

NEW JERSEY ETHNIC LIFE SERIES

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What is Ethnicity?

by Howard L. Green
and Lee R. Parks



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NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF STATE

What is Ethnicity?

by Howard L. Green
and Lee R. Parks

Thomas H. Kean, Governor
Jane Burgio, Secretary of State

HOWARD L. GREEN, GENERAL EDITOR

TRENTON • NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL COMMISSION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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This series is based on the Multi-Ethnic Oral History Collection of the New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State. The collection contains over fifteen hundred life histories of New Jerseyans of varied ethnic backgrounds, tape-recorded by students at several New Jersey colleges. For more information about this collection please contact the Ethnic History Project at the Commission.

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NEW JERSEY

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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 we have taken great care 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.

What Is Ethnicity?

Ethnic means (very broadly) "foreign" or "not standard." In the past it usually had a negative punch: to call something "ethnic" was to suggest that it had something wrong with it. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, for example, many Americans applied the term to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, whom they considered ignorant, dirty, disorderly — barely civilized.

In our own century the term has lost most of its negative flavor. Today we tend to be proud of our varied racial and national backgrounds. We honor and even emphasize the traditions, values, customs, languages and religious practices that made our ancestors different from each other. To call something "ethnic" is rarely insulting now. Often, it suggests praise.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

An ethnic group is by definition a subgroup; its very existence implies a larger society. Harvey Teicher, sixty, † who is Jewish, recalls,

At a very young age I realized I was a Jew. It wasn't so much my becoming aware of being Jewish but rather becoming aware that there were people other than Jews.

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

Usually ethnic groups exist in an environment dominated by the culture of another group; in France, for example, the French are not an ethnic group, but the Algerians are.

Ethnic groups are easy enough to find. It is a little harder to explain precisely what they are. What do we mean by ethnic and ethnicity? When is a person in an ethnic group? What determines a person's ethnicity?

Ordinarily it is no single factor but several combined. And a factor that is very important in one group's identity may be insignificant in another's.

The defining element may be race, as it is for the Afro-American ethnic group. Or it may be religion, as it is for the Jews or for the Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. Then again, it can be language; the two main ethnic groups in Belgium are the Flemings, who speak a tongue related to Dutch, and the Walloons, who speak a dialect of French.

But for many ethnic groups, particularly in the United States, race, religion, and language are less important than national origins. Orientals are divided into many ethnic groups — the Chinese, Japanese, and so forth. Catholics may be members of the Polish, French-Canadian, Mexican-American, and many other ethnic groups, and Moslems may be Turkish, Iranian, Pakistani, and so on. People whose native tongue is English belong to the English, Scottish, Jamaican and other ethnic groups.

Ethnicity may be defined as "a way of thinking, feeling, and behaving that is essentially cultural." It can be expressed in a group's traditions. When Antoinette Bjorklund, fifty, was growing up her Greek identity was emphasized by the preservation of old-world customs.

The Greek people didn't celebrate birthdays like the Americans with cakes and candles and so forth. For us your name day was more important. Almost everybody who was Greek was named after a saint in one way or another. Like my own name for instance, Antoinette, would be the feminine of Anthony. So on Saint Anthony's birthday my birthday would be celebrated. This was one of the traditional Greek customs that my family followed in America.

Ethnicity is not limited to behavior; however. It can be an attitude. Members of an ethnic group may share a "sense of peoplehood," perceiving themselves as different from other groups in their society. Forty-six-year-old Juri Virkus, an Estonian, recalls,

People like myself, who originally came here as refugees, didn't consider

ourselves immigrants. We felt we were forced to leave Estonia; we didn't choose to. In the beginning, I think there was a very strong feeling that we were Estonians, not Americans and not Estonian-Americans.

Edite Virkus, forty-five, who is a Latvian, feels a connection so strong that it seems almost biological.

I think there's a kinship between Latvian and Latvian. If you are out on the street and you hear somebody, a stranger, speak Latvian, you sort of feel a kinship with that person. It's like the person is a sister or brother almost. You have a common background, you've gone through common experiences. So there is a bond. I don't think it will ever disappear. Not for me anyway.

At its strongest, the sense of "peoplehood" can make a group withdraw from the host society. Juri Virkus recalls that among Estonians

the tendency was that you didn't mingle with the American population that much. While you would work, let us say, in an American factory, in your free time you tended not to mingle.

Estonians didn't take part in American political clubs. They didn't join American churches; they would have their own Estonian churches. They wouldn't even go to an American store if there was an Estonian store that sold the same thing. And even stores run by Germans or Italians were preferred to the standard American supermarket.

Ethnicity also involves a sense of a shared past. Dora Friedman, a sixty-seven-year-old Jew, tells how her people pass on the traditions about their history:

On Seder the whole family was together. My father used to sit and explain to us about Egypt and why the people were forty years in the desert and why we have Passover. And in my house now, I celebrate the same way as my father. My sister and brother and their families come to my house and we celebrate it the same way.

Another source of ethnic identity — one of the strongest — is language. Gilda Karu, twenty-eight, says,

I learned Estonian before I learned English. So English is actually my second language. I learned a little from television and the children in

the neighborhood. But I mainly learned it after I started kindergarten. Also my grandparents lived with us and they only spoke Estonian. So I actually grew up Estonian.

Harvey Teicher also sees language as a major formative factor.

When I went to grammar school for the first time, I spoke no English. I spoke only Yiddish because that was the language that my grandmother spoke and that was the language that I was brought up in. When I went to school, I was shocked to find that there were children who didn't speak Yiddish. It was the only language I knew.

CHANGEABILITY

To some extent we can choose our ethnicity deliberately. At least, as Juri Virkus has found, people can modify the ethnicity they feel.

I think we have just started to grow out of our "refugee mentality." I realize that I'm living in an American culture and among American people. But I do have an Estonian background.

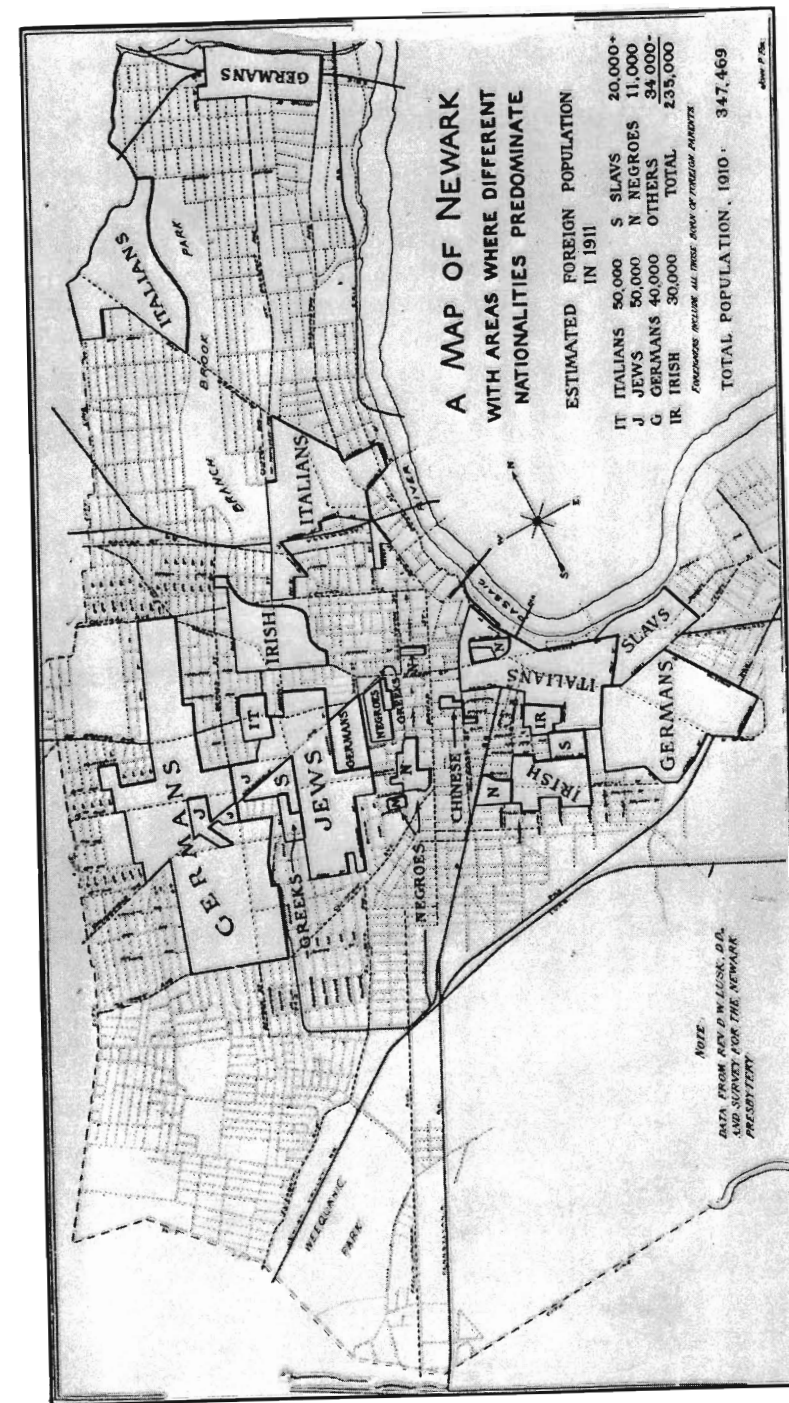
So we now see ourselves as Estonian-Americans or American-Estonians, whichever you want to put first. The main idea is that we are both.

Indeed, ethnic identities can change with circumstances. Boundaries between ethnic groups are sometimes quite fluid. Small groups can merge into larger ones, large ones can break down into smaller ones. Ethnic groups can arise and disappear. Some people even adopt or discard ethnic identities to suit their interests and desires at the time.

PREJUDICE

Not all ethnicities are so flexible. The views of outsiders often help to define ethnic groups. If others see a group as different, the group's sense of separateness is reinforced. Sometimes, in fact, external perception can impose an ethnic identity on someone who might not choose it.

Racism. *In American society ethnic identity is often imposed on the basis of skin color. Afro-Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and Native*



This map of Newark's ethnic neighborhoods shows that over two-thirds of the city's population in 1911 consisted of the foreign-born and their children. Courtesy of the Newark Public Library.

Americans are usually categorized by physical characteristics rather than by cultural ones they can adopt or shed by choice.

Maria Rosario, a twenty-two-year-old Puerto Rican, recalls,

When I came here from Puerto Rico and went to school many of the kids would say, "Oh, look at that Puerto Rican." And they would call me names. So I knew I was Puerto Rican and I was very proud. But I did not understand why these kids were saying things like this.

Doris Walker, a thirty-seven-year-old Afro-American, tells of harsher discrimination:

When I was a child, racial integration* was not allowed in the South. Blacks weren't allowed to socialize with whites. You couldn't eat together with them in public places; you weren't allowed to sit down with them. You had to go to the back door of a restaurant and order what you wanted. And you were just barely able to go into the stores and shop. When you did, they would wait on you very fast just to get you out of the store. You really didn't have time to make a choice. So you had to know what you wanted before you went shopping.

