignorance, or even a desire to make the names sound less outlandish. Even here the margin for error was small since all immigrants carried official documents, such as vaccination certificates issued by their native countries, on which their names were clearly written.

Of course, from the immigrant's point of view, it did not much matter who made the alteration, whether it was the ship's steward, the German ticket agent who sold him his American train tickets, or the local doctor in Poland who filled out his vaccination forms, since they all represented authority. The shipping manifest, in particular, must have seemed an official U.S. document (and to an extent it was, since the blank forms were supplied by the Immigration Bureau). Any name alteration, even though made by an employee of the shipping company, must have seemed to be an act of the government.

To sum up: there were places along the trip to America where alterations in name could have occurred but, until 1911, the alterations had no binding effect on the alien because they were not recorded on any document that would force him to use the

altered form. Thus it seems that name changes said to have occurred before 1911 must represent a misunderstanding of the current immigration procedures or a garbling of the oral tradition. After 1911 the issuance of entry certificates opened the door to name changes sanctioned by the authorities, although these changes were probably accidents of transcription from shipping manifests, not purposeful efforts to alter names.

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EUROPE'S POPULATION EXPLOSION

I. Population Trends n Europe, 1800-1900

Throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, population increased dramatically--on the order of almost 150%. Why?

II. Mortality Rates

a. The death rate decreased because famines and epidemics were virtually eliminated in the course of the 19th century--Ireland was a major exception.

b. Better health conditions led to an improvement in life expectancy for most people.

c. Especially in the urban slums, mortality rates continued to be very high.

III. Fertility Rates

a. For several decades, the size of generations was inflated.

b. The increase in population resulted not so much from higher fertility rates, but rather from much lower death rates.

c. Toward the end of the 19th century, a strong trend toward family limitation developed.

IV. Population and Society

a. Industrialization enabled a larger population to enjoy a higher standard of living.

b. Migration, to the cities or overseas, was the only option for millions of Europeans.

REPATRIATION OF IMMIGRANTS

I. Repatriation occurred in all periods.

A. During the colonial period, especially in 1640-1660, more returned to England than came.

B. During the 19th century, English and Germans left-- each is the subject of books.

C. This repatriation is not to be confused with sojourners or middlemen minorities.

II. A big increase in repatriation occurred after 1880.

A. Reasons for increase:

1. Easier travel

2. Information about jobs in spite of Foran Act (1885); posters and agents circulated in Europe.

3. Economic development in the U.S. creates a demand for unskilled labor

4. Governments encourage repatriation in some cases (Italy)

B. Extent of repatriation

1. Extensive for Greeks and Italians. In some years the number of Italian repatriates equalled 60-70% the number of Italians arriving.

2. Problems with using records include:

a. Different countries used different terms to define them.

b. The U.S. began recording "emigrant aliens" in 1908

C. Who the repatriates were in 1908-33:

1. Males, unskilled, young

2. They spent less than 10 years in the U.S., generally less than 5; their return was not annual but seasonal

3. Some states and industries were affected more than others.

D. Reaction to repatriates

1. In their countries of origin: often disparaged for effect on family life, health and crime, but encouraged because of the income brought on by remittances.

2. U.S. disliked "birds of passage" most of all because it considered them unassimiliable.

    a. They were perceived to be less civilized because they did not live in family groups.

    c. They took dollars out.

    d. This reaction led to the passage of the literacy act in 1917.