The Reasons for Migrating

by Giles R. Wright

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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HOWARD L. GREEN, GENERAL EDITOR

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments 5
Introduction 7
The Reasons for Migrating 11
Brief History of United States Immigration Policy 33
Notes on the Speakers 39
Capsule Histories of the Ethnic Groups 49
List of Interviewers 63
Suggested Readings for High School Students 65
Glossary 71

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INTRODUCTION

There are two basic, somewhat contradictory schools of thought about the people of the United States of America. In one view, Americans share essentially the same culture and traditions. In the other, they are divided by their varied backgrounds.

These views are often represented by figures of speech. Those who hold the first view may use the image of a melting pot — a vessel in which separate metals or other substances are gradually blended into one. In this view America dissolves immigrant cultures to form a new mixture.

A prosperous French immigrant farmer, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, expressed this idea more than two hundred years ago. He wrote that the American abandons his "ancient prejudices and manners" and takes new ones "from the new mode of life he has embraced." In America, he felt, "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race."

Proponents of the second view compare American society to a salad bowl or a hearty stew. The separate ingredients, they say, do not blend together and lose their special characteristics; instead, the flavors and textures of all the ingredients complement each other to make a whole which is better than the sum of the parts.

In the same way, these thinkers argue, Americans keep elements of their original cultures alive for many generations. These thinkers, often called "cultural pluralists," believe many cultures coexist in our nation.

Both metaphors — the melting pot and the salad bowl — recognize that ethnic diversity has been fundamental in the growth of the United States. Since the seventeenth century our history has been the story of many cultures interacting. The meeting and mixing of traditions, values, and expectations from all over the world give United States history its special complexity.

New Jersey, with more than a hundred ethnic groups, is an excellent

example. Few states have so many cultural backgrounds within their boundaries. The booklet you are about to read contains excerpts from the tape-recorded life histories of New Jerseyans from many of these groups.

The tapes were made by college students, most of them just a few years older than you, during the school year 1979-80. The people they interviewed, who so readily told the stories of their travels, careers, homes and families, live in your towns and cities. They could be your neighbors, friends or relatives. Remember this as you read. This booklet is based on interviews conducted by students like you with people like many of your acquaintances.

Some of your neighbors speak languages other than English. Others use English with rich, thick accents that may be hard to understand. Often they seem detached from the affairs of community or neighborhood that interest you. But if you knew them better you would probably find that they are involved in communities of their own, communities of people who share ethnicity, who belong to the same ethnic groups.

But what is an ethnic group?

Generally, it is a collection of people who share a culture — people with the same race, religion, nationality, language, history, values, or customs. Different combinations of these elements determine ethnic identity for different groups.

For example, race is the main thing that defines American blacks as an ethnic group. The Chinese and Japanese, however, are of the same race but different ethnicities. Religion gathers Jews of many nationalities into a single ethnic group, but national origin and other characteristics divide Christians and Muslims into many.

Language and other cultural elements separate the Flemings ethnically from the Walloons, even though they share Belgian nationality. But the English, the Irish and the Scots, who all speak the same language, belong to different ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is an elusive concept. But it is one of the keys to United States history. This booklet will bring you closer to understanding it.

In presenting voices from New Jersey's ethnic groups great care has been taken to let them speak clearly. Spoken language must be edited to make it readable. Sometimes the prose has been changed substantially, but every passage accurately reflects the intention, meaning and even verbal style of the speaker.

We have several aims for this series. Oral history — that is, the tape-recording of people's recollections — captures the past in a special way. We hope these booklets show that all people, in the way they conduct their lives, both make history and are made by it. We hope the words of people from so many cultural backgrounds will help you understand your own ethnic background. And we hope to make you more perceptive about the ethnic heritage of others.

The Reasons for Migrating

I was born in the village of Turka in 1897. Turka was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire;* today it is in the Ukraine, a part of the Soviet Union. . . . I did well in school, the teachers gave me the highest marks there were. But we didn't have any money so I didn't have the opportunity to go very far.

Instead I went to work. I got a job in a grocery store. It was lousy but it was a job. I was getting twenty-five kronen.* That means in American money about five dollars. For the whole year!

I got a meal a day too but that was never adequate: plus whatever we could eat in the grocery store, in the stock room in the back. Between orders, between deliveries and the sweeping and all that, we'd sneak and eat a pound of prunes, a half a pound of nuts or something. Whatever was in the box there in the room, we ate. I wasn't the only one. There were a couple more fellows like me. . . . If [the owner] had given us some bread and butter and coffee we probably wouldn't have eaten his walnuts and his prunes. This cost him much more, but we didn't care as long as we filled up.

So this was the way my working life started, with this little bit of twenty-five kronen a year. Mom couldn't wait the six months to draw on it, because we were so up against it. After a couple of months, she had to go to the store and beg the owner to give her an advance on my wages, five kronen or something. . . . This is how poor we were- . . . . How can you live like that?

So my parents decided we should move to Kolomyya. It was about two and a half miles from Turka and was a good-sized town. My father knew a lot of people there and he felt maybe he could do something other than trying to farm. And my mother, who knew how to bake bread

*See glossary

professionally, thought that by going to Kolomyya she could maybe sell some bread. They also thought that maybe I could get a better job.

But it didn't work out that way. The grocery stores in Kolomyya didn't pay any better. How can you work for five dollars a year? It was no future. Where was I going in that grocery store? We got together and we decided that my only solution was to go to the United States—to go to America.

But that took money and who had the money? Esther was the one: my aunt. She was working as a servant and she had a little bank book. I don't know how much more she had but she went to the bank and pulled out enough for me to pay for the ticket and to have twenty-five dollars in cash to show at Castle Garden.* I had to have enough money to show that I wouldn't be a burden to anyone. I also had to buy some clothes—at least one clean suit. I couldn't go to America in the clothes I wore in the grocery store. Aunt Esther lent me the money and I left.

— Max Teicher

All humankind shares the experience of moving from one place to another. The people of all racial, religious and national groups have moved at some time in their history. The history of mass human migration is ancient, and it is continuous.

In one sense all inhabitants of the United States reached this continent by migration. Even native Americans descend from migrants; their ancestors, most scholars believe, crossed the Bering Strait from Asia to North America in a series of major migrations between 40,000 and 11,000 B.C.

All others are either immigrants themselves or the descendants of those who have immigrated in the 375 years since the first permanent settlers arrived in 1607. Of course black Americans were brought to this continent forcibly as slaves, and a forced migration differs greatly from a voluntary one. Yet the Atlantic slave trade—one of the largest forced migrations in history—was a significant episode in the peopling of North America. And in the twentieth century the black exodus from the southern United States closely paralleled the experience of emigrants from foreign lands.

Why have so many people uprooted themselves to settle or resettle in the U.S.? There are as many reasons and combinations of reasons for moving as people who move.

PUSH/PULL

Most human migration can be understood in terms of either a push or a pull. People are pushed from their homes by unsatisfactory circumstances or pulled by the belief that conditions will be better elsewhere. Generally both influences appear, but many people remember one of them as more compelling than the other.

Margaret Laeser, a seventy-eight-year-old German, remembers her native land during the 1920s.

There were no jobs or anything in Germany. Inflation had come and

This 1855 cartoon suggests how closely the labor market was related to immigration policy. It shows jobs at good wages luring workers to the United States while an English employer tries to keep a woman from leaving. The woodcut, by an anonymous artist, contains many of the visual conventions of its day. Castle Garden* was the immigration station in New York at the time. Brother Jonathan, who sits on the far shore with the American eagle on his shoulder, was a precursor of Uncle Sam; the English employer looks like John Bull, a cartoon figure widely used to represent Great Britain. The lion is a very old symbol for England. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.

money wasn't worth anything any more. I wanted to come over to America but my father didn't want to let me. He said, "You stay here." But it got so bad I had to leave.

Fred Hanke, seventy-six years old, also recalls hardships in Germany during that period.

No jobs were to be had. I was laid off by the munitions factory. I tried everything: even selling from house to house.

Edward Losch, a seventy-five-year-old Jew, says that he felt pushed to leave Austria after Germany annexed the country in 1938 and anti-Semitism increased.

I didn't decide to leave my home, I was forced to leave. The country was invaded by the Germans and I had to leave. Fortunately enough, even though I was supposed to go three times to the concentration camp, I was able, if I may say so, to escape. I came to the United States on November 5, 1939, among the lucky few who could leave that country and find refuge in this country. For this I am not only thankful to the people of the United States, I am thankful to God that He showed me the way that my life could be refreshened and reborn.

Helmi Holmberg, sixty-nine, recalls that very difficult times forced her parents to leave Finland in 1913.

My mother and father were very poor. They didn't have anything. My aunt was already looking after my sister. . . . They had only one cow, nothing really to keep them there. They weren't working. My father couldn't get work, so in June he came to this country.

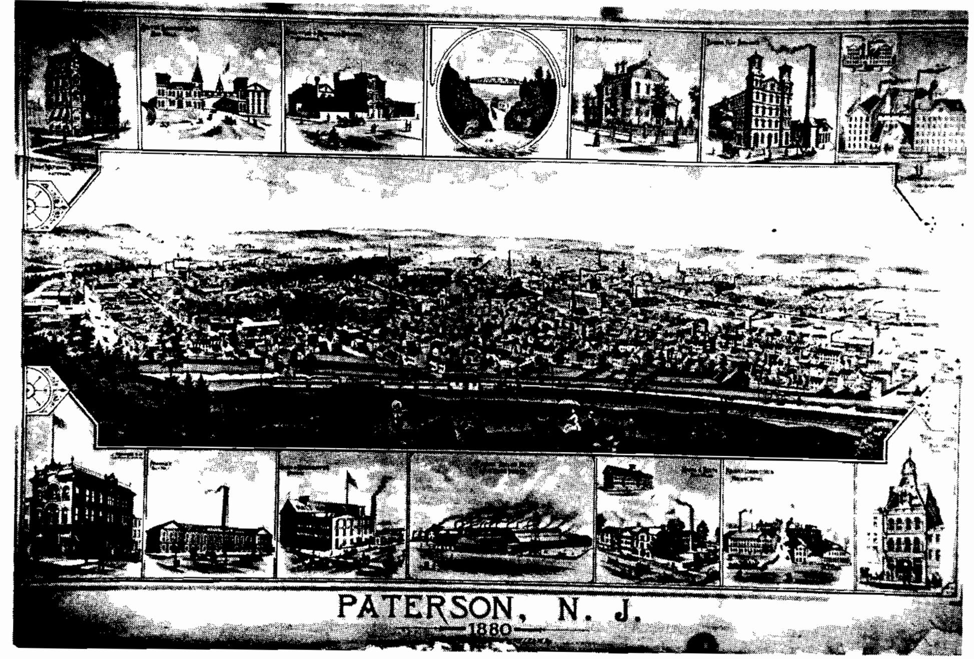
He was supposed to send for my mother, but he never wrote to her. . . . She decided to sell the cow and ask my uncle if he would lend her the money so she could come to America too. She left on September 10. My father was already here almost four months. My mother came because she didn't have any way to support us.

For others it was less the push than the pull. A vision of the United States as the "promised land" drew them like a magnet. Antoinette Bjorklund, fifty, tells us that her parents emigrated from Greece with a certain image of the new land.

My mother came over when she was fifteen years old. It must have been 1921. My mother's family had great expectations of the United States. You've heard that old story about people expecting to see the streets lined with gold. Well, in her case they really did.