Frank Enseki, sixty-nine, was denied work because he was Japanese.

When I first came to this country I went to look for a job. I saw a lot of homes going up so I asked if I could get a job as a carpenter.

The man told me that no matter how good I was, he was sorry but he could not give me a job. He said his other men would sit down. They wouldn't work with me.

I asked him why, and he said because I was not white.

I kept looking for work. I would go wherever there was an advertisement for a job, and they would tell me there was no job. Even if the ad was still in the paper. When they saw the color of my face they would say, "I'm sorry. There is no job."

He was also refused service in restaurants.

I would go in and sit there, and the waitress would walk right by me

*See glossary

and not wait on me. Then somebody else would come in after me and she would wait on them.

I would say, "I came here first. I was here before the person you waited on."

And then the waitress would ask if I saw the sign on the wall that read, "We Reserve the Right to Serve Whomever We Please."

Orlando Hubbard, an Afro-American who is eighty-four, describes the "Jim Crow" arrangement governing train travel.*

I can remember when black people in the South had to travel in a special place on the train. They had what they called "Jim Crow." If you were black, you had to ride up front near the engine, because it was dangerous and dirty up there. You could also ride in the middle coach. But you couldn't ride in the rear coach. The white people rode there and it wasn't as dangerous or dirty.

And say the rear coach was overloaded. The white folks would come into the middle coach and you'd have to stand up and let the white folks sit down.

When Mr. Hubbard moved north he found prejudice here too.

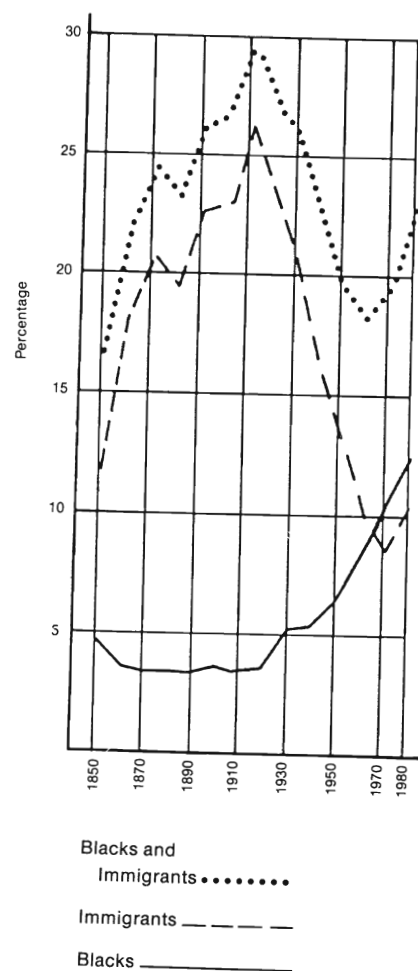
There was even discrimination in Plainfield when I came north. I used to go to different places to try to get a job, and they would tell me, "We're not hiring colored." In fact, I met up with this more here than I did down south. Down south the line was drawn. If you saw a sign that said "Colored" at a place, you knew you could go there for work because the whites wouldn't.

Other Discrimination. *Even when race is not involved, ethnicity often has negative effects. Many have testified to this.*

Children, for example, are often made to suffer. Julia I. Oldfield, a fifty-five-year-old Hungarian, recalls that when she was in grade school

there was some friction between children because of their backgrounds. If you met someone, they wanted to know what your father was and what your mother was. Then, of course, when you told them, they sometimes would attach a stigma to your nationality. They had all kinds of names for people who had parents that were foreign-born, which is sad. They discriminated. You could feel it. And now, when I think

BLACKS AND IMMIGRANTS IN NEW JERSEY POPULATION



Between 1910 and 1970 the Afro-American population of New Jersey rose nearly as fast as the foreign-born population declined. Derived from United States Census Bureau data.

about it, there were some teachers who resented children because of their foreign background. So, some children had it pretty hard. The nationality was something that they used against you.

Alfred E. Brown, sixty-two, describes his childhood situation gently:

That I was Jewish was brought to my attention by the children in the neighborhood. We lived in a predominantly Gentile neighborhood and my brother and I were teased considerably. The other children associated with us but we were always the low men on the totem pole. If they had a birthday party, we were add-ons or not invited at all. Or if they played certain games, we were usually bystanders.

Ethnic prejudice can keep people from getting jobs they want. Mario Rossi, sixty-seven, recalls,

Italians weren't accepted very well until after World War II. I couldn't even get into the fire department here in Red Bank. I also couldn't join the police department. That was something I really wanted to do. I wanted to become a policeman and they wouldn't accept me. Now they accept Italians. But that started after World War II.

Rose Lynch, seventy-four, remembers,

In New York you had loads of employment agencies. Often the job listings stated, "No Irish Need Apply." So we only went to the ones that didn't say this. I got a job making hot dogs in a meat factory.

Ethnic discrimination enters people's lives in other ways too. Frances Campione, a sixty-year-old Italian, remembers:

As a child I lived in an area which was primarily Italian. I didn't feel discriminated against because I was with my own ethnic group. But when we moved out of the area, there was discrimination from other ethnic groups because we were Italian.

One time when my mother went to look for an apartment, one of the neighbors told the landlord that we were Italians and that he should be very careful, that he should not rent the apartment to us. And my mother lived there for eighteen years and the landlord repeated the story to me and said that my mother was the best tenant he ever had.

Alexis Kozak, forty-four, has met prejudice that no doubt had political roots.

I've always been proud of being a Russian. Earlier it was not easy here because people looked down on you. I remember my friend and I were out west in 1965 and we picked up two girls that were hitchhiking in Yellowstone Park. But when we told them we were Russian, I couldn't believe it — the girls couldn't wait to get out of the car.

EXPRESSING ETHNICITY

In recent years American society has tried to eliminate its social and ethnic prejudices. Ethnicity has become a source of pride. Some people go to considerable lengths to reclaim a cultural heritage they feel they have lost. Since the late 1970s many people have been expressing their ethnic identities deliberately.

Some, like Aileen Fong Shane, fifty-three, decide to learn their ancestral language:

I'm not fluent in Chinese and I don't think I ever was from the time I went to school. My parents would speak to us in Chinese and we'd answer in English because they also spoke it. In fact, as they got older, they spoke to us mostly in English.

My not knowing Chinese was a big loss. It is a difficult language to learn. While I was going to college, I went once a week to a small private class in New York to learn Chinese. I think this was the time my father had visions of letting me go overseas after I graduated. I don't know how I did it, but I managed to attend that class in addition to my college load.

There was another Chinese girl in the class who was from New York. Her father had sent her there for the same reason. He felt she was losing her ethnicity.

Anna Erin Screen Forsman, a fifty-eight-year-old Irishwoman, recalls:

I attended the Gaelic Society's school in New York for two years. Because my father was able to speak the Gaelic* language, I wanted to learn a bit of it.

Preservation. *Ancestral traditions are often observed for many*



The Bayern Verein German Dance Group performing at the Garden State Arts Center. Photograph by Harvey Bilker, *Newark Star Ledger*. Courtesy of New Jersey News Photos.

generations after a family has come to this country. Many of these have to do with holidays. Delores Polisano, fifty, tells about various saints' days Italians celebrate.

For example, we think the world of Saint Joseph. He's the father of Jesus. So we celebrate his day. We make Saint Joseph cakes — they're like pudding, a vanilla pudding.

We do the same for Saint Lucia. That's the saint for your eyes. You pray to her to bless your eyes if you are blind or something. We prepare a special sweet for her. We make it with chocolate and wheat.

Kelly Hanzawa, twenty-one, describes some Japanese New Year's traditions that are still followed.

The family gets together and has a traditional breakfast. Then the female members of the family stay home and receive gifts from people who visit. My father was always gone with the men, going from house to house to wish the families Happy New Year's.

It is a big holiday for Japanese families. Food is prepared for days on end — mochi, for example. For breakfast we would have ozoni, which is fish broth made with rice cakes. Also a lot of liquor is served. And I still observe this tradition.

All groups have important traditions connected with eating. Many people, like Mary Lanko, a seventy-two-year-old Ukrainian, cook traditional foods.

I have never given up my old-fashioned cooking. I still cook certain traditional dishes. One is *pyrohi* — mashed potatoes and cheese rolled up in dough, cooked in water, and then fried in butter. And then we have *holubtsi* — stuffed cabbage rolls. These are our main traditional dishes. I still cook them.

Ulumdsba Albataew, forty-six, tells of two Kalmuk foods.

One is a brick tea. You chop it up into small pieces and boil it in water with salt and butter. It's like a broth. I guess nobody else drinks tea like that.

And then we make something like a doughnut. But it's not sweet. It's pretty greasy. There's no grease in the dough, but it's boiled in grease.

In addition to traditional dishes, the rituals that accompany meals are often preserved. The family of Sunako Oye, fifty-seven, still observes some mealtime customs from Japan.

When we sit to eat we always say, "taraki matsa," which means we thank everyone for the food that's on the table. We always put our hands together and say that. It isn't just saying thanks for the food that's in front of us; it's in gratitude to everybody and everything that made it possible to have something.

After we finish eating we say, "gotsi sama." There are a lot of things in our way of life that are Japanese. That's the way we were brought up. We're half and half. There's a lot of good in the Japanese culture as well as American ways.



People find many ways to express ethnic identity. This parade float represents a Swedish viking ship. From the Hoving Collection, courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

Folk medicine from earlier generations is also still in use. Louise Coulter, a fifty-eight-year-old Italian, uses an herbal remedy she learned as a child.

My mother was a great believer in camelia tea. If we had a stomachache she would give us this, and it seemed to work. I used it with my children. Whenever they were teething or having a hard time falling asleep, I would give them this and it seemed to soothe them. I still use it today. As a matter of fact, my brother grows the bush in his garden and fixes it so we can use it.

Cultural Modification. *Sometimes traditions change when they are moved to a new place. Tamara Kolba describes some Byelorussian religious customs that have been brought to America. One of these — the use*

of pussy willows to symbolize palm leaves — was evidently an adaptation to the Byelorussian environment and is unnecessary here.

Back home, with candles that had been blessed by the priest, they would make the sign of the cross under all the doorways of the house. And farmers would make signs of the cross all over the barn. There is the very strong belief that this would serve as protection for the entire year. You would get a new set of blessed candles each year.

The same way with palms. Actually, it's not palms back home — our climate is too cold for palms. There we have pussy willows. After you brought the blessed willows home, you would keep them over the icons until the next year. We do the same thing here with palms.

And you are not allowed to throw them away. If you want to get rid of something that has been blessed, you have to bury it. Sometimes you burn it and then bury it. It's sort of sacrilegious if you just throw it away.

Edite Virkus names some Latvian traditions that have been lost, perhaps because they belong to a holiday for which America has its own customs.

Traditionally for New Year's you were supposed to eat fish and peas. The peas represented tears; if you ate them all you would not have any tears for the coming year. And the fish was for good luck.

Also on New Year's Eve, we had what we called poor luck. You would take a spoonful of molten lead and place it in a bowl of cold water. The lead would solidify and form all kinds of shapes, and you were supposed to figure out from those shapes what your future was going to be.

