Chapter 5

People of Western European Origin

In the 1600s several different European countries established permanent settlements in what would become the United States. Much of the interior was claimed by France, but by the 1660s the English controlled the coast from Massachusetts to Georgia. Indians resisted this invasion and were effective for over a century, but the decisions of Englishmen ultimately defined most of the colonial settlement patterns.

After the English eliminated French control of the interior and the American Revolution was successful, many white Americans moved west of the Appalachian Mountains. More land became available for farms and towns as more Indians were defeated or killed off by smallpox or measles. Beginning in the 1820s arrivals from Europe increased, ushering in the great 19th-century immigration of Germans, Irish, and other peoples.

The hope of economic betterment remained the primary motivation of most emigrants although some people were also fleeing religious or political persecution or military conscription. In the colonies there were adventurers, merchants, artisans, and laborers, including indentured workers, plus debtors and some convicts.

Most immigrants before about 1880 were of rural origin. They wished to be able to own enough land to provide a decent living for their families. People in western Europe in the 1830s had many of the same basic problems: high rents and taxes, periodic potato blights, and overcrowded farmlands due to rapid population growth. Migration seemed a reasonable way out, especially after 1862 when our country offered free land for homesteaders and our economy was growing rapidly. The predominantly rural and small town destinations of many immigrants set the basic areal pattern of ancestry proportions over most of the Midwest.

Others preferred to live in towns or cities as traders or artisans, often using skills acquired in Europe. Urban destinations became more common later in the century, when fewer families and more unmarried farm or industrial workers were emigrating. By the 1870s the economies of western European countries were being rapidly industrialized, especially in Great Britain and Germany. Many traditional jobs were eliminated. People had to migrate to look for the often unsatisfying new jobs in mines, factories, and construction. The result of rural land shortages and job dislocations was an upheaval in many people's lives, a wrenching that forced many to consider a transatlantic migration.

Toward the end of the 19th century a reduced rate of population growth and increasing industrialization in much of western Europe made it possible for more rural out-migrants to find jobs in Europe itself, often in their own country. Then immigration from western Europe was reduced.

British immigrants in the last half of the century often had special industrial skills needed in America. Because much of Britain had been technologically advanced compared to America, its workers were often sought by American employers. Some British industrial workers crossed several times to take advantage of shifts of relative wage rates between Britain and America. By 1900, however, the development of American industry was no longer dependent on this imported skilled labor, most mining and factory jobs having been taken over by machines or more recent immigrants who were willing to work for less.

For the Catholics in Ireland, the situation was worse than for other Europeans. Rapid population growth, enforced division of land among all descendants, the need to sell meat and grain to England to pay rents, and periodic failures of the subsistence food crop—potatoes—led to famines. In 1845 and 1846 most of the potato crop was destroyed by a fungus, and over the next nine years an estimated one-and-a-half million people died of starvation and disease, while approximately the same number emigrated to the United States. Thus began the Great Famine, the reason for the all-time peak of Irish immigration to the United States and the arrival of so many destitute and half-starved Irish around midcentury. Later, conditions in Ireland improved slowly. After the 1880s fewer Irish people came to America, but the earlier decades were so important that by the beginning of the 20th century there were more people of Irish stock in America than in Ireland.

As for France, when after 1763 that country lost control of what would become eastern Canada, immigration and trade with that former colony were stopped, though its French population grew rapidly by natural increase. Quebec has remained the heartland of French settlement despite the fact that in the 19th century the shortage of both farmland and jobs led to much out-migration—to adjacent parts of the U.S., the Midwest, and western Canada.

In contrast with Quebec and other European countries, there was relatively little emigration of French people from France in the 19th century. France, with its slower population growth due to an early reduction in birthrates, had less-crowded farmlands and greater average prosperity than other countries. Also, the slower pace of industrialization in France caused less dislocation of families than in Germany or Britain. As a result, neither farmers nor laborers felt the need to seek better opportunities across the Atlantic. In the last part of the century new colonies in North Africa and job developments elsewhere in Europe absorbed most of what migrating impulses remained.

English Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

Reported Ethnic Population

Single ancestry	23,748,772
Multiple ancestry	25,849,263

Counties with Largest English-Ancestry Population**	
Los Angeles, CA	440,213
Harris (Houston), TX	222,499
Dallas, TX	210,295
Orange, CA	177,645
San Diego, CA	167,165

Counties with Highest Percentage of English Ancestry in Population	
Wolfe, KY	58.36
Owsley, KY	57.80
Knott, KY	56.81
Breathitt, KY	56.33
Lee, KY	54.76

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

Varied Identities

The English, Scots, and Welsh people who immigrated to America came from the island of Great Britain. Hence, all are properly considered British. Although Great Britain (or Britain) and Ireland together comprise the British Isles, the ethnic label British does not include the Irish. In the 1980 census an ancestry response of "British" was included in the category of English ancestry.

Inhabitants of Cornwall, Britain's southwestern peninsula, were considered a fourth ethnic group on the island a century or two ago. However, migrations within Britain and the dominance of the English have reduced the distinctiveness of the different British peoples; and those Scots, Welsh, and Cornish who came to America often ended up associating easily with the English and other British. In the 1980 census the ancestry group Cornish was coded as English, although descendants of Cornish immigrants may still identify with that more specific origin.

The percentage of English (and other British) ancestry should probably be much higher than is indicated on the maps and data because many, if not most, of the people who responded "U.S." or "American" were of British heritage. Independent national surveys in the 1970s have shown that 97 percent of the people who responded with these labels had no immigrant ancestors closer than great-grandparents (Lieberson 1985). Moreover, people who answered in this way were especially likely to be southern, rural, and of English Protestant background (Smith 1980). What appear to be major discrepancies between data sources in the ethnic self-identification of the population of distant British origin are probably not important and generally have involved the variable substitution of an American ancestral identity. For example, in the 1980 census English-ancestry responses (single-ancestry only) totaled twice as many as had been reported in the 1979 Current Population Survey (Census 1982a). This and the findings of the content reinterview study reported in chapter 1 suggest that the ancestry total indicated in the table may be substantially inflated. A possible reason for this may have been the fact that on the census questionnaire the word "English" was listed as an example beneath the ancestry question and also appeared three times in the preceding question on current language use.

In past decades some Americans have used the term "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant" to refer to the people of dominantly English ancestry who have been the shapers and controllers of much of our country's destiny. Although never clearly defined, the label and its abbreviation, WASP, were faintly derogatory and often expressive of the resentment felt by members of non-British ethnic groups at the exaggerated influence of people of British ancestry. Often overlooked were the millions of poor and uninfluential people in this same ethnic group. For readers who wish to interpret it as such, the map of English ancestry percentages is an appropriate indicator of relative WASP numerical strength. Of course, the map reveals nothing of the extent of WASP influence. In the New England states and some other areas, "Yankee" is a label for the same ethnic group. In the 1980 census responses of either "WASP" or "Yankee" were reported as unspecified ancestry, probably resulting in a small underestimate of the British-ancestry population.

Although the first U.S. census in 1790 distinguished between the black and white populations, there are no good statistics on the ethnicity of the white population of that time. In order to understand our origins better, some historians have attempted to estimate the ancestries of the 1790 white population by measuring the frequency of ethnically distinctive surnames as they appeared on the census manuscripts (Barker and Hansen 1932; McDonald and McDonald 1980; Purvis 1984). There is some disagreement over the methodology, but the most recent results suggest that about 80 percent of the white population in New England was of English background. However, only about 40 to 50 percent of whites in New York and the South came from English stock. Pennsylvania was unusual in that people of German ancestry constituted the largest ethnic group, with the English group making up only about one quarter of the state's population.

Heritage from the Colonial Period

The first major period of migration of English people to what would become the United States was in the twenty or so years after 1628. Although some returned to Europe, a high rate of natural increase together with new immigration off and on during the next 140 years resulted in the presence of about 1.9 million people of English ancestry by 1790 (Purvis 1984). They made up nearly half the total population and 60 percent of the white population of the new United States of America. The English language and some other aspects of English culture became dominant in this country, so that most Americans have long recognized a cultural affinity with the English.