Ulumdsha Albataew, a forty-six-year-old Kalmuk who came to this country from Germany after World War II, also mentions this image.

The understanding of people outside of the United States is that it's the country of opportunity. If anybody wants to move to some other



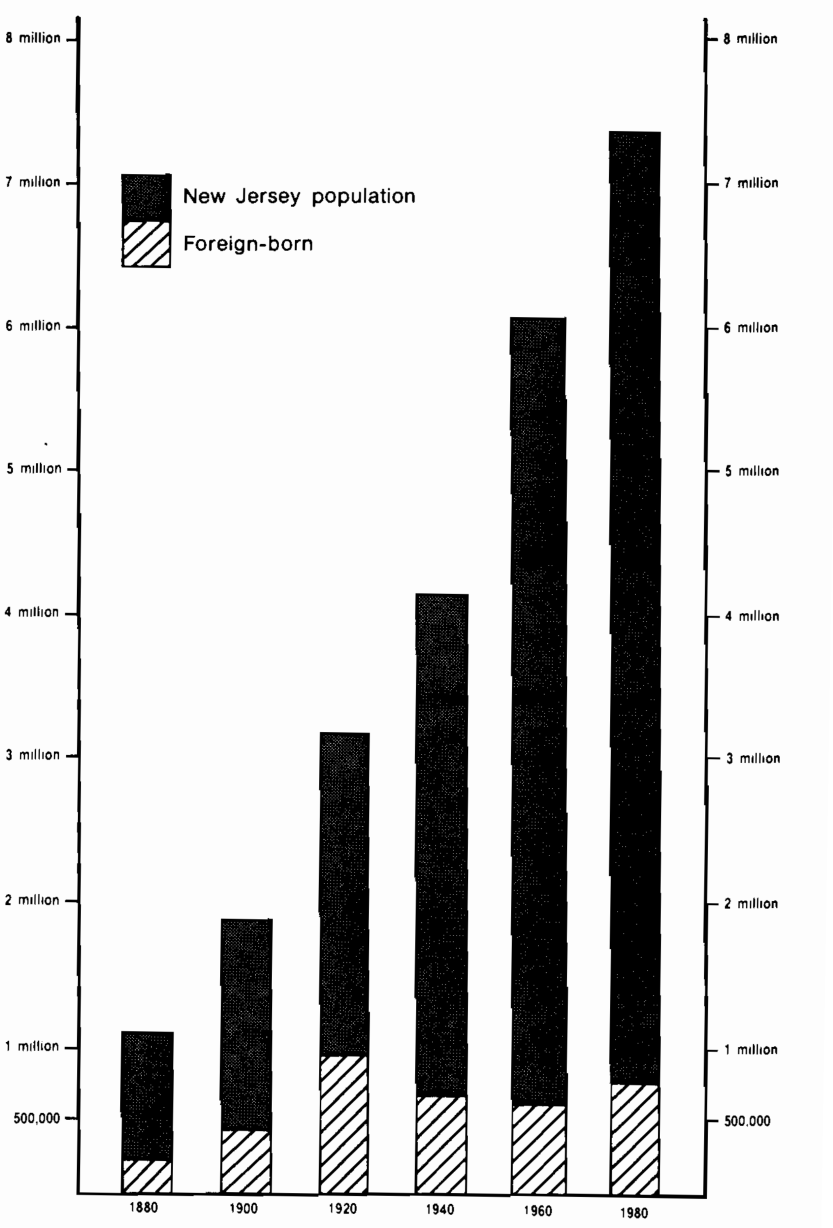
Many immigrants, particularly those who came to the United States in the last third of the nineteenth century, were attracted by the jobs offered in America's thriving industrial cities. Paterson, with three major industries — silk, iron, and locomotive manufacture — offered more opportunities than many larger cities. It is shown in a somewhat idealized view from 1880. Courtesy of the Passaic County Historical Society.

country, the United States is the first country that they want to go to.

Still others remember a balance between the push from home and the pull of the new destination. Teresa Siegert, forty-one, explains why her parents came to America from Italy.

We are talking about surviving. My mother's parents brought their young family over because they were looking for what America is known for. You know, better opportunity to make a living, that type of thing. And my father coming over at age twenty-one, was looking for something else too. He fought in the First World War. He gave several years of his life, from age sixteen, which is very young, to twenty-one. And when

PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN RESIDENTS IN NEW JERSEY, 1880-1980



From 1880 to 1920 New Jersey's proportion of foreign-born inhabitants increased about as rapidly as the total population. Since 1920 the number of foreign-born New Jerseyans has remained fairly constant, although the total population has nearly doubled. As a result, the foreign-born proportion has been reduced by

he got out of the army there was nothing for him. When he came to America, he saw it in the same way as did my mother's parents.

Erica Schaller, forty-eight years old, is a native of Germany. She tells why she and her husband came to this country after World War II.

Well, I guess to better ourselves. After the war in Germany there was no work, no housing, nothing. So I guess we decided to come over here since we heard that it would be better here for living.

WORK, PERSECUTION

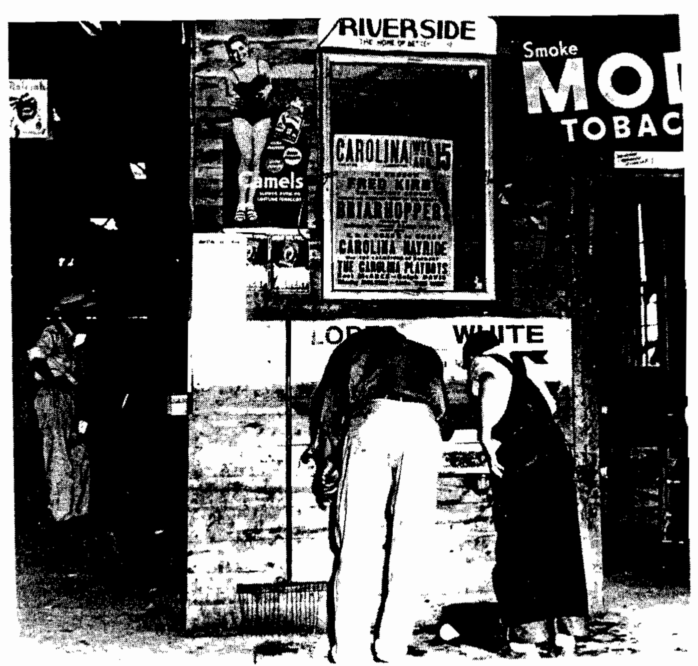
The desire to make a decent living is perhaps the most important reason for moving. Mario Rossi, a sixty-seven-year-old Italian, says his parents came to find work.

They thought they would find a better life here in this country. Over in Italy they were struggling and they weren't making it. There was no work. My father had a trade, he was an expert hatmaker. In those days they made hats by hand, see, not by machine. But his plant closed down and he couldn't find work elsewhere in his field. He got a job in a pastry shop, what they call a pasticceria,* where they make Italian pastries and things like that. He was an apprentice. That's the kind of work he did before he came to America.

William Pruitt, a sixty-seven-year-old Afro-American, says that the promise of better wages prompted him to move to Youngstown, Ohio, from Alabama in 1932.

I had two brothers who left before me. I liked what they told me about Ohio, so I thought it was time for me to go too.

I was making fifty cents a day and they were making six to seven dollars a day. Fifty cents a day. That's three dollars a week. One day I worked for forty cents, hauling hay for a man. Some of the people were paying seventy-five cents, but just about everybody got fifty cents. Still I was doing better than a lot of the fellows, because my cousin and I got room and board. Every Saturday the boss laid three dollars at my place and three dollars at my cousin's place. That was a week's work and that's what made me want to go to Youngstown. You didn't make any money in Alabama.



Racial segregation in the South was one reason many Afro-Americans moved elsewhere between 1915 and 1965. This photograph from about 1955 shows segregated drinking fountains in a tobacco warehouse in North Carolina. Courtesy of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

Thirty-eight-year-old Dudley Davy from Jamaica says the higher wages in the United States helped him decide to immigrate.

I came to the United States because I was looking for more money. I just came to work on the farms: a contract laborer.* After we worked the season here, we would go back home to Jamaica. I did this for three seasons. Only after I saw the money was so good did I decide to stay.

Many immigrants were fleeing persecution. Often the persecution was religious, as for many of the Jews who came to this country. Benjamin Leeds is ninety-one years old; he arrived in 1901. Poor treatment of Rumanian Jews prompted his family to move.

There were social problems in Rumania. You had to tell people that you were of the Jewish faith. And those of the Jewish faith didn't have what you called rights, social rights. There was no Jewish newspaper. Jews were not allowed to vote.

Anti-Semitism also led Hilda Wolin's mother to bring the family to this country from Germany in the late 1930s. Mrs. Wolin, fifty-nine, recalls:

The last years in Germany were not pleasant. I mean, there was no place you could go. You were restricted in your movements, restricted where you shopped, restricted in everything. . . . So on March 23, 1938,

Religious persecution has driven many immigrants to these shores. The most intense episode took place during World War II, when the Nazis tried to annihilate the Jews of Europe. Some Jews escaped to the United States and other countries, but many were taken to concentration camps and murdered. Jews from all over Poland, confined in a small area of Warsaw to await deportation, revolted in 1943, but the Nazis defeated them easily. In this photograph, taken after the revolt, soldiers line up women and children for assignment to a concentration camp. Courtesy of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

we left Germany. And as soon as we left from Germany, Hitler couldn't do us any more harm.

Another Jew, Rabbi Bernard Oberstein, fifty-seven, remembers:

My grandfather came to this country because he heard that he could have some religious freedom here. He also came to escape being persecuted because of the political activities in which one of his sons, my uncle, became involved. He had to leave Bialystok* because the Russian government was ready to arrest my uncle and send him away for life. To save this son he sold everything he had. After going to Frankfurt [Germany] and then Liverpool [England] he came to this country.

Fifty-two-year-old Jirina Meixner is one of many persons who have entered this country since World War II to avoid political persecution by undemocratic governments. She left her native Czechoslovakia after the Russian occupation of 1968.

I was involved in the political movement as a journalist; my specialty was the Soviet Union. This was actually the reason I knew that they would be after me; I knew too much. I traveled to the Soviet Union several times each year between 1953 and 1968. . . .

When [the Russians] . . . came I left. Otherwise I would have gone to jail. I was, in fact, sentenced in absentia after I left. I knew that life with the Russian occupation would change to the point where I wouldn't be able to work and my child wouldn't be able to go to school. So very quickly, within two days, we decided to come to America.

Elsa Lake, forty-two, is another post-World War II political refugee. She left Cuba in 1960.

I felt it was a matter of surviving. Get out of the country or be killed.

When the revolution started, it was not clear what ideas Castro had and what he intended to do with the government. It was much later that the true situation of communism came about. . . . I had finished law school and had gotten a job with the department dealing with taxes. Working for an office of the government, I was being forced to do things that I didn't like, and of course I flatly refused. I became more open in . . . verbalizing how much I disliked communism. It got to the point when I knew that they would threaten my life and that I was headed toward a dead end. I had to leave or I didn't know what was going to happen to me.

Political upheavals such as rebellions and revolutions have uprooted millions. This dramatic image from the cover of *Time* (January 7, 1957) depicts Hungarians revolting in 1956. The rebellion was put down by Soviet troops, and about 35,000 Hungarians escaped to the United States. When they arrived they were quartered at Camp Kilmer in Piscataway, Middlesex County. Many remained in the area, settling in the Hungarian community centered in New Brunswick. Courtesy of *Time* Magazine.