Mrs. Virkus says that Latvian-Americans no longer observe these traditions. But they still celebrate Midsummer Night, with slight modifications.*

In Latvia this was the night the sun did not go completely down. It would go down beyond the horizon but there was always light. This was usually around June 24th. In the evening everyone would quit work early and dress up in their folk costumes. They lit bonfires all over, and you'd go from house to house singing and drinking homemade beer and eating a special cheese. The young people would jump over the bonfire.

Here this tradition is not observed completely the same way, of course. We still have all of the singing; there is a lot of drinking and dancing;

and we still have the bonfires going. Whoever wants to jump over them can do it. But we don't have the home-brewed beer as we did in Latvia. That was a specialty; it was delicious. Here we have Lowenbrau.

Mildred Arnold, a sixty-seven-year-old Afro-American, tells how one southern custom was reduced in scope when it was brought north.

On the Fourth of July in the South everybody would get together and have a big barbeque at the school. Everybody would bring different foods to share. My mother might bring some cakes and another woman might bring some pies. The men would have been up the whole night before the Fourth barbequing the meat. By the time we arrived, the meat would be ready.

We brought this tradition up from the South but it was changed. Up here, we didn't have a big barbeque at the school. But families and friends would get together and have a cookout. So when I see people now with their cookouts, I smile because I know that this originated in the South.

For Carmelo R. Vigio, forty-eight, Puerto Rican foods still have a place in the diet, but they have lost their primary status.

In Puerto Rico we used to eat a lot of rice and beans. But here, after eleven years, we eat rice and beans perhaps only once a week. We eat instead chicken, steak, fish, potatoes, spaghetti, and sandwiches.

Nontraditional Expression. *People also assert their ethnicity in ways that are not connected to any of their ethnic traditions. For example, they may wear buttons or T-shirts that say things like I'm Proud To Be Polish. Mariano Alicea, thirty-nine, notes with amusement,*

My children know that they have Puerto Rican parents. My second son, for example, wears the Puerto Rican flag on the right-hand side of the pocket of his pants. And he says that he's proud to be a Puerto Rican. Now the interesting thing is that he was born here on the mainland and he speaks very little Spanish.

Others travel to their ancestral lands. Alice Wong, forty-two, felt that her children could not understand their ethnicity fully because they were



Miss Lithuania of Philadelphia, 1930. In an ethnic beauty pageant, group identity persists even as American customs are adopted. From the Lithuanian Collection, courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

far from China and isolated from other Chinese. So she took them to visit Taiwan.

My daughter was seven and my son was two. She liked it. My daughter learned a whole lot. I think it was very important for her to see what China is really like, to see so many Chinese people, because she is in such a small minority here. In her entire school she is the only Chinese.

It's good and very reassuring for her to see that there are so many Chinese in the world.

Travel, then, can strengthen individual identity. For Juban Simonson, a forty-six-year-old Estonian, it may also help to renew the ethnic group.

I personally cannot visit Estonia because I have been active in political causes. I would be somewhat afraid to go. But some of the children born in this country can go. Of course these are very limited visits — just the Tallinn* area and so forth. But at least the children get some idea of Estonia, that it is their parents' homeland. And then they come back and sort of become better Estonians.

Certain people say that they shouldn't visit Estonia at all because it is Communist now. That is somewhat of a conflict. But I find that those who do visit get a certain interest, an ethnic resurgence, from being on that soil. And then they come back and they know some of the Tallinn songs and so forth. So, it's been good in that sense.

Some groups encourage ethnic consciousness by publishing special newspapers. Mary Kenny, forty-one, reads two of these.

We subscribe to some Irish newspapers — *The Irish Echo* and *The Irish Advocate* — that are published in New York. They give us information about politics and sports. They also contain news about the Irish in the New York area.

Another way to hold ethnic groups together is to form organizations. Juri Virkus explains the function of the Lakewood Estonian Club:

It exists as a place where Estonian culture can be practiced or carried on. Things like the Estonian school, Estonian folk dancing, and Estonian theater all need a place. The Rotary Club, the Kiwanis Club, or any other organization you can think of, would never make sure these would last. So there has to be an organization like the Estonian Club.

George Naumchyk, forty-three, belongs to the Byelorussian-American Veterans.

This is composed of Byelorussians who have fought in different wars. There are those who fought for Byelorussian independence and those like myself who were in the American armed forces. We participate in



Ethnic newspapers kept members of a group in touch with their heritage and sometimes helped them learn American ways as well. This photograph depicts the storefront office of a Finnish newspaper in Monessen, Pennsylvania, about 1910. New Jersey has had dozens of such papers, representing many ethnicities. From the Tuomi Collection, courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies.

parades and wear uniforms with insignia and patches which say what wars we have been in.

THE MELTING POT AND OTHER IDEAS

We often use the term melting pot very loosely to indicate that people of many national backgrounds participate in American culture. In speaking this way we leave many questions open. How was "American culture" created? Is it finished? For that matter, what is it?

The "melting pot" image is only one of several attempts to answer these questions. Writers have advanced three major theories: (1) America is a melting pot. That is, we are creating a new culture and a new race by mixing the traditions and genes of all the nations. (2) American culture is the product of "Anglo-conformity." In other words, most Americans have traded the traditions of their ancestors for a culture

that is mainly English. (3) American culture is pluralistic. Instead of adopting a single national culture we have kept our ancestral patterns, adjusting them enough to let us live side by side in relative harmony.

The Melting Pot. *The melting-pot theory is a theory of amalgamation. It says people blend their cultures — and their genes, by intermarrying — into a new cultural/racial entity. According to the true melting-pot theory an American is, or someday will be, a mixture of all the peoples in America, but radically different from all of them.*

The amalgamation theory began to develop in the late 18th century but did not become popular until after 1909. In that year The Melting Pot, a play by the English Jewish writer Israel Zangwill, inspired audiences with its utopian optimism. The hero, a young Russian Jewish immigrant to the United States, makes this speech:*

There she lies, the great Melting Pot — listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling: There gapes her mouth — the harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. . . . Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian — black and yellow. . . — how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God.

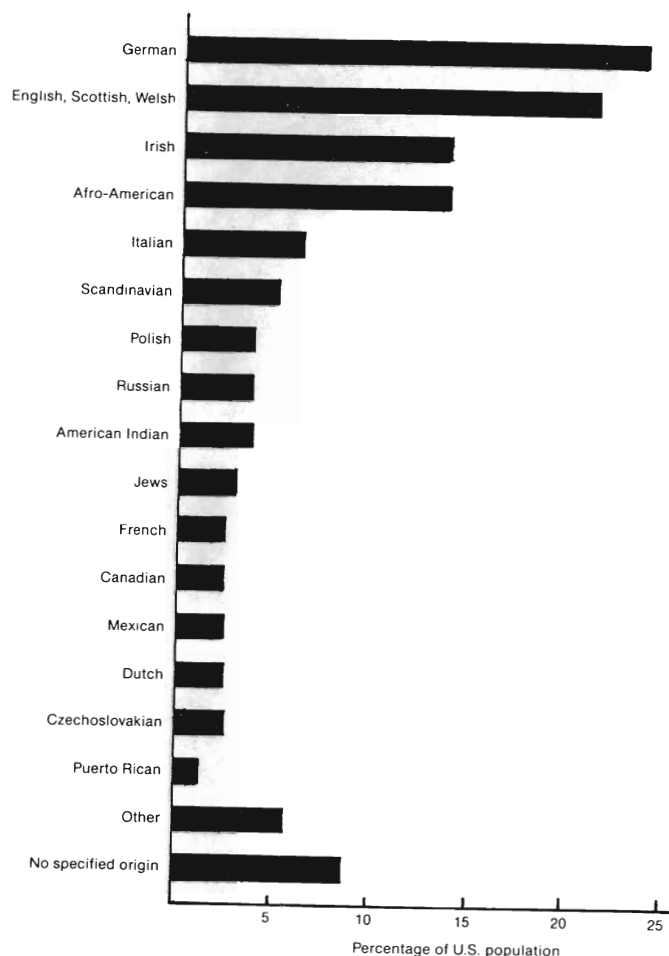
There are American citizens who seem to demonstrate the melting-pot theory. Jose Feliciano, twenty-one, believes that amalgamation is typical in Puerto Rico.

My family is a mixed family. There's been intermarriage between the races. Puerto Ricans have Indian blood, African blood and European blood. I have family members who have very curly hair with dark skin. Other members of my family have dark straight hair with very light skin and blue eyes. In not many countries in the world do you see this type of a phenomenon. My family is a spectrum of three races. Puerto Ricans are what we call a melting pot. We are proud of it.

Fifty-year-old Jane Brostovski, who is Polish, says amalgamation is morally right.

My daughter asked me would I object if she dated a black boy. I said, "No." I couldn't object; it would be against my principles. I believe

APPROXIMATE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF LARGEST ETHNIC GROUPS, LATE 1970s



This figure represents Americans' views of themselves. About 90 percent consider themselves members or descendants of one or more ethnic groups. Source data: National Opinion Research Center.

we should not see ourselves as belonging to countries or nations. It's just humanity.

"Humanity" means we are all equal. We are human beings. How could I tell my daughter I don't want her to marry a black boy? Just because he has dark skin? I could object if I knew he was bad or that she would not have a secure life with him. But not just because he is black. Maybe it's because I lived in so many countries.

But many writers say the melting-pot theory is misleading. They argue that human cultures are complex and dynamic and do not melt like iron. They believe that the homogenized American culture of the melting pot has not developed, and they doubt that it ever will.

Anglo-conformity. According to the second theory, cultures are not blended together in the American pot. Instead, they are destroyed by the original English-American culture. An American, in other words, is someone who has been assimilated by Anglo-American traditions and values.

We often confuse this idea with the melting-pot theory, but it is actually a theory of assimilation, not amalgamation. It is the theory of Anglo-conformity.

It is the most widely held theory about how America works and how newcomers should behave. It is also the most rigid. At various times, members of many ethnic groups have felt heavy pressure to adopt white Anglo-Saxon Protestant* practices and values.

This pressure reached a peak after World War I. But it has also been strong at other times. Until fairly recently, people who tried to maintain their ethnic identity were considered suspicious — sometimes even "un-American."

Many of our interviews show how people wanted to strip off their ethnic characteristics and become "Americans."

ADA M. HUNTER, SCOTTISH, SEVENTY-FOUR: I didn't learn much about my family's history because I was more interested in becoming an American. After I came to America, I was very interested in what Americans did. I wanted to be like an American because I was going to live here the rest of my life.

LUCY DeROSA, ITALIAN, SEVENTY-TWO: As time went on we became more

SELECTED MINORITIES IN NEW JERSEY PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

	Afro- American	Hispanic	Asian
1950	7	*	*
1960	8	*	*
1970	10	4	*
1980	13	7	2

*Less than 1%

This table shows some rapid changes in the New Jersey population in the past few decades. Derived from United States Census Bureau data.

American than Italian. It seems like you're whatever your environment is. So, if you're in America, the Italian starts to thin out. And we were seldom with Italians. Also, my husband was more American than I was. I think mostly all of the second-generation sort of became Americanized, very Americanized.

EMANUEL VASTARDIS, GREEK, FORTY-SIX: Because my children were born here, they have to have the traditions of this country. They have to be Americans. Maybe I'm Greek, but they have to be Americans.

JOHN LOPEZ, SPANISH, FIFTY-NINE: In the farm community where we lived, there were no other Spaniards. The nearest Spaniards were in the town. They made their own barrio,* as they called it, and they stayed together as a group.

But my father stayed his distance from them. He wasn't the type that would hang out with the rest of his countrymen. He figured that if you were in this country you were an American and should live and act like an American.

For example, while my father and mother were Catholic there wasn't a Catholic church nearby, so I joined the Presbyterian church. I attended church and Sunday school every Sunday with the other kids.

NEJAT UNALP, TURKISH, FORTY-SEVEN: I don't think I have incorporated much of the culture of Turkey in my life here. I did, however, try to carry on the tradition as far as training my children. I'm a big believer that children should have discipline. I don't believe in turning them loose and letting them do whatever they like.

Other than that, my theory is that you shouldn't come over to this country and try to carry on the traditions of another country. I'm proud of the transition I made. And I consider myself American. I went back to Turkey for two weeks and I couldn't stand it. I wanted to come back.

Because I made the transition. I've been successful at it. A lot of people come to this country and try to maintain the traditions of their native country, the language, the culture and everything. But if they like it so well over there, I think they should be back there. You can't have both.

*Some immigrants knew Americans before coming here and were partly assimilated when they arrived. Bienvenida A. Reyes, a thirty-one-year-old Panamanian, felt little kinship with the Hispanic community that welcomed her when she moved to the United States from the Canal Zone.**

I did not have a difficult time making friends in this country because I came knowing English. But because I was Hispanic, the first day of school here a girl tried to get me with all the other Hispanics.

Since I had lived in the Canal Zone, and down there all of my friends were American, I found this strange and a bit uncomfortable. She thought that because I was Hispanic I would feel at home with the Hispanic people here. And I didn't. I wanted to be everybody's friend. And little by little I made friends like I had before.

The same thing happened with my first marriage. I married into a Cuban family where everything was mainly Cuban, mainly Hispanic. I could see my American friends — Italian, Irish, German, or whatever — but my social contacts were supposed to be mainly Cuban and Hispanic.

Now with my present husband, who is Puerto Rican, it is different. We are Hispanic by descent but American by our ways and customs. So, after I divorced my first husband, I went back to what I was before, back to my American friends. My second husband and I are not like a lot of other Hispanic people who are keeping their cultural heritage,

whose friends are mainly Hispanic, and who live with Hispanic ways and do not step out of that tradition. Being away from the Spanish element, we have become Americanized.

Many families felt more than the simple desire to "be American." Teresa Siegert, a forty-one-year-old Italian, reports that her parents were ashamed of being different.

While my mother speaks fluent English, my father never learned it. He came here when he was twenty-one and stayed until his death at eighty, but he could not really express himself in English.

But my parents did not teach me how to speak Italian. I guess they were ashamed; they had sometimes been treated inferior because they were foreigners. They didn't encourage me to learn Italian, so I could be completely Americanized and no one would know we were from another country.

The result was my father would speak to me in Italian and I would answer him in English. So I never learned to speak Italian. I can only understand it or read it.

And slowly we adopted American customs. For example, my mother adopted sending Christmas cards. She also started us celebrating Thanksgiving — although for years I remember we didn't eat turkey, we ate macaroni. My father would always say, "What is this Thanksgiving? This holiday is not in Italy. I don't understand Thanksgiving." But he had to go along with her anyway.

In Mrs. Siegert's family language was a principal tool of assimilation. In many other families too, the children were deliberately taught English and not the family's native tongue:

SAMUEL ICHINAGA, JAPANESE, SEVENTY-ONE: My wife and I never spoke Japanese to our children. Maybe they can say "hello" in Japanese but that's about all. Of course, we would sometimes put a Japanese word in here and there but otherwise our children spoke English. We felt that this is America so they better keep busy learning English and about America. Japanese traditions? No.

HARRY BLOMGREN, SWEDISH, SEVENTY-ONE: In our home my mother and father spoke mainly English, so I didn't learn to speak Swedish too well. They became so absorbed with this country that they would hardly speak their native language. They would read English newspapers and magazines

and anything English so they could learn the language better. And when I went to school they would learn some English from me, from what I learned in school.

JULIA I. OLDFIELD: When I was growing up, all the children learned English. Some of them would not speak their parents' language at all. They were defiant. They wanted to be Americans very badly. A great many of the parents too.

Ho Park, a thirty-two-year-old Korean, represents the opposite view.

My wife and I usually speak Korean at home. In this way our children will be able to speak both Korean and English. In my opinion that is nice. But some people don't speak Korean at home, they only speak English. I have met Korean children here who don't speak the Korean language.

These speakers make it clear that newcomers are under pressure to conform to American culture. And it is obvious that this culture has some prominent English influences: English is our official language, and our legal system is derived from English common law. But many writers oppose the Anglo-conformity theory.

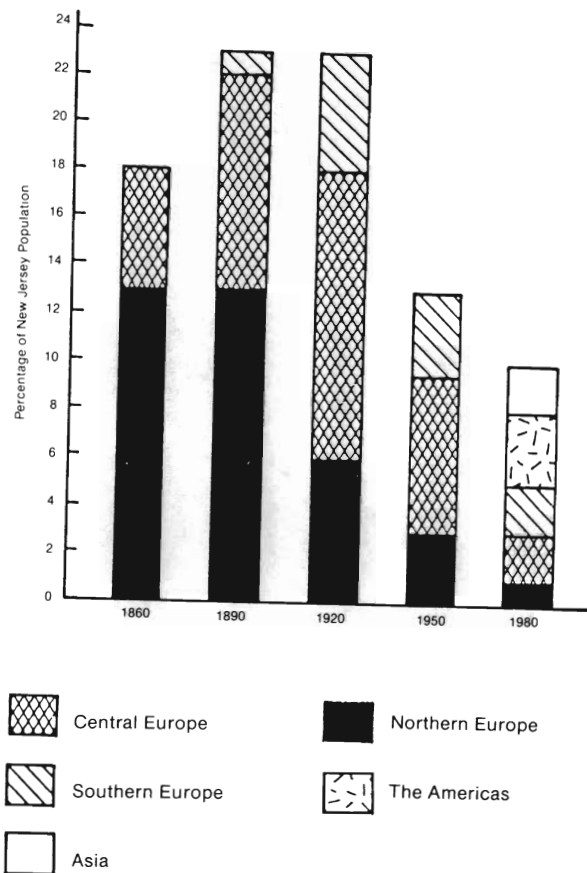
They assert that assimilation does not move one way only. Ethnic groups do not always trade their culture in; in fact, many white Anglo-Saxon Protestant traits have been replaced over the years by new ones from other countries. American cuisine includes spaghetti, frankfurters and chop suey; American English is full of words from other languages; American music has been reshaped by African traditions.

These writers hold that if there is an American culture to which newcomers conform it is less Anglo-Saxon and more fluid than the theory of Anglo-conformity would allow.

Cultural Pluralism. *In the third theory, the United States is neither an amalgamator nor an assimilator. Ethnicity perseveres, and America cannot be identified with any single culture. According to this theory, our society contains many ethnic subsocieties with independent institutions, values, and beliefs.*

This is the theory of cultural pluralism. It dates from the beginning of the twentieth century, and in the past twenty years it has emerged

FOREIGN-BORN NEW JERSEY RESIDENTS BY REGION OF ORIGIN



This graph shows how New Jersey's population has reflected the nation's immigration history. In 1890 and 1920 almost one New Jerseyan in four was foreign-born; the number is now roughly one in ten. Note the dramatic change in places of origin. A high percentage of today's foreign-born New Jerseyans have come from places that formerly sent few immigrants. Derived from United States Census Bureau data.

as a powerful opponent to both the melting-pot idea and the Anglo-conformity theory.

This way of thinking has changed life for many members of ethnic groups. Gilda Karu compares the 1970s and 1980s with the more restrictive years of her childhood.

At one point when I was growing up — it was during the '50s — everyone had to belong. There was a great stress on being an American. A real melting pot. You had to belong to America; love it or leave it. There was a great pressure to Americanize people. I remember being teased when I was in grammar school because I didn't pronounce certain words the way everybody else did. Now it's more like a salad bowl. Each group is more interested in maintaining its ethnic heritage.

Mary Arshelus Adanatizian Ingram, Armenian, fifty-nine, considers cultural pluralism a source of freedom that was denied to earlier generations.

I feel that everybody should be proud of their ethnic heritage. I think it's ideal when they know their native language and something about their culture and history.

This is especially true for tiny minority groups like the Armenians. I think it behooves us to set a good example because there are so few of us that one person misbehaving can make it look like there aren't any good Armenians.

I'm sorry that there isn't more aid from the government to help groups preserve their heritage. This would have helped our parents a great deal. They would not have felt that they were being forced into a homogenization program, into giving up their roots.

Dorothy Tanno, Ukrainian, thirty-three, grew up in a family that took pluralism very seriously. Her father seems to have thought that his children would be better Americans if they preserved their ethnic heritage.

My father made sure that my brothers and sisters learned Ukrainian. He always said, "Any man who forgets his country is of no use to any other country." He said, "If you forget your own heritage, then you are not going to remember another." And he made sure we all spoke Ukrainian.

He also apparently developed a sharper sense of his Ukrainian identity after coming to America.

As a matter of fact, my brothers and sisters who were born in this country can read and write Ukrainian better than I who was not born here. They learned Ukrainian after my father died. He knew he was dying and one of his requests was that my mother send them to a Ukrainian school in Philadelphia. And she did. They got ethnic instruction; they got Ukrainian grammar and history, Ukrainian dancing, music, and so forth.

My mother didn't send me because I was the oldest. She didn't want to send everyone to Philadelphia and all of a sudden be alone in our apartment. She was a little afraid. So since I was the oldest, she kept me home with her.

The theory of cultural pluralism, like the others, is open to criticism. Many people believe that even though we maintain many of our ethnic traditions we all share a distinct underlying culture. They point out that our form of English, our popular music, our industry and technology, our private-enterprise economy, and even our eating habits constitute a culture that is recognized around the world as American.

Interplay. *People will continue arguing about ethnicity in America for a long time. The interplay between American identity and ethnic identity is still in process. With each passing generation the issue changes somewhat. Forty-five-year-old Paul G. Shane observes that in his family ethnic awareness is growing more subtle.*

We have to explain to our children that they are Jewish. But when I grew up things were different.

It was simply there: you were Jewish. It's like you were a human being. It was a part of you; there was no big discussion about it. Who am I? What am I? You're Jewish, that's all. When people would ask you what you were, you never even thought twice. "I'm Jewish."