WAR

Wars, of course, trigger mass migration. Many Europeans were uprooted by the Second World War. The family of Tiiu Lapsins, for example, fled its native Estonia to escape Russian rule after the war. Mrs. Lapsins was six.

During World War II perhaps 40 million civilians were forced to leave their homes. Three-quarters of them were Europeans. Though only a very few of these refugees were admitted to the United States, they make up a considerable proportion of our eastern European immigration since 1945. Many refugees lived in displaced-persons camps before they moved to permanent homes. This photograph shows a camp in Luxembourg whose residents were to be returned to the Soviet Union. Immigrants to the United States came from similar camps. Courtesy of the National Archives.

We left Estonia in September, 1944. The Communists were coming in and we knew what they were like. We wanted our freedom; we wanted to keep our freedom.

Dorothy Tanno, a thirty-three-year-old Ukrainian, explains her parents' situation in 1951, when they left a displaced-persons camp in Germany.

My father had had his own business, but during the war he lost it. There was really nothing there. Of course you hear that America is the land of opportunity, you know, the streets are paved with gold. So here we are.

Others who migrated because of war were foreign women who married American servicemen. They entered under the War Brides Act of

1946, which permitted the immigration of some 120,000 foreign-born wives and children of armed service personnel. Elfrieda Spadoni, fifty-three, tells how she came to this country as a German war bride in 1948.

I decided to leave Germany because of my husband. I met my husband in Germany after the war. . . . We didn't have much to eat, . . . and although he was an American, he brought us food. That's how I met him. About two and a half years later we were married in Germany and we came together to the United States.

Dislike of war and desire to avoid military service also encourage emigration. Ewalt Kuske, a forty-eight-year-old German, tells why his father left his home.

As we had signs back in the 1940s of Uncle Sam, his finger pointing at you, saying "I want you," around 1903 the kaiser* had posters in Germany saying "We want you." There was a compulsory military draft. My father didn't believe in the military; he didn't believe in violence, and he left Germany at that time. This was way before World War I.

Fannie Strauss, a seventy-five-year-old Russian Jew who came to America in 1913, recalls that her father left Russia to avoid the Russo-Japanese War of 1904—1905.

My father came ahead of us all. He came just around the time of the Russo-Japanese War.* It must have been around 1905. . . . He didn't want to fight in the war. If he had stayed there another six months he would have been drafted. . . . And Jews in those days had very little love for Russia. They were born there and they had to live there, but they certainly didn't want to risk their lives for the czar.* So it was either be drafted in the Russian war against Japan and perhaps get killed or make it your business to get out. This is what he did. He had to steal across the border, . . . which meant that he had to pay an agent who, for money, could get you out.

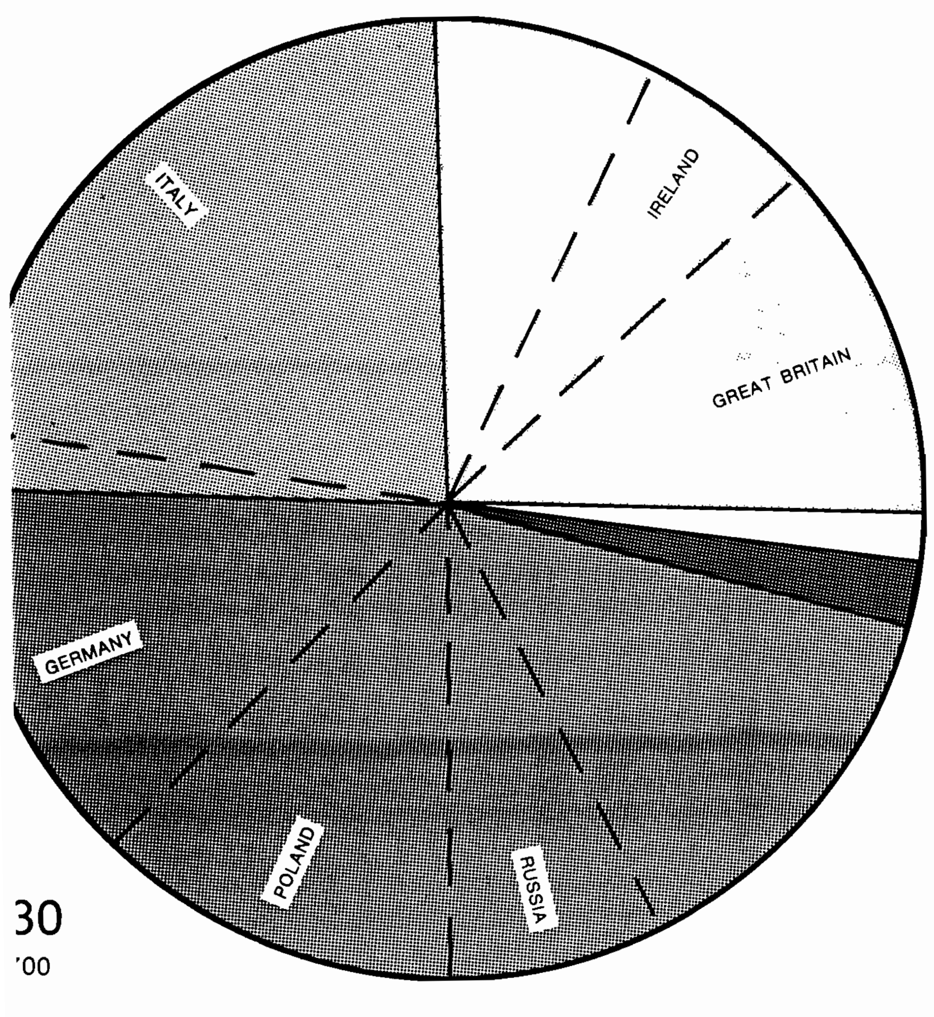
Seventy-year-old Irving Smith says that the Russo-Japanese war was also one of the reasons his father left Russia.

By 1900, when Russia appeared to be getting ready to go to war with

The war in Southeast Asia produced a recent wave of refugees. A cover photograph from *Newsweek* (April 14, 1975) shows Vietnamese hastening to get out of Saigon before the last Americans withdraw. Courtesy of *Newsweek* Magazine and the Picture Collection, New York Public Library.

Japan, he was approximately twenty years old. As the only son, he was supposed to be exempt from the draft. But no attention was paid to this. So he was drafted. On his way to an army camp the locomotive stopped at some small place for water and coal and to allow the draftees to get down and use the latrines. My father, like others, went over the

NATIONAL ORIGINS OF NEW JERSEY'S FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, MAJOR REGIONS AND SELECTED COUNTRIES



The countries and regions that supplied nearly all of New Jersey's foreign-born residents half a century ago account for only about 60 percent of them today. The rest come from places that formerly provided too few immigrants to register on the circle.

NOTE: New Jersey residents who were born in Puerto Rico are not included here because Puerto Rico is a commonwealth associated with the United States. People born there are not officially counted as immigrants.

wall and was able, by paying off the right people, to be hidden during the day. Since they were very close to the border he was able to escape. He made his way to Budapest and eventually to London. This was a very, very common story of the period. The Russian Jewish youth, who had no reason to want to fight a war for the czar, and who were drafted, fled when the opportunity arose.

And fifty-nine-year-old Hilda Malkin, also Jewish, gives a similar reason for her father's emigration from Russia in 1912.

In his town every year a lottery was held for the boys who were to be inducted. . . . My father got the blue ticket. This meant that that year he could not be conscripted. He took advantage of this and he and his younger brother left for America, where they had two uncles who paid for their passage and promised to take care of them.

WANDERLUST

The thrill of adventure and a strong desire to travel — a general restlessness sometimes called wanderlust — also stimulate people to uproot themselves. Seventy-two-year-old Astrid Henning, who is from Norway, recalls:

There was a little adventure in me, you know, and I just wanted to go. I just wanted to see America.

I was standing down at the pier one day when a ship was leaving for America. I was eighteen. They played the Norwegian national anthem. You always get goose pimples when you hear your own national anthem. But then they played the Star Spangled Banner. I got goose pimples again and my hair was just rising, my heart was racing and I got very excited. I said, "That's going to be my country." I said, "I'm coming, I'm coming, America." And I decided right then and there to leave for America. I went right down and put my name down at the Office of Immigration. It took two years before my name came up. I left May 17, 1929.

Daniel Sheehan, fifty-five, came to America from Ireland in 1947. When asked why he came, he replied:

Well, wanderlust. I guess you would call it that. I really didn't have to come. I had everything I wanted. But it was just one of those things. I felt I just had to go.

FAMILY FUTURE

Some people decide to migrate for the welfare of their children. Michael Roselli came to this country from Italy in 1919 when he was five. He says of his parents:

The main reason why they came here was for their children's benefit. . . . There were wars constantly in Europe; things were so uncertain that [my mother] feared for our safety. My mother wanted to get us away from. . . . any future wars that they would have in Europe.

Forty-eight-year-old Carmelo Vigio, who moved here from his native Puerto Rico in 1967, says:

When I was in the army and when I went to study in an American college, I didn't have that much command of the English language. I had some problems and I decided that my children were not going to have the same problems. I wanted them to be bilingual.

EDUCATION

People also pull up stakes for the sake of their own educational goals. Since the 1950s, in particular, America's colleges and universities have attracted thousands of foreign students. Ralph Mishan, a forty-five-year-old Israeli, tells how he came in 1960 to further his education and subsequently decided to stay here.

I [got] a diploma in engineering [and] did my army service in Israel. I came to the United States to continue my studies at Columbia University. . . . I concluded my master's degree in 1961.

According to United States law I was entitled to eighteen months of practical training in my profession before returning to my country. I found work as a graduate engineer [at] the Swingline Corporation; they make staples and staplers. Apparently I was something good from their point of view. . . . When I came to ask permission to extend my stay as a foreign student, they said, ". . . Why don't you take immigrant status? If you choose to return to your country, you can still do so. But hold on to the immigrant status and then you won't have to get . . . extensions every six months."

I said, "Fine, let's go ahead and do it." I became a permanent resident and from then on it was just a matter of five years and I became a citizen.

Higher education has long attracted immigrants to the United States. This photograph depicts a group of Japanese students at Rutgers College in 1870. Rutgers was the first American college attended by Japanese students during the modernization of Japan. Many of its Japanese alumni later held important positions in the Japanese government. Others were less fortunate; the Japanese were not immune to a number of diseases here, and many of the students died. Their graves are in the Willow Brook cemetery in New Brunswick. Courtesy of the Donald A. Sinclair Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Immigrants have always had supporters and detractors. The two cartoons on the righthand page reflect opposite positions in the nineteenth-century debate about whether to restrict access to our shores. The first ("The Modern Ark," by E. S. Bisbee) ran in *Harper's Weekly*, May 6, 1871, with an editorial suggesting that U.S. immigration policy was "a trifle indiscriminate." It uses many racial and national stereotypes to belittle the immigrants. The other cartoon, by Joseph Keppler (who was himself an Austrian immigrant), appeared in the humor magazine *Puck* on April 28, 1880. It sympathetically portrays immigrants fleeing war and poverty and being welcomed by Uncle Sam. (A *knout* is a whip with leather thongs used for whipping criminals.) Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society and the Picture Collection, New York Public Library.

The desire to continue his education also influenced Bijan Sadri, an Iranian who came when he was seventeen.

I decided to come to America almost three years ago. In Iran there is a test one must take before being admitted to a university. It is a very difficult test. My father told me that if I didn't pass this test, he would send me to this country to continue my education. I didn't pass. So that's why I came here.