You'd ask the other ones. "I'm Irish." "I'm Italian." Sometimes we didn't even have to ask. We knew just by looking at someone what they were. I could tell immediately. I knew who was Jewish, who was Italian, who was Irish, who was something else immediately, without even thinking about it. It was just there. It was a part of us.

But I can't do that any more. I don't think we look the same any more; we don't act the same. We have to tell each other. Now when we meet Jewish people, we send messages out to make sure. Some people don't give the right responses and so you're not sure about what they are. Are they Jewish? And it's interesting how you do it subconsciously. You don't even realize you're doing it.

For some three hundred years the diverse peoples of the world have been coming to America, where they live side by side and work together successfully, if not always harmoniously. We live in a nation of great political, social and economic complexity.

What really happens to people in the generations after immigration? What will be the impact of the immigration now under way from Latin America and Asia? What of the Afro-Americans whose economic opportunities have been so limited? There is evidence for all three of the theories we have discussed: amalgamation, assimilation, and cultural pluralism. Probably all three forces are at work, each having its effect.

The only conclusion we can reach is that the results of America's ethnic experiment are not in; and we cannot predict exactly what they will be. The way things seem today will no doubt be only part of the story decades from now.

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.

Mariano Alicea is a thirty-nine-year-old Puerto Rican who comes from a family of twelve children. Some of his older brothers and sisters immigrated to the mainland in the early 1950s, and his father followed with the rest of the family in 1955. After two years in Yonkers, New York, and New York City, Mr. Alicea and most of the family moved back to Puerto Rico. He returned to New York about a year later and stayed with an older brother. He finished high school in Newark and went to college in Tennessee. He now teaches in a bilingual program in Vineland, Cumberland County. He is married and has three children.

Mildred Arnold, an Afro-American, is the oldest of the nine children of Edward and Minnie Mack. She was born December 23, 1913, in the town of North, South Carolina, where her father was a sharecropper. When she was ten her father moved to Newark to become a construction worker. With her mother and four younger siblings, Mrs. Arnold joined

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

him a few months later, and she has lived in Newark ever since. She left school in the eighth grade and worked briefly as a domestic. She married Joseph Arnold in 1932 and had three daughters. She was divorced in 1944. Mrs. Arnold was the first black woman hired by Celanese, for which she worked during World War II. She spent twenty-five years with a catering business, and then taught for ten years in a day-care program. She retired in 1978. Meanwhile, in 1967, she returned to school at night. She has obtained her high-school diploma and is working toward an associate's degree at Essex County College.

Harry Blomgren was born in 1909. His parents came to this country from Sweden around 1900 and married here, but his mother returned to Sweden to give birth to him. Harry and his mother stayed there until 1913, then rejoined his father, who was in Plainfield, Union County. Mr. Blomgren spent another year in Sweden when he was twelve. He left school in the eighth grade to work. He has held jobs in a plumbing company, a botanical nursery and a defense plant. Married in 1934, he has two children. He lives in Plainfield.

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.

Jane Brostovski was born in 1930 near Lwow in eastern Poland (now in the Soviet Union). She was one of six children of a large landowning family that was uprooted several times during World War II. They were deported to Siberia when the Soviet Union occupied eastern Poland in 1940, but they were released in 1941 after the Germans invaded Russia. Mrs. Brostovski's father joined Polish forces fighting with the Allies and was killed in battle in Italy. The rest of the family spent a year in a refugee camp in Iran. After that they settled in a British camp in India. In 1947 a Polish order of nuns sent Mrs. Brostovski and a group of other girls to a Catholic orphanage school in Pennsylvania. She graduated from Chestnut Hill College, received a permanent visa, brought her mother, brother and four sisters to live in this country, and married an architectural designer who was a fellow Polish war refugee. After a year and a half with the Prudential Insurance Company she became

a full-time housewife and raised four children. She has been a widow since 1972. She lives in Colonia, Middlesex County.

Alfred E. Brown, a sixty-two-year-old Jew, was born in Philadelphia, where his father operated an automobile body shop. Mr. Brown played in dance bands and held various other jobs to pay for his studies at the Pennsylvania College of Optometry and LaSalle College. He has practiced optometry in Philadelphia and in Merchantville, Camden County. In 1948 he married Eleanor Shivers Lockland, an Irish Catholic who had a son from a previous marriage. The Browns later adopted a girl. Dr. Brown lives in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Frances Campione, sixty, was brought to this country from Agira, Sicily, when she was sixteen months old. She grew up in Newark with two siblings. She has three children and two grandchildren. She has visited Italy four times since 1971. She lives in Freehold, Monmouth County.

(Mrs. Campione's mother, Rose Grasso, was interviewed for this project as well.)

Louise Coulter, a fifty-eight-year-old Italian, is the third of four children of Angelo Cardana, a baker, and his wife, Palmeira. The Cardanas spent thirteen years in the United States and had their first two children here, but went back to Italy before Mrs. Coulter was born. Members of the family started returning to this country in 1929. Mrs. Coulter and her mother and younger brother came when she was fourteen. She lived in New York City for thirteen years, finishing the ninth grade and going to work in a women's clothing factory. In 1949 she married and moved to Vineland, Cumberland County. She and her husband have four children. They live in Vineland.

Lucy DeRosa was born in 1907 in New York City, one of six children of an Italian immigrant couple. She grew up in New York and Jersey City. She completed high school and worked as a clerk for the Western Electric Company and the Lackawanna Railroad. At twenty-four she married Frank DeRosa, an Italian immigrant who owned a butcher shop. The DeRosas have three children. They live in Jersey City.

Frank Enseki, a sixty-nine-year-old Japanese, was born and raised in Hawaii. There were seven children in the family, and he left school at fifteen to help support them by working as a carpenter trainee. He visited Los Angeles for the 1932 Olympic Games and then settled in Pasadena, where he started as a fruit store employee and eventually

owned a produce store. He married in 1939. During World War II he was held with his wife and two children in an internment camp at Mansazar, California. Before he was released he worked for a wartime food agency in Idaho. After the war the family moved to Seabrook, Cumberland County, and Mr. Enseki worked at Seabrook Farms until 1976. He lives in Bridgeton with his wife.

Jose Feliciano, a twenty-one-year-old Puerto Rican, came to the mainland with his mother and brother in 1972. His father, who had moved earlier, was a social worker with the Newark Board of Education. Mr. Feliciano has a bachelor's degree in psychology from Montclair State College and is a social worker for the Essex County Welfare Board. He lives with his parents in Belleville, Essex County.

Anna Erin Screen Forsman was born in 1922 in Menlough, County Galway, Ireland, to a couple that had immigrated to the United States, married here, and then returned to Ireland. The family came back to America when Mrs. Forsman was nearly four. They spent six years in the Bronx and one in Manhattan, then moved to Brooklyn, where she finished school. She married John Forsman, a commercial fisherman from Sea Bright, Monmouth County, in 1948. They had seven children. Mrs. Forsman lives in Lincroft, Monmouth County.

Dora Friedman was born in 1912 into a large Jewish manufacturing family in Lodz, Poland. She married at seventeen. During World War II most of the family were sent to concentration camps. Liberated in 1945, Mrs. Friedman and her husband lived in displaced-persons camps in Germany until 1951, when they came to this country. After several months with relatives in Philadelphia they moved to New Jersey to raise chickens. Mrs. Friedman lives in Freehold, Monmouth County.

Kelly Hanzawa, a twenty-one-year-old Japanese, was born in Bridgeton, Cumberland County. Her family has lived in the area since the end of World War II, when her grandparents were released from detention camps and hired by Seabrook Farms. Her father worked for Seabrook Farms at one time, and her mother is a registered nurse at Bridgeton Hospital. Miss Hanzawa, a graduate of Bridgeton High School, attends Rutgers University.

Orlando Hubbard, an eighty-four-year-old Afro-American, was born in Washington, D.C., and grew up in Greenville County, Virginia. His father was a farmer. When Mr. Hubbard was in the fourth grade his mother

died, and he left school to help support his eight brothers and sisters. He worked as a railroad and steel-mill laborer at various places in the North and South. He married and had three children, and around 1930 he settled in Plainfield, Union County, where he found work as a construction laborer. From 1942 until he retired he was a mail handler. He lives in Plainfield.

Ada M. Hunter, a native of Scotland, was born in 1906. She was one of ten children. When she was about six months old the family immigrated to Canada, where her father went to work for the DuPont Company. He died when she was nine, and eventually she quit school to work. In 1922 the family came to Paulsboro, Gloucester County, to join some of her brothers and sisters who had settled there. She worked in an ice-cream parlor, was a nurse's helper and student at a mental hospital, and worked for a doctor in Paulsboro. She married William Hunter, a farmer, in 1924. During the next nineteen years they had ten children. A widow, Mrs. Hunter lives in Pitman, Gloucester County.

Samuel Ichinaga, whose parents were Japanese immigrants, was born in 1908 in Fresno, California. His father was a dairy farmer. Mr. Ichinaga, the fourth of five children, left school in the ninth grade to help support the family by working in a vineyard. He saved money and bought a gas station with one of his brothers. He was married in 1934. In 1941 poor health forced him to give up his business and take a job in a plant nursery. He was sent to a detention camp in Jerome, Arkansas, with his wife and three children in 1942. They moved from there to Seabrook, Cumberland County, in 1945, and Mr. Ichinaga worked for Seabrook Farms until retiring. He lives with his wife in Bridgeton, Cumberland County.

Mary Arshelus Adanatzian Ingram, fifty-nine, is the daughter of Armenian immigrants. She was born and raised in Newark. She finished high school, attended the University of Newark (now Rutgers-Newark), did clerical work, was a union organizer, and held jobs at Western Electric and Bell Telephone. She married Samuel David Ingram in 1947 and helped him operate an auto repair business until his health failed. They spent three years on a dairy farm in upstate New York. In 1954 they returned to Newark, where Mrs. Ingram opened a decorating and antique shop. They were divorced in 1965, and Mrs. Ingram bought a shop in West Orange, Essex County. She lives in West Orange, where she has been active in civic affairs, working especially with young people.

Gilda Karu, a twenty-eight-year-old Estonian, was born in Oceanport, Monmouth County. She was raised in Neptune, Monmouth County, and Lakewood, Ocean County. She has a political science degree from Vassar College and works for the Food and Nutrition Division of the United States Department of Agriculture in Allentown, Monmouth County. Active in the work of the Estonian-American National Council, she has visited Estonia. She lives in Lakewood.

Mary Kenny was born in 1938 in Killkenny, Ireland. She was the second of nine children. Her father sold insurance and operated a family grocery store. After high school she worked in a furniture store. In 1961 she moved to New York to marry a hometown friend who had come to the United States. Her husband works in the brokerage business on Wall Street; she also worked there until her first child was born. Since 1966 the Kennys have lived in Hazlet, Monmouth County, with their four daughters.

Tamara Kolba was born in Byelorussia. Her father, an anti-Soviet activist, moved the family out of Byelorussia to escape advancing Russian troops in 1944. They lived in a displaced-persons camp* in Germany from 1945 to 1950 and then came to the United States. They lived in New York City, upstate New York, and New Brunswick, Middlesex County. Miss Kolba received a B.A. from Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, in 1954 and an M.F.A. in art from Columbia University in 1956. A professional artist, she lives in Tinton Falls, Monmouth County.