MULTIPLE REASONS

Of course most immigrants came to this country for a combination of reasons. Nadia Kudryk's family, for example, came in 1962, when Mrs. Kudryk was thirteen. They were French citizens of Ukrainian Jewish descent.

Things in France weren't that great. My parents felt that they could give us a better life here. We didn't have relatives living here but we had acquaintances. We were receiving letters from them about America. I'm sure my parents didn't think they were going to find the streets paved with gold or anything like that. But they figured that they were working in France and making a living; why not try another country which was supposed to be better? And it turned out to be better, really.

Elka Elshtein came to this country from Israel with her parents in 1963, when she was fourteen. Several factors influenced their decision to migrate.

My father had to be on reserve duty at least twice a year and it was becoming very difficult for my mother. They had the '56 war and my mother was involved in the '48 independence war, and also World War II. She was in a concentration camp. It was becoming a bit too much for them to handle, especially for my mother. My father didn't see any good future. He thought maybe he could do better and give his daughters a little more than what he was giving them. These were some of the reasons we came.

BRIEF HISTORY OF UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION POLICY

Immigration policy is closely related to the need for labor. In general when workers are needed immigration is encouraged; when labor is not wanted immigration is discouraged. Of course social and political factors, such as racial attitudes and international relations, are also involved. The reasons why people leave home to live in another land cannot be reduced to the demands of a labor market, and neither can the reasons why countries encourage or discourage coming and going.

There have been five distinct periods in the history of immigration policy in America. They are the Colonial Period, the Open Door or Non-Intervention Era, the Era of Regulation, the Era of Restriction, and the Era of Liberalization or Reform.

During the *Colonial Period* it was necessary to recruit settlers. Immigration and settlement were controlled by local authorities, who tried many schemes to encourage people to come to the colonies. They advertised; they offered free land; they paid boat fares; they promised attractive jobs. Most immigrants to the North American colonies in this period came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Holland.

While European immigrants became the backbone of the labor force in the North and Midwest, slaves from Africa were the dominant source of labor power in the South. Though the first blacks in North America were indentured servants* with contracts to go free after a specified number of years, slavery was well established by the 1640s. As large plantations developed after the 1690s, the demand for slaves increased. Until the slave trade was abolished in 1808, the South imported far more African slaves than European immigrant laborers.

The second period, the *Open Door* or *Non-Intervention Era*, began with independence in 1776 and lasted until the middle 1870s. One of the goals of the American Revolution was an open immigration policy. As the colonists wrote in the Declaration of Independence, the king

had "endeavored to prevent the population of these states" by "obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners" and "refusing to pass others [that would encourage] . . . migrations hither."

After the American Revolution the states dealt with immigration independently. Those with large ports, such as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland, concentrated on reducing the cost of monitoring the many immigrants they were receiving. The federal government did little; evidently it trusted the law of supply and demand, hoping that the opportunities offered by the expanding frontier would encourage enough people to immigrate. In 1820 the Department of State began to count the foreigners pouring through the nation's ports. By then several states were recruiting overseas. Later in the nineteenth century most states established immigration offices to attract newcomers.

Gradually federal policy makers realized that the government would have to attend to the many foreign arrivals. Finally in 1864 Congress established a Bureau of Immigration, but this agency did little because power remained with the states until 1875. Then the Supreme Court declared the state immigration laws unconstitutional on the grounds that only the federal government had the power to regulate international commerce.

This decision ushered in the third era, the *Era of Regulation*, in which the government began to exercise control over arrivals. Immigration authorities began by rejecting those unlikely to adapt well. Soon only the healthy and employable could enter. In 1882 Congress excluded all hopeful immigrants who had criminal records. It also barred mentally ill and retarded people and others likely to need public assistance.

Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in the same year. This law prevented Chinese workers from entering the country and denied foreign-born Chinese already here the right to become citizens. Supporters of the act, particularly spokesmen for organized labor, claimed that by working for extremely low pay the Chinese undermined local working conditions. But at the root of the law lay the assumption that the Chinese were an alien race who could never assimilate into American society. This was the first law restricting the immigration of a specific national group: an important precedent.

The Chinese issue was kept distinct from the questions posed by European immigration until the late nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1890, 85 percent of the newcomers came from Germany, Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. They were basically like the people already here. But starting in the 1880s southern and eastern Europeans came more and more rapidly. The "new immigrants," as they were negatively

labeled—Slavs, Jews, Hungarians, Italians, etc.—were seen, like the Chinese, as racially inferior and unassimilable. Demands for systematic government regulation of immigration grew more insistent.

Full-scale federal management of immigration began when Ellis Island, the new, efficient federal immigration station, opened in 1890. By 1910 roughly 24,000 applicants for admission were being denied each year. Meanwhile, new laws excluded more categories: polygamists, victims of certain contagious diseases, and laborers who had been recruited by advertisements.

Still immigrants flooded in, and the movement for stricter control continued to gain force. Requirements for entry were further tightened. In 1908 the "Gentleman's Agreement" with Japan restricted Japanese entry to the U.S. In 1910 a Congressional committee (known as the Dillingham Commission after its chairman, Republican Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont) issued a forty-two-volume report claiming to show "scientifically" that the new immigrants, racially inferior to the old, were incapable of becoming good Americans.

The fourth era of immigration policy, the *Era of Restriction*, began with the Immigration Act of 1917. This legislation accepted the logic of the Dillingham Commission. It was intended to reduce the number of immigrants, especially "new immigrants." It denied entry to Asian laborers not already excluded by previous laws or agreements, except residents of U.S. possessions such as the Philippine Islands. It also required all prospective newcomers over fifteen to take a literacy test.

The act did not reduce immigration, however. In 1921 over 800,000 immigrants arrived, only slightly fewer than in a typical year before the war. The literacy test did not change the proportion of southern and eastern Europeans either, because most of them could read and write in their native languages.

In 1921 the Quota Act was passed. It limited each nation to a certain number of immigrants per year: 3 percent of the total listed in the 1910 census as having been born in that nation. For example, the 1910 census showed that 1.3 million U.S. residents had been born in Italy; the new law thus allowed around 40,000 Italians (3 percent of 1.3 million) to immigrate each year. The quota system reduced immigration from southern and eastern Europe to around a quarter of the prewar levels. There was one exception to the system: no limits were placed on migrants from the nations of the Western Hemisphere, partly because a supply of cheap Mexican farm labor was vital to agriculture in the Southwest.

In 1924 the quotas were lowered again. The percentage was dropped to 2 percent and the census base year was moved back to 1890—when

there were far fewer foreign-born southern and eastern Europeans living here. But even this severe step was not the end. In 1927 a "national origins" system became law. This system, based on the national origins of the people in the U.S. population in 1920, was designed to prevent any further changes in the ethnic composition of American society. It fixed the total annual immigration at 150,000 (less than the average annual Italian immigration before World War I). Eighty-two percent, or 123,000, of the openings were to be divided among the nations of western and northern Europe. Of the remainder, 24,000 were allocated to eastern European countries and 3,000 were assigned to the rest of the nations that were allowed quotas. These limits remained in effect until 1965.

Once the "national origins" system had been implemented, immigration to the United States dropped off drastically. During the depression of the 1930s, for the first time in U.S. history, more people left the country than entered. Meanwhile the country did little to help those Europeans jeopardized by the spread of Fascism. Immigration remained low throughout the Second World War. But the war caused the national origins system to start softening: the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, after sixty years, and China received the tiny annual quota of 105.

Other changes affected the millions of Europeans dislocated by the war. President Harry S. Truman issued an executive order in 1945 admitting 40,000 displaced persons; a year later 120,000 alien wives and children of armed-services personnel entered under the War Brides Act. Between 1948 and 1953 Congress passed a series of displaced-person- and refugee-relief bills loosening the quotas to admit more war victims. Perhaps half a million refugees entered the United States in these years, comparatively few considering the millions displaced by the war.

Legislation during this period reflects the developing Cold War.* Action in the late 1940s favored victims of Nazi Germany, while legislation in the early 1950s and later favored refugees from Communism. For example, Chinese opponents of Mao Zedong gained admission in the early 1950s, supporters of the unsuccessful Hungarian rebellion after 1956, and anti-Castro Cubans after 1960.

The current period, the fifth, is not so easy to name. Many call it the *Era of Liberalization* or *Reform* because in 1965 the system based on national origins was replaced. The new system allowed 290,000 legal immigrants each year: 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere (not more than 20,000 per country) and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere (no limit per country). This raised the quotas of many countries which had been at a disadvantage for decades. But potential immigrants from

many of these countries failed to benefit because the law gave preference to immigrants entering the United States to unify broken families. People from many third world countries had no families here to reunite, since they had been prohibited from migrating previously.

In 1976 Congress limited the Western Hemisphere as well to 20,000 immigrants per country. Although this caused problems with Mexico, which in some years had sent twice that many, it improved the situation for immigrants from other Latin countries. Their allocations had suffered because Mexicans had used a disproportionate share of the Western Hemisphere quota.

Today federal immigration policy is a matter of great controversy. Critics complain that the refugee program is enforced selectively; prominent writers and intellectuals have been refused entry to the United States, even as visitors. But the most controversial policy issue is the problem of illegal immigrants. Estimates vary, but it is generally agreed that there are millions of undocumented workers in the United States. The Immigration and Naturalization Service arrests and deports more than a half million people each year.

In the 1980s there have been repeated efforts to reform the nation's immigration policy. Historians make predictions only at their peril, but it is safe to say that the issue will remain critically important for the foreseeable future and may produce major new legislation before the end of the decade.

NOTES ON THE SPEAKERS

Ulumdsha Albataew, a forty-six-year-old Kalmuk, was born in the Soviet Union. His family joined the German retreat from Russia during World War II, and they lived in a displaced-persons camp in Germany for several years. They came to this country in the early 1950s and spent a few months in New Mexico, where Mr. Albataew worked as a cowboy. They then moved to Freehold Acres, Monmouth County. Mr. Albataew worked in a rug factory and in construction and then served two years in the navy. After that he studied electronics at the Capital Institute of Technology in Washington, D. C., where he met and married a fellow Kalmuk. He works in the nuclear fusion laboratory at Princeton University. He lives in Freehold Acres with his wife and their three teenage daughters.

Antoinette Bjorklund was born in Philadelphia fifty years ago. Her parents were Greek immigrants. She grew up in Philadelphia, where her father owned a restaurant. After finishing high school, she worked briefly as a sales clerk at the John Wanamaker department store and as an office clerk with a short-lived magazine called *Your American Hardware*. In 1949, soon after the magazine went out of business, she married John Bjorklund, a Swede. They have three children. Since the early 1950s they have lived in Millville, Cumberland County.

Dudley Davy is one of sixteen children of a Jamaican farming family. He is thirty-eight. He first came to the United States in 1964, working in Florida as a seasonal farm laborer for three consecutive years and returning to Jamaica between contracts. In 1967 he decided to stay in the United States. After five months in Miami he followed some friends north to Bridgeton, Cumberland County. He worked as a laborer in a

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NOTE: We have given the ages of the speakers during the school year 1979-1980, when they were interviewed.

flower nursery and then became a cook at nearby Seabrook Farms, where he is now a food inspector. In 1971 he married Juanita Parr, a computer operator. They live with their four children in Bridgeton.

Elka Elshtein was born in 1949 in Holon, Israel, a town south of Tel Aviv. Her father was a pipefitter and welder. When she was fourteen, her parents brought her and her younger sister to Queens, New York. They moved two years later to Brooklyn, where her father opened a delicatessen after a welding accident. Mrs. Elshtein finished high school and did clerical work in various offices, including two Wall Street brokerage firms. She returned to Israel at twenty-one, intending to stay, but came back to this country when her mother grew ill. She then met her husband, also an Israeli, whom she married in 1971. They live in Oakhurst with their three children. Mrs. Elshtein's husband is a self-employed electrician. Mrs. Elshtein teaches Hebrew part-time at the synagogue in Oakhurst, Monmouth County.

Fred Hanke, seventy-six, was born in Essen, Germany, where he attended school and worked in a factory and as a salesman. In 1927, during an economic depression in Germany, he immigrated to Brooklyn with the help of a second cousin who lived there. Washing and cleaning cars in a garage, he saved enough to buy a taxi. In 1928 he married Rose Tausenfern, to whom he had been engaged in Germany. They have three children. After twelve years in Brooklyn they moved to Jersey City. There Mr. Hanke managed a delicatessen, which he later bought. He is retired and lives with his wife in Richfield, Bergen County.

Astrid Henning, a seventy-two-year-old Norwegian, is one of seven children born to Ole Hanson, a railroad construction foreman, and his wife, Verthine. Mrs. Henning was brought up in Stavanger, Norway, where she completed eight years of school and became a file clerk in a lawyer's office. When she decided to emigrate she became a packer in a cannery to earn more money. Five years later, in May 1929, she joined a sister in New York. She worked as a domestic servant until July 1930, when she married a fellow Norwegian and settled in Brooklyn. The Hennings had two sons. After 1940 Mrs. Henning held various jobs: she wrote for a Norwegian language newspaper, demonstrated food at Macy's department store, managed the executive dining room at the U. S. Steel Fairless Hills Works in Pennsylvania, and worked as a governess-housekeeper. Mrs. Henning is a widow. Since 1969, when she retired,

she has lived in Plainfield, Union County, near one of her sons.

Helmi Holmberg was born September 1, 1910, in Finland. In 1926 she and her older sister came to this country to live with their mother, who ran a boarding house in Duluth, Minnesota. Mrs. Holmberg moved to New York City in 1928 and worked as a domestic servant for two years. She attended a beauty culture school in Duluth for a year, worked as a beautician in New York for three and a half years, and then returned to domestic service. In 1939 she married Rudolph Holmberg, another Finn. He was a traveling salesman. During the first few years of their marriage they lived in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Florida and traveled widely. When Mr. Holmberg returned from the army in 1946, they bought a blueberry farm in Vineland, Cumberland County. They still run it.

Mae Ikeda, a seventy-one-year-old Nisei,* was born in Salinas, California. She is the oldest of ten children. Her father came to this country from Japan as a recruiter and supervisor of Japanese sugar-beet workers. Her mother joined him in 1908, and they bought a farm. In 1928 he was killed in a car accident, leaving Mrs. Ikeda responsible for the farm. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley in 1932, Mrs. Ikeda married, and she and her husband ran the farm for several years. During World War II they were sent with their four children to a detention camp for Japanese in Arizona. After the war they came to Seabrook Farms, in Cumberland County, where Mrs. Ikeda worked in the quality control laboratory for nineteen years. Then she took a job at Bridgeton Hospital. She has been active in the Japanese-American Citizen's League since it was formed in 1930. Now retired, she lives with her husband in Bridgeton, Cumberland County.

Nadia Kudryk, thirty, was born in France, one of five children of a Ukrainian Jewish couple that moved there just before the Second World War. Her father was a foreman in a steel mill. The family came to the United States in 1962. They lived in Manhattan for two years and then moved to Queens, where she finished high school. When she was twenty she married a German-born man who is also of Ukrainian Jewish descent. The Kudryks have three sons and live in Freehold, Monmouth County.

Ewalt Mathew Kuske was born and raised in Carmel, Cumberland County. He is forty-eight. His father came here from Germany around 1903, his mother about ten years later; they were married in 1913. They lived

on Long Island and in Philadelphia before moving to New Jersey. Mr. Kuske left high school two months before graduation and spent several years in the Air Force, partly in Germany. Later he worked in a cotton mill and a glass factory, sold cars, and was a draftsman and machinist. He has two daughters and a son from his first marriage. His present wife has two daughters. The Kuskes live in Millville, Cumberland County, where he operates a general store.

Margaret Laeser was born December 19, 1900, in Grossauheim, Germany. As a child she helped her father run a bakery and a wine business, and after eight years of school she worked with him full-time, mainly as a bookkeeper. In 1923, during a severe economic depression in Germany, she immigrated to the United States. Settling in Brooklyn, she worked in her aunt and uncle's candy store and ice cream parlor for a while, then took a clerical job in Manhattan. She got married in 1927, and she and her husband bought the ice cream parlor. They separated several years later, and Mrs. Laeser moved to Long Island. She ran the ice cream parlor with the help of her two sons until they entered the army. Eventually she sold the business and moved to Shrewsbury, Monmouth County, to be near her son in Port Monmouth.

Elsa Lake, a forty-two-year-old Cuban, was born and raised in Havana. Her mother was a teacher; her father, who died when she was thirteen, was a doctor. In her youth she visited the United States several times. She graduated from the University of Havana with a law degree in 1959 and began to work for the Cuban government. But she became disenchanted with the regime of Fidel Castro and fled to this country in 1960. She stayed with her brother, a medical intern in Long Branch, Monmouth County, and worked as a secretary to a radiologist. She married John Lake in 1962. She teaches Spanish at Ocean Township High School, and her husband operates a construction business. They live in Oakhurst, Monmouth County.

Tiiu Lapsins was born in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. She is one of four children. Her family left a displaced-persons camp in Germany in 1949 and came to this country under the sponsorship of a farmer from Marion, North Carolina. Mrs. Lapsins was eleven. The family stayed in Marion a year and a half, then moved to Seabrook Farms, in Cumberland County, where her father and mother found jobs. Mrs. Lapsins worked at Seabrook Farms after she finished high school. In 1958 she married Janis Lapsins, a Latvian whose family had also emigrated from a displaced persons camp. They have three children and live in Bridgeton, Cumberland County.

Benjamin Leeds was born of Jewish parents in 1888 in Iasi, Rumania (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). When he was thirteen his mother brought him and his two younger brothers to join their father in the United States. They lived on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Mr. Leeds, fourteen, and his twelve-year-old brother worked full-time to help support the family. At night they studied English. Around 1916 Mr. Leeds passed a civil service examination and became a postal employee; he also got married. He has four children. Retired from the post office for over twenty years, he lives in Long Branch, Monmouth County.

Edward Losch, who is seventy-five, was born in Vienna, Austria, of Jewish parents who had come from Poland. He went to school for eight years and then learned tailoring in a trade school. After working for various tailors he opened his own shop. He was married in 1933. In 1938 Germany annexed Austria, and a year later the Losches left Vienna to escape the Nazi persecution of Jews. They came to the United States and settled in Newark, where Mr. Losch took a job in a men's garment factory. Eventually he became an assistant clothes designer. Mr. Losch and his wife have a daughter and son. They live in Newark.

Irene Maiatico, sixty-three, was born in Vineland. Her father was a mason; he and his wife emigrated separately from Italy early in the century and met in this country. Unable to afford college, Mrs. Maiatico became a beautician, then used part of her wages to help one of her sisters through nursing school. In 1941 she married Silvio Maiatico, an Italian from Glassboro, Gloucester County. She has been a housewife since then, raising two sons. She lives in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Hilda Malkin, who is Jewish, was born February 11, 1920, in Harlem, New York City. Her mother emigrated from Lithuania around 1904, her father from Great Russia in 1912. Until she was thirteen her parents ran a grocery store in Harlem; then they opened one in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Mrs. Malkin finished high school in Brooklyn and majored in German at Hunter College, graduating in 1940. After several years in Baltimore with the Social Security Administration she went to work for the New York City public schools. She was married in 1949. She received an M.A. in German at Hunter College in 1952. She has

been both a teacher and a school administrator, and is now an educational associate in guidance and counseling. She has two children and lives with her husband in Matawan, Monmouth County.

Jirina Meixner, a Czech, was born September 16, 1928, in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. Her family has a tradition of educational achievement. One of her great-grandmothers was the first woman in Prague to receive a university education; her father was a university professor, her mother a graduate of Prague University. Mrs. Meixner graduated from the University in 1950. During the next two decades she became a government journalist, got married and had a daughter. In 1968, after the Russians occupied Czechoslovakia, the Meixners came to the United States. They settled in Allentown, Pennsylvania, near a friend who taught at Muhlenberg College. Several months later they moved to East Orange, Essex County, where Mrs. Meixner worked for a Czech language newspaper. She is now a free-lance writer. They live in West Orange, Essex County.

Ralph Mishan, a forty-five-year-old Israeli, was born into a Jewish family in Syria. When he was about a year old his parents moved to Palestine (now Israel). His father ran an import-export business and later became a land surveyor for the Israeli government. After high school Mr. Mishan earned a bachelor's degree in engineering at the Israel Institute of Technology and served in the army. In 1960 he came to the United States to study at Columbia University. He received a master's degree in engineering and went to work for the Swingline company, which manufactures staples and staplers. He married Marta Grossman in 1964. They have three daughters and live in Matawan, Monmouth County.

Bernard Oberstein, a fifty-seven-year-old Jew, was born in New York City, the oldest of five children. His parents had come to this country from Lithuania when they were teenagers, his father in 1903, his mother three years later. Rabbi Oberstein was raised on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where the family had a fabric business. He attended the Yeshiva Rabbi Jacob Joseph and then went to a rabbinical seminary. After serving a congregation for several years he became a teacher in a Hebrew school. He married at twenty-nine and has a son and daughter. He and his wife live in Matawan, Monmouth County.

William Pruitt is a sixty-seven-year-old Afro-American who was born in Huntsville, Alabama. He was one of seven children. He left school in

the seventh grade to work as a sharecropper. In 1932 he moved to Youngstown, Ohio, where he worked in the steel mills and was a long-distance truck driver. During this period his first wife died. After twenty-eight years in Youngstown he moved to Washington, D. C., and worked as an airline porter, a gas station attendant, and a supermarket clerk. He retired in 1975. He lives in Willingboro, Burlington County, with his second wife.

Michael Roselli came to this country from Italy with his mother and younger brother in 1915, when he was five. They joined his father, who worked on the docks and in the construction industry, in West Hoboken, now part of Union City, Hudson County. About eight years later the father died, and Michael had to quit school. He worked in an aluminum factory and a gas station, fixed cars at Sears, and drove a truck. He was married in 1937. Retired, he lives in Weehawken, Hudson County, with his wife; their son lives nearby in Palisades Park, Bergen County.

Mario Rossi was born in New York City in 1913 into a first-generation Italian immigrant family. When he was eight his father died and his mother took him and his two sisters to Red Bank, where her brother owned a shoe store. His older sister worked to help support the family; when she got married he quit school and became a stock clerk in a variety store. For most of his life he worked in a clothing factory. He supported his mother until she died. He married two years later and had two sons. One is a medical doctor, the other a professor. A widower, he lives in Red Bank, Monmouth County.

Bijan Sadri was born February 9, 1960, in Tehran, Iran, the oldest of three sons. His father was an army general, his mother a schoolteacher. He came to this country in 1978 to continue his education. After studying English for six months in Fresno, California, he came to New Jersey and enrolled in Cumberland County College on the advice of a friend who was a student there. He intends to become an engineer.