Alexis Kozak, forty-four, is part of a Russian family that lost its home during World War II, went to Germany, and eventually moved to the United States. The family stayed on a farm in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for about six months and then moved to Millville, Cumberland County, where some friends had settled. Before Mr. Kozak finished his education, his father died. Over the next five years Mr. Kozak worked to help support the family, going to school when he could. He served in the army from 1957 to 1959 and then attended Trenton State College. He and his wife, who is also Russian, have two sons and live in Vineland, Cumberland County.

Mary Lanko, a Ukrainian, was born in 1908 near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. She is one of ten children of a coal miner. She left high school in her junior year and found a job as a waitress. Married in 1932 to Michael Lanko, a powder-mill worker, she has three children. The family moved to Millville, Cumberland County, in 1952, and Mrs.

Lanko worked at an auto glass factory there for seventeen years. She is a widow and lives in Millville.

John Lopez was born in Castro, Spain, in 1921. His father, who moved to the United States alone and became a naturalized citizen, worked on a dairy farm in Plainsboro, Middlesex County. The rest of the family joined him when John was six. John graduated from nearby Princeton High School, worked briefly as a laborer on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and then spent twenty years as a navy pilot. His tour of duty ended at the naval air station at Lakehurst, Ocean County. After earning a degree at Trenton State College, he taught industrial arts at Trenton High School. Married in 1950, he has three children. He teaches in Point Pleasant, Ocean County, and lives with his wife in Toms River, Ocean County.

Rose Lynch was born in 1906 in Dublin, Ireland, one of fourteen children. She left school at fourteen to work in a jam factory. When she was twenty-one she immigrated to the United States to join a brother who had settled in Manhattan. She worked as a meat processor and then as a hotel chambermaid. In 1928 she married a fellow Irish immigrant, Patrick Lynch, and settled in Brooklyn. They have two children. Early in the Great Depression Mr. Lynch returned to Ireland to look for work, but he came back in 1932. Shortly thereafter they settled in Harrison, Hudson County, where they both went to work for a metal company.

George Naumchyk, forty-three, moved from his native Byelorussia to Germany with his parents and older brother when World War II began. After the war the family lived in a displaced-persons camp until 1950, when they immigrated to the United States. They settled in New Jersey. After high school Mr. Naumchyk learned printing at a vocational school and spent two years in the army. He works in quality control for the National Can Company. He and his wife, who is also a Byelorussian, live in South River, Middlesex County, with their two daughters.

Julia I. Oldfield, fifty-eight, was born in New York City to James and Caroline Vistalis soon after they arrived from their native Hungary. A few years later her father, a shoemaker, had to change occupations for medical reasons; he worked as a bricklayer for a while and then became a cabinet maker for the Steinway Piano Company. Julia married Edwin Oldfield a few years after high school, and has been a housewife ever since. Her husband is a flight inspector for the Federal Aviation Administration. They live in Lincroft, Monmouth County.

Sunako Oye, fifty-seven, was born in Salinas, California. Her parents, who were Japanese immigrants, started as farm laborers, but eventually her father opened a clothing store. Mrs. Oye finished one year of junior college. The family lost the store when they were sent to an internment camp in 1942. Unable to return to school after her release, Mrs. Oye moved to Philadelphia in 1944 and worked with the American Friends Service Committee. Three years later she married Ted Oye, a watchmaker. They have a daughter and a son. They live in Seabrook, Cumberland County.

Ho Park, thirty-two, was born and raised in Seoul, Korea. He graduated from college, spent four years in the Korean marines, and served for four years as a minister of the Korean Methodist church. His wife immigrated to this country by herself, and he joined her in 1978. After a year with a Korean church in New York City he became an army chaplain. He is stationed at Fort Monmouth, and his wife is a nurse at Monmouth Medical Center. They live in Eatontown, Monmouth County, with their two children.

Delores Polisano, born in 1929, was born and raised in Morocco, where her parents had gone from their native Italy several years earlier. She married an American soldier in 1945 and came to the United States as a war bride a year later, when she was seventeen. They lived with her husband's mother in East Orange, Essex County, for four years, then bought a farm near Jamesburg, Middlesex County, and lived there for a number of years. They had ten children. Mrs. Polisano moved back to East Orange when her mother-in-law became ill, and her husband joined some of their sons, who were grooming race horses in Pennsylvania. When her mother-in-law died Mrs. Polisano moved to Freehold, Monmouth County, to live with her oldest daughter. She is a pricer and wrapper in a meat market.

Bienvenida A. Reyes, a twenty-nine-year-old Panamanian, was the second of six children of a farmer and a schoolteacher. She was raised in the Canal Zone by an aunt who had married an American soldier. In 1968 they came to Vineland, Cumberland County, where she finished high school. She has two children by her first husband, a Cuban to whom she was married for four years. A graduate of Glassboro State College, she has taught second and third grades and now teaches in a bilingual program. She lives in Vineland with her sons and her second husband, who is a Puerto Rican.

Maria Rosario, twenty-two, was born in Puerto Rico, one of twelve children. She and her family came to the United States when she was fourteen. They spent five years in New York, then moved to Perth Amboy, Middlesex County. After high school Miss Rosario moved to Newark, where she had relatives. She attended Essex County College for a year, and later became a secretary there.

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.

Aileen Fong Shane, a fifty-three-year-old Chinese, was born in Newark, where her father operated a restaurant. When she was five she and her mother and younger brother visited her grandparents in China. After high school Mrs. Shane attended Barnard College and earned a degree from the Newark College of Engineering (now the New Jersey Institute of Technology). She has worked for an aeronautics company in Caldwell, Essex County, and an automotive testing laboratory in Newark and is now with the Army Research and Development Command in Dover, Morris County. She lives in Sparta, Sussex County. Her husband, Harold Shane, is the son of Russian Jewish immigrants. The Shanes have two children.

Paul G. Shane was born in 1935 in New York City, the son of second-generation Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine. His father came to this country at age six and his mother was born here. Mr. Shane finished high school in New York City. He received a B.A. from Cornell University and earned an M.S. in social work from Columbia University. He served in the army for two years. In the early 1970s he attended Johns Hopkins University, receiving a master's degree in public health and a Ph.D. He is an associate professor of social work at Rutgers University, Newark, and lives in South Orange.

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.

Juhan Simonson, born in 1933, moved to Germany with his family in 1944 to escape the Russian reoccupation of Estonia, his native country. The family lived in refugee camps from the end of World War II until 1950, when they came to the United States. For about a year Mr. Simonson's father worked as a farmhand and his mother as a domestic worker for the Pennsylvania farmer who had sponsored them; then they moved to Seabrook, Cumberland County, to work for Seabrook Farms. Mr. Simonson finished Bridgeton High School, majored in urban planning at Rutgers, and earned an M.A. at the University of Pennsylvania. He has worked in planning and is now coordinator of the state Office of Ethnic Affairs. He lives with his wife, who is also an Estonian, and their family in Lakewood, Ocean County. He is the president of the Estonian-American National Council.

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.

Harvey Teicher was born in 1919 in Brooklyn, the son of Jewish immigrants. When he was about a year old his family moved to Newark. After high school he worked as a stock boy and attended night college classes, earning an undergraduate degree. He has been an accountant and a controller. He lives in Matawan, Monmouth County, with his wife of forty-three years.

(The immigration memories of Mr. Teicher's father, Max Teicher, are featured in Volumes 1, 2, and 3 of this series. These narratives were drawn from tapes Mr. Teicher donated to the series at the request of Leah Lifshitz, who participated in the project as both an interviewer and an interviewee.)

Nejat Unalp, forty-seven, was born in Adana, Turkey. He was one of three sons of a government tobacco expert. He attended military schools and became an officer in the Turkish air force. In 1955, while he was being trained to fly jet fighters in San Antonio, Texas, he met and married an American. He resigned his commission, took a job with a chemical firm, and settled in Branchville, Sussex County, near his in-laws. Later he lived in Baltimore, where he worked for IBM and instructed student pilots for the army. Eventually he became a pilot with United Airlines. He lives in Sparta, Sussex County.

Emanuel Vastardis, forty-six, is a Greek. At thirteen he went to work as a merchant seaman. He sailed to the United States several times, and when he was about nineteen he settled in New York City. He worked as a restaurant cook, held a variety of other jobs, and opened a restaurant in New York in 1958. Since then he has operated several other restaurants, including one in Hazlet, Monmouth County. He and his wife, a former schoolmate from Greece, have three children. They live in Hazlet.

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.

Edite Virkus was born in 1934 in Liepaja, Latvia. She and her family migrated to Germany in 1944 to escape the Russian reoccupation of their country, and they came to the United States in 1950. They settled in Ballston Spa, New York, where Mrs. Virkus finished high school and worked for a few years. After graduating from a business school she worked in Albany and New York City. She is married to Juri Virkus, an Estonian, and has two children. They have lived in Englishtown, Monmouth County, since 1971. She is a realtor.

Juri Virkus was born in 1933 in Estonia. The Soviets deported his father during their first occupation of the country early in World War II. When they reoccupied it in 1944 his two older brothers decided to stay, but his mother fled to Germany with Juri and his younger sister. In 1949 they came to this country from a refugee camp in Germany. While Mr.

Virkus was growing up they lived in the Catskill Mountains of New York, in Belleville, Essex County, and on Long Island. Mr. Virkus served in the army and graduated from a Massachusetts college. He is married to Edite Virkus, a Latvian, and has two children. They have lived in Englishtown, Monmouth County, since 1971.

Doris Walker, an Afro-American, was born in 1942 in Middlesex, North Carolina. She was the oldest of three children. She completed high school, worked until 1962, and then moved to Newark. She has worked there in a jewelry store, a toy factory, and a children's clothing factory. Married in 1972, she has four children. She and her husband live in Newark, where she attends Essex County College.

Alice Wong, forty-two, was born in China. Her father, a general in the Nationalist army, took the family to Taiwan when the government fell in 1949. Mrs. Wong finished college in Taiwan and moved to the United States in 1959. She earned a master's degree from Southern Illinois University, studied microbiology at Rutgers University, and received her doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1963 she married a fellow Berkeley graduate student, Ching Chong Wong. He works at the Merck Institute in Rahway, Union County; Mrs. Wong is a postdoctoral fellow at Rutgers. The Wongs have two children and live in Watchung, Somerset 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.

Armenians. Armenia is a country in northeast Asia Minor which is today divided among Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union. Most Armenian immigration to the United States took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Armenians, who were Christian from early times, kept their civilization intact for centuries despite frequent invasions from Asia. But by the end of the sixteenth century most of the kingdom had come under foreign rule. The bulk had been conquered by the Turks, though Russia and Persia (now Iran) controlled small portions of it. The Christian Armenians occupied an uneasy position in the Moslem empire, although they were allowed to own land. Most were peasants or craftsmen.

During the nineteenth century the Armenians began to develop a nationalist movement. It strengthened in the 1890s, and the Turkish government responded with harsh oppression. Conflict grew until 1915, when more than a million Armenians were exterminated.