Erica Schaller, forty-eight, was born in Czechoslovakia of German parents. Although the Czech government repatriated most Germans after World War II, they held her father because he was a skilled maker of musical instruments. The Russians later moved in, and under their rule he was forced to operate a farm. The family escaped three years later. They went to a displaced-persons camp in Germany, where Mrs. Schaller was married in 1951. A year later, by arrangement with Seabrook Farms, she

and her husband came to this country with their nine-month old son and her husband's parents. They started work as packers. Mr. Schaller is now a supervisor at the Airwick Corporation in Millville, Cumberland County, and Mrs. Schaller manages a school cafeteria in Hammond. They have five children and live in Hammond.

Daniel Sheehan, fifty-five, grew up in Ireland, the oldest of six children. He left school when he was sixteen to drive for his father, who owned a taxi and ran a blacksmith shop. In 1947 he came to the United States, where he had several aunts. He stayed in New York for eighteen months, working in a supermarket and for a trucking firm as a "grease monkey and runner." He moved to San Francisco and spent several years working for a power company and tending bar. He married a distant cousin and returned to New York City, where he worked on the docks and at a supermarket. For twenty-five years he has been a New York City bus driver. He lives with his wife in Hazlet, Monmouth County. They have two children.

Teresa Siegert, forty-one, is one of two children. Her mother came from Italy in 1915, her father in 1920; they met and married in Johnstown, New York. Teresa was born and raised in New York City. Her father was mainly a construction worker, and her mother worked in a glove factory. She married a man of German descent after high school and has been a housewife since. She and her husband live in Middletown, Monmouth County, with their two children.

Irving Smith, a fifty-six-year-old Jew, was born on New York City's Lower East Side. His parents, Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine, owned a laundry. When he was two the family moved to the Bronx, where he grew up. He studied at New York University and the dental school of the University of Tennessee, then entered practice with a dentist in Plainfield, Union County. After serving as an army dentist during World War II, he opened his own practice in West Caldwell, Essex County. He was married in 1943 and has two sons, one a lawyer, the other a professor. He and his wife live in West Caldwell.

Elfrieda Spadoni is a fifty-three-year-old German. She married an American soldier stationed in Germany after World War II and came to this country in 1948 as a war bride. She lived in Pennsauken. Her husband died in the early 1950s, and Mrs. Spadoni worked in a dry-cleaning shop to support her two children. About fifteen years later she married John

Spadoni and moved to Vineland, Cumberland County. She works in a school cafeteria there. She has visited Germany several times since 1948.

Fannie Strauss, seventy-five, is Jewish. She was born in Minsk, the current capital of Byelorussia. In 1913, when she was eight, she and her mother joined her father and three older children on a farm outside Savannah, Georgia. She left school at about fifteen and became a sales clerk in a variety store. Her mother died a year later. At about that time she started to work in a ladies' dress shop. Her father and one of her sisters moved to New Jersey to work on a chicken farm at Toms River, and she lived with them briefly when she was twenty-one. She spent the next few years as a variety-store sales clerk in Newark and Philadelphia, then married a Toms River man. The Strausses owned and operated an egg farm for forty-five years. They have one daughter. They live in Long Branch, Monmouth County.

Dorothy Tanno, a thirty-three-year-old Ukrainian, was born in a displaced-persons camp in Germany. She is the oldest of six children. She came to New York City with her parents in 1951 and later lived in Union City, Hudson County. Her father, a butcher, died in 1957, and she babysat so her mother could work. When she was sixteen she moved away from home for a year and worked as a waitress in New York. Later she worked in the accounting department at Abraham & Strauss. She has two children from a marriage that lasted seven years. Now a waitress, she lives in Hazlet with her children and her second husband.

Max Teicher was born in 1897 into a Jewish family in Turka in the Ukraine. When he was a boy his father, a tallith* maker, had to stop working because his eyes failed and he could not afford glasses. Since Mr. Teicher could not earn enough in Turka to help his mother support the family, he moved to the United States when he was sixteen, planning to make money and bring the rest of the family over. He settled in New York City. He was married during World War I. For most of his life he was an agent for the John Hancock Insurance Company, while his wife worked in the garment industry. She and her sister started a women's sportswear factory in Newark; later, she and Mr. Teicher ran it together for about ten years. They had a son and a daughter. They retired to Florida in 1962. Mr. Teicher died in 1975, aged seventy-eight, and Mrs. Teicher died several years later.

(Mr. Teicher was not interviewed for this project. He tape-recorded many autobiographical stories in the last year of his life, and his son,

Harvey Teicher, donated the tapes to us at the request of Leah Lifschitz, a project interviewer.)

Carmelo R. Vigio, forty-eight, was born and raised in Rio Grande, Puerto Rico. Drafted into the U.S. army, he served on the mainland. After his discharge he spent a year in college in Illinois, but he earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Puerto Rico and taught school in Puerto Rico for nine years. In 1969 he moved to the mainland; he teaches high school in Vineland, Cumberland County, where he lives with his wife and three children. He has taken graduate courses at Glassboro State College.

Hilda Wolin, fifty-nine, was born of Jewish parents in Frankfurt, Germany. She was raised in Essen, where her parents operated a small department store. Her father died when she was a child, and she and her brother were raised by governesses. At sixteen she finished a high-school secretarial course, but under the Nazis there were few jobs for Jews in Germany. Therefore, Mrs. Wolin did domestic work in Holland for a year. In 1938 the family moved to this country and settled in New York City. Mrs. Wolin worked as a nursemaid, then took a job in a clothing factory, where she stayed until she married a career serviceman in 1942. She was divorced ten years later. She has two children. She is a supervisor in a post office in New York City and lives in Parlin, Middlesex County.

CAPSULE HISTORIES OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS

Afro-Americans. In 1980 the census counted about 26.5 million Afro-Americans (also called blacks or Negroes). They are one of the nation's largest ethnic groups. Their ancestors came from Africa south of the Sahara desert, particularly a 300-mile-wide strip along the west coast from Senegal to Angola.

The Afro-American experience began in 1619, when twenty blacks arrived at Jamestown, Virginia. Unlike other ethnic groups, blacks were brought here forcibly. In 1790 there were 757,000 Afro-Americans in the United States. Nearly 700,000 were held as slaves in various states, especially in the South; the rest were free.

The cotton gin, invented in 1793, enabled southern planters to raise ever-increasing amounts of cotton. As a result, they needed more and more slaves. Since the slave trade was outlawed in 1808, virtually cutting off the supply of new slaves from Africa, this demand was met mainly through childbirth. The number of slaves increased rapidly; the 1860 census listed almost 4 million slaves out of about 4.5 million Afro-Americans.

Slavery existed here for more than 200 years. Blacks protested against it in various ways, from running away to staging full-scale rebellions. The Thirteenth Amendment, which was adopted in 1865 as a result of the Civil War, abolished it.

From then until the turn of the century 90 percent of America's blacks stayed in the South. Many continued to farm, renting land in a system called sharecropping. They suffered new kinds of oppression: sharecropping trapped them in endless debt, and Jim Crow laws restricted the activities of blacks in the city as well as the country.

NOTE: We are indebted to the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* for much of the material in these histories.

Afro-Americans struggled against these injustices as they had against slavery. Some protested by migrating. They began their first massive movement from the South during World War I, when there was a sudden demand for their labor in northern industries. This exodus was interrupted by the Great Depression, but it resumed at the start of World War II and continued through the 1960s. Since 1970 almost half of all black Americans have lived outside the South, and about 90 percent have been in or near cities.

There have been blacks in New Jersey since the early colonial period. In this century southern blacks have moved here in large numbers; Afro-Americans are one of the state's largest ethnic groups, making up about 13 percent of the population. Most are in cities. There are black majorities in Camden, East Orange, Newark, Orange and Plainfield, and sizable black populations in Atlantic City, Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Paterson, Trenton, and other New Jersey cities.

Cubans. The 1980 census recorded about 600,000 persons of Cuban origin — the third largest group of Hispanics in the nation. Most came to the United States as refugees after Fidel Castro seized power in 1959 and started restructuring Cuban society. There have been three waves of Cuban immigration. The first began in 1959 and ended in 1962, when direct flights between Cuba and the United States were suspended; the second lasted from 1965, when an airlift was established, to 1972; the third was the "freedom flotilla" of 1979-80, when 130,000 refugees were admitted by special order of President Jimmy Carter.

The first wave consisted of professionals, managers, entrepreneurs, and other upper- or upper-middle-class people displaced by the socialist revolution. The later immigrants, especially the 1979-80 group, were less highly trained. Women predominated before 1979, but two-thirds of the 1979-80 group were male. Most Cubans have found semiskilled or skilled jobs, and about 20 percent are white-collar workers. A very few are agricultural workers. As a group, Cuban immigrants are older than most other Hispanics.

Although the Cubans are dispersed throughout the nation, about 70-75 percent live in Florida, New Jersey and New York. Forty percent live in Miami, and most of the rest live in Chicago, Jersey City, Los Angeles, Newark, New York City and Union City. West New York, New Jersey, also has a large Cuban community.

Czechs. The Czechs, a Slavic people, are one of the two major ethnic groups in Czechoslovakia. The other group is the Slovaks. Czechs are from Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia in western Czechoslovakia. Before 1970 more than 400,000 Czechs immigrated to the United States.

The Czechs were the first Slavic people to come here in large numbers. Small groups immigrated during the colonial period, largely for religious reasons, but major Czech immigration did not begin until later. Nearly 90 percent came during the mass central and eastern European migration of 1850-1914, which resulted from a series of agricultural crises between 1840 and 1900. After the Revolution of 1848, which made it possible for peasants to emigrate, Czechs began to leave in large numbers.

Until the 1890s most Czech immigrants came from agricultural backgrounds. From then until World War I most were skilled workers for whom Czech industry could not provide jobs. As a group the Czechs came with families rather than as individuals; they were literate and highly skilled, and they brought more money than most other immigrants. This permitted them to settle further inland and allowed many to purchase farms. Roughly half chose agricultural life; the rest worked in skilled manufacturing trades such as the garment or tobacco industries.

Two smaller groups have arrived since World War II. In 1948 about 25,000 people came in the wake of a communist coup, and another 10,000 arrived after the 1968 Soviet invasion of their homeland. These political refugees were generally professionals or highly skilled workers who settled in urban areas.

The major Czech communities are in Chicago, Cleveland and New York City, and in five agricultural states — Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Texas and Wisconsin. Smaller groups settled elsewhere. The Czech population in New Jersey is concentrated in the north around Newark, Elizabeth, Little Ferry and Guttenberg.

Estonians. The Estonians, who are one of the smaller ethnic groups in the United States, come from a country northeast of the Baltic Sea. Culturally and socially, they resemble Scandinavians. Estonia was independent from 1918 until 1940, when it was annexed by the Soviet Union. It was occupied by Germany between 1941 and 1944 and reannexed by the Soviet Union in 1944. Today it is one of fifteen republics that constitute the Soviet Union.

Estonians began to arrive here in substantial numbers around 1900. There are no accurate figures before 1922, because immigration officials listed them as Russians, but somewhere between 70,000 and 200,000 were here in 1920. They lived in the industrial states of the Midwest, the Northeast, and the West Coast.

After the Soviets reannexed Estonia in 1944, many more fled. About

15,000 came to the United States between 1940 and 1965 and settled in the Estonian communities already established.