After World War I the survivors established a small republic in one corner of their original homeland. It was absorbed by the Soviet Union in 1920.

During the 1890s Armenians began moving to various parts of the world to escape Turkish persecution. About one hundred thousand came to the United States before 1924. A few of these came from Russian Armenia between 1898 and 1914.

Most of the first immigrants were men who took low-paying jobs in factories and lived in boardinghouses nearby. Many sent part of their wages back to their families in Armenia. In the mid-1890s growing

numbers of women began to immigrate. At the end of World War I about two-thirds of the arrivals were women and children.

Most Armenians started as unskilled laborers, finding jobs in the iron, steel, textile, footwear and rubber industries. Many eventually opened groceries, meat markets, shoe-repair or tailor shops, and other small businesses.

Nearly all Armenian immigrants belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, which has been independent of both the Catholic and Orthodox churches since the sixth century. The church, an important part of Armenian life in this country, is the major guardian of Armenian language, culture and identity.

Before 1920 most Armenians settled in cities in New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Smaller communities were established in many midwestern cities. The only large agricultural community was in the vicinity of Fresno, California.

After 1920 immigrating Armenians tended to bypass the Northeast for the employment opportunities of the Midwest. But the restrictive immigration laws of the early 1920s slowed Armenian immigration, and it did not resume until after World War II. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 permitted about 4,500 Armenian refugees to enter from the Soviet Union. More immigrated between 1951 and 1965, most of them Palestinian Armenians displaced by the Arab-Israeli conflict. After 1965, when the Immigration and Nationality Act abolished national quotas, Armenians from Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union moved to the United States.

Most of New Jersey's Armenians have settled in northern cities, especially Hackensack, Paterson, Roselle Park, Newark and West Hoboken (now Union City). New Jersey ranks fourth in Armenian population, behind California, Massachusetts and New York.

Byelorussians. The Byelorussians (White Russians) are a Slavic people from an area in northwestern Russia. Byelorussia became an independent country in 1918 but was absorbed by the newly created Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1919. Many Byelorussians took part in the massive central and eastern European migration of 1861-1914. Most were peasants caught in the economic squeeze of late nineteenth-century Europe: there was not enough land for everyone to farm, and there were not enough industrial jobs to absorb the extra people. We do not know exactly how many Byelorussians arrived, because immigration and census officials lumped them together with Russians and Poles, but there were probably about 100,000. Most came after 1880.

A second wave of Byelorussians has immigrated since 1920, mostly after 1945. Unlike the first group, these immigrants are professionals, artisans and skilled workers who feel a strong ethnic identity. This group constitutes most of today's identifiable Byelorussian community of 200,000.

Both waves settled in the industrial regions of Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. In New Jersey most of the earlier wave settled in Bayonne, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Passaic and Paterson, with small rural communities in Hunterdon County and the Egg Harbor-Hammonton-Vineland area. Later immigrants have settled in the same cities and in Elizabeth, New Brunswick, South River and Trenton as well.

Chinese. The Chinese constitute the largest Asian group in the United States. The 1980 census shows more than 890,000. They immigrated in three waves.

The first began soon after gold was discovered in California in 1848. More than three hundred thousand arrived between 1850 and 1882. Most settled in California. Except for a few merchants and craftsmen, they were unskilled laborers and peasants. Many took construction jobs on the Central Pacific portion of the transcontinental railroad. Others mined quicksilver, coal or borax. Chinese also worked in agriculture, canning, and the cigar, textile, shoe and garment industries of California and the Pacific Northwest. Some operated laundries, restaurants or factories.

An intense anti-Chinese mood developed in the country, and in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. This law, which forbade the entry of Chinese laborers, stopped Chinese immigration for about sixty years. The Chinese who were already here suffered severe discrimination, especially on the West Coast. They had to go to segregated schools, theaters, hotels and restaurants; they could not own land in many areas; and large numbers had to work in service occupations — as domestic servants or restaurant and laundry helpers — because well-paid jobs were closed to them.

The second period of immigration began after World War II. The Exclusion Act was repealed during the war as a friendly gesture to the Chinese government, which was an ally of the United States. The discriminatory laws were overturned soon after. Most of the Chinese immigrants in the second wave were Chiang Kai-shek supporters who were fleeing Mao Tse-tung and the Communist revolution of 1949. They tended to be well-educated and prosperous.

The third wave of immigration from China has taken place since the

late 1970s. Nearly 40 percent of all immigrants to the United States in this period have been Asian, and many of these are from China and Taiwan. The third wave is relatively prosperous and well-educated, partly because the present immigration laws give preference to members of the medical, scientific, and other professions.

Many Chinese still work in service occupations. However, unskilled and non-English-speaking Chinese women are now likelier to be garment workers than domestic servants; in fact, Chinese women workers, along with many from Latin America, are enabling the textile and garment industry in metropolitan New York to undergo a small revival. Chinese are also moving increasingly into technical or professional jobs, especially in the sciences, technology and engineering.

Before 1930 the Chinese in New Jersey were concentrated around Newark. Today the state's twenty-five thousand first-generation Chinese are widely dispersed. New Jersey ranks behind California, New York, Hawaii, Texas and Illinois in the size of its Chinese population.

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.

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.

Hungarians. The Hungarians, or Magyars, are closer ethnically to the Finns, Estonians and Lapps of distant northern Europe than to their neighbors in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and the Ukraine. There are perhaps one million persons of Hungarian descent in this country, but this figure is imprecise because national boundaries have shifted and immigration and census officials have been inconsistent. Hungarians were part of the wave of immigration from central and eastern Europe that lasted from the 1880s to World War I. Between 1899 and 1914 about 460,000 immigrated. Hungarians struggling to overcome debt, high taxes and irregular employment found the expanding economy of the industrial United States attractive.

These immigrants were drawn to northern Illinois and Indiana, eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, where they could work in coal mining and the steel industry. Chicago, Cleveland, New York and Pittsburgh also acquired large Hungarian populations. Many

Hungarian immigrants settled in New Jersey before World War I, especially in New Brunswick and Passaic. Hungarians also settled in Elizabeth, Irvington, Jersey City, Linden, Manville, Perth Amboy, South River, Trenton, Woodbridge, and elsewhere.

In later years Hungarian immigrants settled in the same places. About 60,000 have entered this country since World War II. The first 25,000 arrived just after the war as displaced persons or as refugees from Hungary's new Communist regime. The remaining 35,000 were among the 200,000 who fled Hungary after the failure of the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

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.

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.

Japanese. One of America's largest Asian ethnic groups is the Japanese. In 1980 there were 791,000 people of Japanese descent in the United States.

Significant immigration began in the 1890s to supply cheap labor in agriculture, railroad building, mining and other industries. In 1890 there were twelve thousand in Hawaii and three thousand on the mainland, mostly in California. In 1920 there were 220,000 in the country; half of these, mostly first-generation immigrants, were on the mainland,

particularly on the West Coast. In all, nearly 300,000 entered the country between 1891 and 1924, but some remigrated.

The Japanese faced considerable racial hostility. Discriminatory laws denied citizenship to first-generation Japanese and limited their property rights severely. In 1924 they and other alien groups were denied entry altogether.

In the early 1940s, after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, there was a wave of hysteria against the Japanese on the West Coast. More than 110,000 (of whom two-thirds had been born here and were therefore American citizens) were unconstitutionally confined in concentration camps on the allegation that they posed a threat to national security. Hawaiian Japanese were not detained.

New Jersey had few Japanese until the end of World War II, when 3,000 people from the detention camps accepted jobs at Seabrook Farms in the southern part of the state. This was the only concentration of Japanese on the East Coast. Japanese immigration resumed in the 1970s. The 1980 census reported that there were approximately 10,000 Japanese in New Jersey.

Jews. The Jewish ethnic group is unusual because its 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. They have come for the same kind of reasons as many other groups. They want to find economic opportunity, to live less austere than at home, or to avoid military duty and war. Half of these immigrants, 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.

The other recent Jewish immigrant group is from the Soviet Union. About 130,000 have arrived, mostly 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.

Koreans. Large-scale Korean immigration to the United States is recent. Between 1972 and 1980, Korea, like other Asian countries and many Latin American ones, sent many legal immigrants to the United States.

The only long-established Korean community in the United States is in Hawaii. It began in 1903–1905, when about 7,200 Koreans were recruited to work on sugar plantations. Korea became a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and after 1907 the United States required immigrating Koreans to have Japanese passports. Later the United States and Japan formulated the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which limited Japanese immigration; after that, few Koreans entered the United States until Korea became independent at the end of World War II. Between 1952 and 1965 about 21,000 Koreans arrived. Almost all of them were refugees, orphans, war brides or children of U.S. servicemen.

It became easier for Asians to immigrate after 1965, when the United States liberalized its immigration policy. The 1980 census recorded 377,000 Koreans in the country. Most of these have entered since 1965.

Korean immigrants have used two special provisions of the 1965 law to their advantage. One provision favors people seeking advanced training, another gives preference to families wishing to be reunited. Many Koreans

entered the country as advanced students, became permanent residents, and then secured admission for their families under the reunification provision.

Most Koreans have settled in large metropolitan areas. In the late 1970s Los Angeles was home to half the Koreans in the United States. Chicago, Honolulu, San Francisco and Seattle also have large communities. New Jersey has Korean communities near New York City in the north and Philadelphia in the south.

Latvians. Latvians are a small ethnic group; fewer than 100,000 persons of Latvian descent live here. Latvia, a Baltic country, is one of the fifteen republics of the Soviet Union. For most of its history Latvia has been controlled by Swedes, Poles, Germans or Russians. It was independent from 1918 until 1940, when the Soviet Union invaded it. The Germans occupied it during World War II, and the Soviets annexed it afterwards.

Although immigration officials identified some Latvians as Russians, Germans or Scandinavians, we know that fewer than five thousand lived in the United States before 1900. Latvians began to arrive in appreciable numbers after the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905. Most of the early immigrants settled in large eastern and midwestern cities and found employment as construction workers, mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, engineers and foremen.

About ten thousand Latvians arrived between 1905 and World War II. Half of these came before the outbreak of World War I. The rate of immigration was lower after 1914 because of the war, immigration restrictions, and the Depression.

A few of the Latvian immigrants of this period were well-educated political refugees. Most began life in the United States as unskilled workers in factories, packing houses, mills, foundries, and shops. Gradually they moved into semiskilled and skilled work. Some bought property or invested in small businesses such as boarding houses, delicatessens, funeral parlors, tailor shops, restaurants and real estate agencies.

The latest and largest wave of Latvian immigrants moved to escape Nazi and Soviet oppression. More than forty thousand entered the United States between 1939 and 1951, most after 1945. These were well-educated immigrants with a strong sense of cultural identity. Like the earlier immigrants they gravitated to cities and became unskilled workers. Most eventually resumed their old professions or began new ones.

More Latvian men have immigrated than women. About half have married outside the group.

Major areas of Latvian settlement include Boston, Chicago, Cleveland,

Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The largest concentrations are in New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey. In New Jersey most Latvians settled in East Orange, Elizabeth, Lakewood, Newark, New Brunswick, Seabrook and, in the early twentieth century, the seashore town of Lavallette.

Panamanians. Panama, the isthmus connecting North and South America, is the southernmost country in Central America. Panamanians, like other Central Americans, have immigrated fairly recently. The 1940 census reported only seven thousand immigrants from Central America. By 1970 about 38,000 had come to the United States from Panama alone; the only Central American country with more representatives was Honduras. In 1980 there were 45,000 Panamanians here.

Panamanians resemble immigrants from other Central American countries in certain ways. Between 30 and 40 percent are professional and white-collar workers; 15 to 20 percent are domestic servants; less than 5 percent are agricultural or industrial laborers. Panamanians have gravitated to the Gulf Coast and the cities of the East Coast. Like most other Hispanic immigrants, they are of working or child-bearing age. More Panamanian women have immigrated than men.

New Jersey has the fifth largest Panamanian population, ranking behind New York, California, Florida and Texas. Most of New Jersey's Panamanians live in the New York metropolitan area.

Poles. The more than five million Americans of Polish descent are one of the country's largest ethnic groups.

Although there have been Poles here since the early seventeenth century, large numbers did not arrive until the mid-nineteenth century. About 2.5 million came during the mass migration from central and eastern Europe of 1850-1920. Most were from Polish lands that had been seized by Germany, Austria and Russia in the eighteenth century. Those from German-held territories came mainly before 1890. Most Austrian Poles came after 1890, most Russian Poles after 1900.

Early Polish emigrants were usually political exiles, but in the nineteenth century most had economic motives. Eastern Europe was still heavily agricultural. There was very little industry, and land represented security. But the population was increasing, the agricultural economy was slumping, and small farms were being gathered into larger and more efficient estates; as a result, many peasants had to leave the land. Some found work in mining and industry, but many emigrated.

There were also religious reasons. Many nineteenth-century Poles

emigrated to escape the "Kulturkampf" (literally, "culture struggle"), which was a German campaign to weaken the Catholic Church in territory the Germans controlled.

Poles have continued to come here since World War I, though in smaller numbers. Poland was politically turbulent between 1920 and 1950, there was internal chaos in the 1920s, the Germans occupied the country during World War II, and a communist regime took power after the Russians drove the Germans out. During this period 260,000 Poles came to the United States.

Arriving Polish immigrants knew a good deal about their new country, largely because earlier immigrants had written them in Poland. They settled in the rapidly expanding urban and industrial centers of the Middle Atlantic and Midwest, where the mills, foundries, slaughterhouses and mines offered employment. The largest Polish community developed in Chicago. Other major communities grew up in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Omaha, St. Louis and Toledo.

In New Jersey, Poles settled mainly in the urban-industrial belt of Passaic, Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Union and Middlesex counties. Bayonne, Camden, Elizabeth, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and Trenton all have sizeable Polish communities.

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.

Russians. Immigration statistics for Russians are imprecise because the term has been used so loosely. *Russian* is an umbrella term covering various ethnic groups from the Russian Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Ethnic Russians probably make up less than 20 percent of the total Russian immigration.

Unlike other eastern European groups, ethnic Russians first entered this country from the west. Russian fur traders and seal hunters arrived in Alaska in the early eighteenth century as the Russian Empire expanded eastward. The Russians established several forts in Alaska in the early nineteenth century, but the Russian government finally decided the colony was a losing proposition and sold the territory to the United States. Half of the colonists returned home. The rest stayed in Alaska or moved down the coast to California.

Most Russians, however, arrived on the East Coast. Large-scale Russian immigration can be divided into three periods. The first, from around 1880 to the outbreak of World War I, was part of the great emigration from Eastern Europe. The second ran from 1920 to 1940 and consisted of refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution and subsequent civil wars. The third wave, made up largely of people displaced by World War II, came between 1945 and 1955.

It is difficult to establish how many people of Russian descent there are in the United States, but recent census and church records suggest about half a million. Most immigrants before 1920 were peasants and unskilled laborers who found work in coal mines, iron and steel mills, meatpacking houses and clothing or textile factories. Later immigrants tended to be better educated and to have some technical or professional skills.

Religion is an important part of the ethnic identity of many Russian immigrants. There are three major Russian Orthodox churches, which differ in their relations with the Soviet Union and the official church hierarchy in Moscow. All three work to maintain ethnic identity through instruction in Russian culture and language as well as religion.

Most Russians settled in the East or Midwest. Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York City, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have large Russian communities. On the West Coast the largest settlements are in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

In New Jersey, Russians settled in the industrial areas around Elizabeth, Jersey City, Manville, Newark, Paterson, Perth Amboy and Trenton before World War I. In the 1920s and 1930s many went to agricultural areas like the Lakewood-Cassville area. Since 1950 many Russians have settled around Millville, Vineland and Mays Landing.

Scots. Scots are one of the largest American ethnic groups; the 1980 census recorded more than ten million people of Scottish descent. There were Scots in New Jersey and South Carolina as early as the seventeenth century. Probably most early Scottish immigrants were Highlanders, and many were transported criminals or religious and political refugees.

Scots began to arrive in large numbers around 1850. Most were textile workers, iron and steel workers, masons and miners from the industrialized Lowlands. Scotland suffered continuing economic depression during much of the nineteenth century, and many Scots emigrated. Most went to Canada until 1870, after which most came to the United States. Altogether between the 1850s and World War I nearly 480,000 Scots moved here.

Immigration dropped during World War I but resurged sharply afterward. Severe unemployment, particularly in textiles and heavy industry, drove nearly 160,000 Scots to come to America during the 1920s. During the Great Depression, however, Scots stopped immigrating and many returned home.

Economic conditions in Scotland improved, and immigration to the United States never grew large again. Since 1950 some Scots have emigrated, but relatively few have come to this country.

The overwhelming majority of Scottish immigrants were Presbyterian. Scots helped establish the Presbyterian church in America and took it wherever they settled.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Scottish immigrants settled in the Mid-Atlantic area, the South, and to a lesser extent, New England. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they have settled in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states, as well as in the Midwest and on the Pacific Coast.

The largest numbers of people of Scottish birth or parentage in 1980 were in California, Texas and Pennsylvania. New Jersey ranked thirteenth. The Scots in New Jersey have clustered in the northern urban centers of Essex, Hudson, Passaic and Union counties.

Spaniards. Although Spain was the first European nation to establish

colonies in the Americas, relatively few Spaniards have immigrated to the United States. Next to the masses of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, they are easily overlooked. For one thing, immigration officials have grouped the Spanish with Central and South American immigrants as "other persons of Spanish origin."

About 250,000 Spaniards have come directly to the United States from Spain since 1820, when immigration records were first kept. Probably most of them left to escape poverty and civil conflict.

Half the immigrants arrived during the great influx of southern and eastern Europeans between 1900 and 1920. After Congress restricted immigration, the number of Spaniards in the United States declined; it rose in the early 1950s. Between 1899 and 1952, 57 percent of Spaniards either returned to Spain or moved on to another country. About 94,000 Spaniards now live in this country.

Unlike most other southern or eastern Europe immigrants, many Spaniards have been professionals, white-collar workers or skilled craftsmen. Until 1890, most Spaniards settled in the New York City metropolitan area or the states of California and Louisiana. Since the 1890s large numbers have gone to Florida, which now has the largest Spanish population. The Spanish community in New Jersey is in the New York metropolitan area.

Swedes. Swedes have been here since the seventeenth century, but they did not arrive in large numbers until the 1850s. Massive immigration began in the 1860s and continued off and on for almost seventy years. Nearly 1.2 million Swedes arrived between 1851 and 1930. Few have immigrated since the Depression.

Like other groups, Swedes emigrated to escape overpopulation, hunger, and lack of work. The population increased dramatically between 1750 and 1900, leaving many peasants without land; a famine hit in the 1860s; two basic industries, iron and timber, collapsed in the 1880s.

Until the 1890s, most Swedish immigrants were farmers who settled in the Midwest, especially Illinois and Minnesota. One fifth of all Swedes went to Minnesota. In the following decades, however, Swedes settled in California, Massachusetts, Washington and New York. The largest and most important urban communities were in Chicago and Minneapolis, where Swedes worked in the building and fishing industries, the lumber and metal trades, and textile and clothing manufacture.

There were Swedish settlements in southern New Jersey — the present-day counties of Atlantic, Cape May and Gloucester — in the seventeenth

century. Swedish immigrants after 1850 settled in the northern counties of Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Monmouth, Morris and Union. Cape May County still has a large Swedish population.

Turks. Turks are one of America's smaller ethnic groups. The census recorded 65,000 people of Turkish descent in 1980.

Turks began to immigrate around 1820, but not many came until 1860, and most returned home. About 22,000 Turks immigrated between 1899 and 1924, but most of them went back too. Those who remained were mainly illiterate and worked as unskilled laborers. They came for economic reasons, but immigration did not improve things for most of them; generally they traded country poverty in Turkey for city poverty in the United States. Turks who have immigrated since World War II are better educated, and many are in medicine, engineering, and other professions.

Turkish immigrants have settled in or near large cities. New York City has the largest concentration, followed by Chicago. There are smaller communities in other cities. New Jersey's Turks are somewhat dispersed, but there are groups in Asbury Park, Newark, New Brunswick, Orange and Paterson.

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 Ukrainian 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 Ukrainians, 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.

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GLOSSARY

barrio: Spanish for "district." In English the term refers to a Spanish-speaking area in a community.

Canal Zone: The strip of land containing the Panama Canal. The U.S. administered it from 1903 until a new treaty was signed in 1979. The new treaty, which placed the canal under the authority of a joint United States-Panama commission, abolished the Canal Zone as a political entity and returned it to Panamanian control.

Gaelic: A Celtic language of Ireland, the Scottish highlands, and the Isle of Man. Its use has dwindled, though the Irish government is making efforts to encourage its revival.

integration: The mingling of blacks and whites; also the goal of eliminating racial discrimination and segregation from American society.

Jim Crow: Racial segregation. The term, taken from a minstrel-show character of the 1820s, originally meant "black person." Jim Crow laws were used by southern states to keep the black and white races separate after the slaves were freed. The earliest laws segregated public transportation at the end of the Civil War, but eventually there were Jim Crow laws for every aspect of life. The system received its death blow in 1954, when the United States Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional.

Midsummer Night: June 23, the eve of the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. From pre-Christian times Midsummer Night has been celebrated with rituals pertaining to the longest day of the year and to health and fertility. Many of these activities were absorbed into the festival of Saint John, and in central and northeastern Europe some

such as jumping over bonfires to encourage the crops to
live to this day.

A major Baltic port on the Gulf of Finland. It is the capital
a, one of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Anglo-Saxon Protestant: The source of the acronym WASP.
technically refers to an American whose ancestors came from
Europe, especially Britain, and whose religious background
ant. However, it is widely used to refer to any member of
nant American social class.

l, Israel: A British Jewish journalist and author. In his play
ing Pot (1914) Zangwill first used the term "melting pot" to
e process by which immigrants lose their distinctive cultural
take on new ones.