In 1970 more than half the Estonians in the United States lived in the Washington-Boston corridor. Fifteen percent lived in the Great Lakes region and 19 percent were on the Pacific Coast. Estonians have clustered in three parts of New Jersey: the Paterson-Teaneck area in the north, Lakewood in the center and Seabrook in the south.

Finns. Finns are the smallest Scandinavian group in the United States. In 1980 there were roughly 670,000 persons of Finnish descent in the country. Finns come from a land north of the Soviet Union on the Baltic Sea. The first Finns came here in the seventeenth century, but no major Finnish immigration took place before the Civil War. General Scandinavian immigration began in the 1840s, led by Norwegians and Swedes; Finns and Danes began to arrive in large numbers after the 1860s. Most Finns came between 1890 and 1920.

Finns had many reasons for emigrating. Some were political. Finland had once been a Swedish duchy, and a Swedish minority still owned most of the land and dominated commerce and government. The Russians, to whom Sweden had ceded the country in 1809, attempted to conscript Finns, reduce their independence, and make Russian the official language. Finns objected to these conditions, and also opposed the state-sanctioned Lutheran church, which controlled religion.

Other reasons were economic. Finland was affected by the same problems that troubled the rest of late nineteenth-century Europe. Work became scarce in rural areas, but the growing local textile industry was not expanding fast enough to absorb the jobless workers.

Finnish immigrants proved to be a fairly mobile labor force in this country. Most worked in fishing, lumbering, mining, construction, agriculture, textiles and domestic service. Generally the men lived in boarding houses; the women lived in the homes where they worked.

Finns belonged to religious organizations representing several varieties of Lutheranism. Mutual aid societies and labor unions also helped bind Finnish communities. Swedish-speaking Finns generally maintained separate associations.

Most Finns settled in the row of northern states from the Pacific Coast to the Northeast, especially Michigan and Minnesota. New Jersey has a small Finnish population with identifiable communities in Bergenfield, Englewood, Bogota, Morristown, Newark and Jersey City in the north and Camden in the south.

Germans. There have been Germans in North America since the seventeenth century, but they did not begin to arrive in great numbers until after 1820. Since the colonial period more Germans have immigrated to the United States than any other ethnic group. Roughly 35 million Americans have some German ancestry.

About 6.9 million Germans came here between 1820 and 1970. Nearly 5 million arrived in the peak period from 1840 to 1900. They began emigrating in the 1820s because the Napoleonic wars and a series of poor harvests had disrupted the European economy.

During the following years they found a variety of other reasons to emigrate. Political repression drove liberals out in the 1830s and late 1840s, and forced socialists to flee in the 1880s. Religious intolerance drove out many non-Protestants in the 1870s. Some Germans left to avoid military conscription.

However, most Germans emigrated for economic reasons. The population rose until there were too many people for the land. At the same time German factories were undermining the cottage industries that helped many agricultural workers live, but were not able to offer jobs to everyone.

Most German immigrants came from the southern and southwestern German states. The majority were agricultural laborers and small farmers; the rest were mainly artisans, tradesmen and shopkeepers.

About one-third of the German immigrants were Catholic. Most of the rest adhered to the German Protestant churches — Lutheran, Evangelical, and Reformed. There were also Jews, Methodists and Pietists.

Though Germans scattered throughout the United States, most settled in the Mid-Atlantic and upper Midwestern states. Boston, Charleston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York City and Philadelphia all had large German communities. A great German triangle of settlement developed between the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, bounded by Cincinnati, Milwaukee and St. Louis. Germans worked at many of the same skilled occupations here as at home: tailoring, cigarmaking, cabinetmaking, retailing, mining, manufacturing, agriculture, baking, and brewing. Relatively few German women worked. Those who did generally chose to provide services — to be servants, laundresses, or bakers, for example — rather than work in factories or do clerical jobs that required English.

New Jersey attracted many Germans. German communities are scattered throughout the state, with heavy concentrations in Essex and Hudson counties. Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Union City, Weehawken, West Hoboken and West New York all have large German communities. Carlstadt (Passaic County), Egg Harbor City (Atlantic County) and Guttenberg (Hudson County) are predominantly German.

Greeks. There are between 1.5 million and 3 million Greek-Americans. The statistics are not precise because many Greeks came from Turkey, Rumania and Egypt and were not listed as Greeks by the immigration officials. Like other southern European groups, the Greeks immigrated mostly from the 1880s to the 1920s, when restrictive immigration laws were passed.

Greeks left their homeland for the same reasons as other southern European immigrants — there were too many people for the land. But of the millions who emigrated, nearly half eventually returned home. Some were sojourners, some returned for military service, others simply found it hard to choose between Greece and America and went back and forth several times.

Most Greeks chose to live in cities, where industry offered steady employment. California and the industrializing states of the North, such as Illinois and New York, drew the largest settlements. Greeks went to work in textile mills, steel mills, tanneries, slaughterhouses, railroad construction crews, and small businesses such as flower shops, fruit and vegetable stands, and restaurants.

Poor economic conditions and political unrest produced a second wave of Greek immigration after World War II. Most of the new immigrants were unskilled workers, but there were more professionals and skilled workers than in earlier groups. About 46,000 Greeks came here between 1946 and 1960, and more than 142,000 arrived between 1961 and 1975.

New Jersey's Greek population is large and dispersed. The largest communities are in Newark, the Oranges, Jersey City, Clifton, Dover, Fairview, Paterson, Tenafly, Hackensack, Perth Amboy, Piscataway, New Brunswick, Red Bank, Westfield, Wyckoff, Trenton, Cherry Hill, Toms River, Colt's Neck, Vineland and the shore communities of Atlantic City, North Wildwood and Asbury Park.

Iranians. Iran contains several language and religious groups, though the vast majority of its inhabitants are Persian-speaking Shiite Muslims. Most Iranian immigrants came in the thirty years before the Revolution of 1979, which brought the Ayatollah Khomeini to power; fewer than a thousand came before 1944. The earliest Iranian immigrants were mostly from Iran's minority groups, but later they tended to be from the dominant group.

In 1980 there were approximately 123,000 Iranians here. Perhaps two-thirds were students; Iranians have been the largest contingent of foreign students in the country. Most are Muslims. Iranian immigrants are generally well educated and prosperous: professionals or technical workers. The

United States attracted them by offering better jobs, higher salaries and greater educational opportunities, as well as escape from the political turmoil that has affected Iran in recent years.

California has by far the largest Iranian population, followed by New York, Texas, Illinois and Virginia. Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania have Iranian populations roughly equal in size. In New Jersey, Iranians have settled primarily in the New York City metropolitan area.

Irish. From the colonial period to the First World War Ireland provided America with large numbers of immigrants. The Irish were the second largest immigrant group in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; only the Germans exceeded them.

Some Irish Catholics came to Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay area as servants in the seventeenth century. Many Protestants came in the eighteenth century; by 1790 about 40,000 Irish, half of them Catholic and half Protestant, had settled here.

Between 1820 and 1920 about 4.7 million Irish immigrants came. Four million, almost all Catholic, arrived during the nineteenth century, driven from home by overpopulation, high rents, tenant evictions, and a succession of bad harvests. Many came to escape the famine of 1845.

A smaller wave of Irish immigrants came in the 1920s. Another began in the late 1940s and lasted through the 1950s.

Most Irish immigrants settled in cities. The early settlers went to Baltimore, Boston, New York City, Philadelphia and Providence; later arrivals settled further west in Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities. By 1870 the Irish outnumbered every other immigrant group in California. In 1880 a third of all Irish immigrants lived outside the Eastern Seaboard.

The Irish are unique among immigrant groups in that more women immigrated than men. Generally, the new arrivals found unskilled or semiskilled work. The men became laborers, soldiers, policemen, railroad workers and miners. The women worked mainly as domestics. The few skilled or white-collar workers tended to settle further west than the others.

The Irish have made up a significant portion of New Jersey's population for some time. They have large communities in Elizabeth, Jersey City, Newark, New Brunswick, Paterson and Trenton.

Israelis. Israel was established in 1948. Israelis are among the most recent

immigrants to the United States, most arriving since the late 1960s. They have come for the same kind of reasons as many other groups. They want to find economic opportunity, to live less austerely than at home, or to avoid military duty and war. Today more than 300,000 live in the United States. Half of them, including New Jersey's sizable Israeli community, are in metropolitan New York. The rest have settled in large cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles.

Italians. The Italians are one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States. More than five million have arrived since 1820, the vast majority between 1880 and 1920. Before 1860 most came from northern Italy; nearly 14,000 arrived between 1820 and 1860, the majority in the 1850s. Although they scattered throughout the nation, the largest numbers went to California and New York.

A massive emigration from southern Italy began in the 1880s. In 1860 Italy's many rival, independent states were united into a single nation. Southern Italian peasants supported unity and hoped to benefit from it, but were disappointed. There were too many people for the land, the agricultural economy was weak, and northern Italians controlled the country and discriminated against them.

The majority of the southern Italian immigrants were sojourners — young men who planned to work for one or two years and then return to Italy with the money they made. Between 1899 and 1924 about 3.8 million Italians entered the United States and 2.1 million returned to Italy. Immigration stabilized after 1900, when more women and children began to come.

Although they were peasants, most Italians settled in industrial areas and held a variety of jobs. Men worked in the clothing industry, the building trades, restaurants and other service occupations, and the fishing and shipping industries. Women took jobs in the garment, silk, artificial flower, candy, lace, and cigar industries. A few Italians became successful farmers — particularly the northern Italians in California.

Large Italian communities developed in industrial cities like Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis. There are also many Italians in the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

Italians are New Jersey's largest ethnic group. The state has significant Italian populations in its main industrial cities — Camden, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, Trenton and Union — and in its southern agricultural areas, especially in and around Vineland.

Jamaicans. Jamaica is a Caribbean island south of Cuba. Jamaicans began moving to the United States in significant numbers early in this century, attracted by the prospect of better wages and a higher standard of living than they had at home, where the farms were poor and there were not enough jobs.

We do not know exactly how many came during the first quarter of the century There was a surge in Jamaican immigration after World War II. Almost 20,000, mostly contract laborers, arrived in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

A meager West Indian quota was imposed in 1952, and immigration declined until the United States reformed its policies in 1965. Since then many more women have immigrated from Jamaica than men. Although many of the arrivals are white-collar or skilled workers, the number of unskilled workers, many of them female domestic servants, is steadily increasing.

Jamaicans have settled primarily on the East Coast. Two-thirds of those arriving before 1924 settled in New York City and most of the rest went to Boston, Miami and Philadelphia. More recent arrivals have settled in these communities and in the large cities of California, Michigan and Illinois as well.

New Jersey's sizeable Jamaican population lives mainly around metropolitan New York and Philadelphia, especially in Essex, Hudson, Camden and Burlington counties.

Jews. The Jewish ethnic group is one of the largest in America. It is also one of the very few whose members did not come here from a specific geographical area. It is impossible to find out exactly how many Jews have immigrated because they were counted in the statistics for the countries they came from.

There have been Jews in the New World since the seventeenth century, though there were not many until the middle of the nineteenth. Most of the early arrivals were Sephardic Jews from Spain or Portugal. Millions of Ashkenazi Jews came during the mass European migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three more groups have arrived since the 1930s.

More than 250,000 Jews immigrated before 1880, mostly from Germany or the German-speaking parts of Central Europe. Generally young and unmarried, these immigrants settled in cities across the United States and worked in many of the same occupations they had had in Europe: tailoring, small-scale merchandising, shoemaking, and peddling.

These immigrants adapted quickly to middle class life in the United

States. Jewish communities developed along the peddlers' distribution network: in Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, New Orleans, St. Louis, San Francisco and elsewhere. By the 1850s Jews were involved in meatpacking, shoe manufacture and large-scale retailing.

Between 1880 and 1920, 2.7 million Jews came to the United States from eastern Europe — Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary and Rumania — where the laws had forced them to settle in designated areas, limited their economic activities, and allowed their neighbors to persecute them intensely. These immigrants settled in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. They supplied the garment industry and other trades with skilled workers, and immigrant neighborhoods with small shops and businesses.

The flow of Jewish immigrants slowed greatly in the 1920s, when the United States imposed drastic quotas. But three separate Jewish immigrant groups have arrived since then: victims of Nazi persecution, Israelis, and Russian Jews.

Although immigration was reduced to a trickle during the Great Depression, about 150,000 Jewish refugees came from Nazi Germany during the 1930s. These were generally well-educated business people or professionals, most of whom settled in New York, Chicago, San Francisco or other large cities. The Depression made it difficult for them to resume their old professions, but most eventually established themselves.

About 300,000 Israelis have arrived since Israel was established in 1948, the majority since the late 1960s (for more information see the entry under *Israelis*). Finally, about 130,000 Jews have immigrated from the Soviet Union. Most of these have come since 1969, when Soviet emigration policy changed.

In 1970 New Jersey's Jewish population was 400,000. Almost 6 percent of the state's total population were Jews, and nearly 7 percent of all the Jews in the United States lived in New Jersey. Seventy-five percent of New Jersey's Jewish population lives in the corridor that runs from Middlesex County north through Bergen County, but other large Jewish communities have formed in Trenton, Camden and along the shore.

New Jersey is one of the few states in which Jews established farming colonies. The first of these colonies was established in the 1880s. They were located in the southern counties in Alliance, Farmingdale, Woodbine and several other communities. They thrived for many years, though now most of them have gone out of existence.

Kalmuks. The Kalmuks, the only Mongolian Buddhists in the United

States, are a small ethnic group. Approximately 1,000 arrived here in 1951 and 1952.

The Kalmuks' original homeland was in an area north of Tibet known as Dzungaria, now the northern half of Sinkiang Province in northwestern China. The Kalmuks moved west from there after Genghis Khan's empire collapsed more than five hundred years ago. By the early seventeenth century they had settled in Russia, establishing an independent kingdom called Kalmyk on the steppes north of the Caspian Sea. Defeated by the Russians in the eighteenth century, most Kalmuks returned to Dzungaria, but a minority submitted to Russian rule and remained. Kalmyk is now an autonomous unit in the Republic of Russia in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Although most Kalmuks fought with the Russians during World War II, several thousand sided with the Germans. At the end of the war about eight hundred were living in displaced-persons camps in Germany. It was difficult for them to resettle because they were Asian. Several countries refused to admit them, but in the early 1950s the United States let them enter. They settled mainly in Pennsylvania and near an established Russian community in Freewood Acres, Monmouth County.

Most Kalmuk men began as unskilled factory workers or manual laborers; later some entered the building trades. The women took jobs in the garment industry. The second generation has advanced to skilled and professional jobs. The Buddhist religion continues to unify the Kalmuks into a tight-knit community.

Norwegians. Norwegians began to immigrate in the 1820s as part of the great influx from northern Europe. About 800,000 Norwegians came here between 1820 and 1924, most of them after 1840. Nearly 60 percent arrived in three decades: the 1860s, the 1880s and the 1900s.

In the nineteenth century Norway's population increased sharply and good farmland grew scarce. Most of the immigrants were peasants attracted by high wages and cheap land, which promised to make them socially and economically independent.

Until the 1880s most Norwegian immigrants established farms in the upper Midwest, especially in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and the Dakotas. After that, craftsmen, seamen, and unskilled laborers from Norwegian cities predominated. These later immigrants, joined by the children of earlier ones, traveled further west. Many settled on the Northwest Coast and worked in fishing, lumbering, and shipbuilding. Another community developed on the East Coast around the shipping industry.

There are substantial Norwegian communities in Brooklyn, Chicago,

Minneapolis, and Seattle, as well as the smaller cities of Sioux City, Iowa; Duluth, Minnesota; Fargo, North Dakota; and Eau Claire and La Crosse, Wisconsin. In New Jersey most Norwegians have settled in Camden, Jersey City, Newark and Paterson.

Puerto Ricans. The island of Puerto Rico has been a United States possession since the Spanish-American War in 1898. Puerto Ricans are American citizens subject to American law, but they cannot vote, have no voting representation in Congress, and pay no federal income tax.

About 1.5 million Puerto Ricans have moved to the United States mainland, most of them Catholic. This migration began in the 1820s, but did not reach major proportions until the end of World War II. Puerto Ricans came here for many reasons. Unemployment was high at home, transportation to the mainland was cheap, travel was unrestricted, and there was an established Puerto Rican community here.

More than half the immigrants settled in New York City, which has more Puerto Ricans than San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital and largest city. Other large communities are in Boston, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, and several cities in New Jersey.

Generally, Puerto Rican immigrants are young and unskilled. Most arrived just as the cities were beginning to lose the kind of industrial jobs that sustained previous immigrant groups.

New Jersey ranks second to New York in the size of its Puerto Rican population. Camden, Elizabeth, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Passaic, Paterson, Perth Amboy and Trenton have large Puerto Rican communities. There are also significant numbers of Puerto Ricans in Atlantic City, Dover, Lakewood, Long Branch, New Brunswick, and the farming region around Vineland in Cumberland County.

Ukrainians. The Ukraine is in southeastern Europe north of the Black Sea. When masses of Ukrainians began to immigrate in the 1880s, it was divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. It was independent between 1918 and 1920. About 80 percent of it now belongs to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union.

We do not know exactly how many Ukrainians have immigrated because many of them have been identified as Austrians, Russians or Poles. Church records indicate that about half a million persons of Ukrainian descent live in the United States today.

Half of all Ukrainain immigrants came between the 1880s and World War I. They were part of the mass migration from southern and eastern Europe of the late nineteenth century. Only twenty thousand more came

between 1920 and 1939 because the United States restricted immigration in the 1920s, sharply reducing the number of arrivals from southern and eastern Europe. Ukrainians immigrated during the first two periods for economic reasons — there were too many people on too little land, and not enough factories to employ the many peasants who had no work.

About 85,000 Ukrainians, who had been displaced by German or Soviet armies during the war, arrived in the late 1940s. A fourth group of Ukranians, not very large, has arrived since 1955.

At first Ukrainians settled in the cities of the industrial Northeast and worked as unskilled laborers in mines, mills, and factories. Later they found skilled jobs in factories, foundries, and machine shops. Immigrants after World War II settled in the same areas but had somewhat different backgrounds: about 12 percent were professionals, administrators, or businessmen; 26 percent were skilled laborers; and 61 percent were unskilled laborers.

Nearly all Ukrainians still live in cities, especially in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark, New York City, Philadelphia-Camden and Pittsburgh. Many other cities have smaller Ukrainian settlements. A few Ukrainians settled in farming communities.

New Jersey has fewer Ukrainians than New York or Pennsylvania. Newark has a large concentration. There are also sizable Ukrainian communities in Elizabeth, Jersey City, Passaic and Perth Amboy.

LIST OF INTERVIEWERS

INTERVIEWER	INTERVIEWEE
Sylvia ABELEW Essex County College	Irving Smith
Mary Noel BUTLER Brookdale Community College	Elsa Lake
Frank DiPASQUALE Cumberland County College	Bijan Sadri
Lucille DONAHUE Brookdale Community College	Margaret Laeser
Diane DZIURA Rutgers University (Newark)	Jirina Meixner
Masha EIDELHEIT Brookdale Community College	Ulumdsha Albataew Nadia Kudryk
Josephine HALMO Brookdale Community College	Michael Roselli Mario Rossi
Linda JOHNSON Cumberland County College	Irene Maiatico
Pamela KRAMER Brookdale Community College	Teresa Siegert
Andrea KUSKE Cumberland County College	Ewalt Mathew Kuske

Interviewer	Interviewees
Alice LEEDS Brookdale Community College	Benjamin Leeds Fannie Strauss
Leah LIFSCHITZ Brookdale Community College	Hilda Malkin Ralph Mishan Rabbi Bernard Oberstein Hilda Wolin
Patricia MILLER Cumberland County College	Tiiu Lapsins
Richard MOSS Essex County College	Edward Losch
Carol Ann RAINES Cumberland County College	Antoinette Bjorklund
Elizabeth RAMOS Cumberland County College	Carmelo R. Vigio
Irene SMYTHE Brookdale Community College	Daniel Sheehan Dorothy Tanno
Cheryl SNYDER Cumberland County College	Helmi Holmberg Mae Ikeda Erica Schaller Elfrieda Spadoni
N. Rebecca TAYLOR Union College	Astrid Henning
Gerard TUCKER Essex County College	Fred Hanke
Evelyn WALKER Cumberland County College	Dudley Davy William Pruitt
Jonathan WAXMAN Brookdale Community College	Elka Elshtein

SUGGESTED READINGS FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS:

Ethnicity and Immigration

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GLOSSARY

Austro-Hungarian Empire: A multinational, multilingual state that existed in eastern Europe from 1867 to 1918. It was created by Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, and was dissolved at the end of World War I. Germans, Austrians, and Magyars dominated its politics, but its population included the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croatians, Slovenes, Ruthenians, and many Rumanians. When it was dissolved it had about 50 million subjects. It was broken into several independent countries, including Austria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The Rumanian regions were returned to Rumania.

Bialystok: A city in Poland. It was part of Russia until Poland was created in 1918 at the end of World War I.

Castle Garden: The nation's first receiving station for immigrants. It was operated by the state of New York at the southern tip of Manhattan Island, New York City, between 1855 and 1891. It processed over 8 million immigrants — 70 percent of the people who entered the country during that period. It was known in Europe as a hospitable station, and many immigrants hesitated to land anywhere else. Many people who arrived after 1892, like Max Teicher, referred to the new federal station on Ellis Island as Castle Garden.

cold war: A conflict conducted without military action, usually between countries that have not broken off diplomatic relations. When the term is capitalized it refers specifically to the hostility that developed between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II.

contract laborer: A worker who signs a contract to work for a relatively short period of time, such as a season. Most contract laborers are unskilled agricultural workers following a migrant circuit.

czar: The Russian emperor. The term is derived from *Caesar*. The last czar, Nicholas II (1868-1918), held the throne from 1894 until the Russian Revolution of 1917. He and his family were executed in 1918.

indentured servant: A person who contracts to work for another for a specified time, usually in exchange for transportation, food, clothing, and shelter.

kaiser: The German emperor. The term is derived from *Caesar*. The last kaiser, the one mentioned in our interviews, was Wilhelm II (1859-1941). He ruled from 1888 until 1918, when Germany surrendered to end World War I. He fled to the Netherlands and spent the rest of his life there.

kronen: The plural form of *krone*, the basic monetary unit of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

pasticceria: The Italian word for *bakery* or *pastry shop*.

Russo-Japanese War: A war (1904-1905) in which Japan defeated Russia to win territorial and commercial rights in Manchuria (northeast China). President Theodore Roosevelt mediated the peace negotiations, which took place in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. With this victory Japan emerged as a modern world power.

tallith (pronounced "tallis"): A fringed prayer shawl traditionally worn by Jewish men during worship.

8004