Also, demographic analysis has shown the importance of these early populations: descendants of Americans living here in 1790 account for approximately half of the country's population today (Gibson 1975). Thus, it is likely that a quarter of our country's population is descended from people of English ancestry who were already in the United States in 1790. But since there has been much intermarriage with more recent immigrants and members of other ethnic groups, a higher proportion of Americans are descended through some ancestral line back to pre-1790 English settlers.

In the 1770s Americans began to settle west of the Appalachian Mountains in large numbers. In the early 19th century, migrants were shipping down the Ohio River, skirting the southern edge of the Great Lakes, and moving westward from the Carolinas and Georgia. The Indians who stood in the way were pushed aside and their land taken. The net effect was the spread of the English-ancestry population into almost all areas of the interior. In most areas north and west of the Ohio River later migrants of more varied ethnic backgrounds reduced the proportion of English Americans.

In contrast, good farmland in the southeastern states had been already occupied by Americans when 19th-century immigrants arrived, and the combination of little industry and an ample supply of cheap labor was not attractive to immigrants. This avoidance of most of the South by postcolonial immigrants is most evident on the map of German ancestry. Thus, it was mostly descendants of the colonial settlers who reported English ancestry in such large numbers in the South.

High Proportions in Some Eastern Areas. The increasing proportion of English ancestry south of the Pennsylvania-Maryland border (the Mason-Dixon Line) in 1980 probably reflects the late 18th-century patterns of ethnic settlement. In Maryland it was predominantly the English who moved westward, up the Potomac River and its tributaries, whereas Germans were much more prevalent in Pennsylvania. When, after 1820, so many German immigrants later docked at the port of Baltimore, land in western Maryland was already occupied by people of English ancestry, and the newcomers headed west of the Appalachians.

The highest percentages of English ancestry in 1980

English Ancestry

Percentage in County Population - 1980

Seattle
Portland
Minneapolis
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Albany
Boston
Buffalo
Milwaukee
Detroit
Chicago
Cleveland
New York
Salt Lake City
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
San Francisco
San Jose
Columbus
Washington, D.C.
Denver
Cincinnati
Kansas City
St. Louis
Los Angeles
Orange County
San Diego
Phoenix
Memphis
Atlanta
Dallas
Houston
San Antonio
New Orleans
Tampa
Miami

Honolulu
HAWAII
Scale 1:13,000,000

ALASKA
Scale 1:29,500,000

Scale 1:13,000,000

50 0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

Scale in Miles

Albers Equal Area Projection

LEGEND

Percentage in County Population

	0 - 1.25
	1.26 - 2.50
	2.51 - 5.00
	5.01 - 10.00
	10.01 - 25.00
	25.01 - 50.00
	50.01 - 58.36

Number of Persons in the Ethnic Population where that Population in a County is at least 100,000

	100,000
	500,000
○	Metropolitan Area

Note: For some groups the graduated symbols represent an aggregation of several counties in crowded metropolitan areas.

Sources: Total population, Hispanic origin, and race data are from U.S. Census Summary Tape STF1C, 1980. Ancestry data are from extracts of Summary Tape STF4B, 1980. The five New York City counties have been combined and the data reported for St. Louis City and most independent cities in Virginia have been added to that of surrounding counties.

were in the counties of the Appalachian Mountains, such as in eastern Tennessee and Kentucky and southwestern Virginia. This is partly because there have been usually few blacks in these mountain populations, as the rough terrain and difficult transportation made these areas impractical for commercial cotton production and slavery in the 19th century.

However, much has changed in parts of the South during this century. Now, areas with especially high proportions of people of English ancestry can better be understood as areas bypassed by economic development. As a result, such counties have no large towns or cities and have attracted few migrants from outside the area.

This can be seen in the rural, less-developed counties of Maryland's Eastern Shore, scattered counties in most southern states, and in the Ozark Mountains of northern Arkansas, in addition to the Appalachians. This explanation also applies to the relatively poorer and less urban Maine counties like Waldo and Washington, on the coast, and Piscataquis in the interior. Similarly, the original white settlement of Pennsylvania's northern tier of counties by people from New England and New York is indicated by the higher percentages of English ancestry in those counties.

In New England as a whole the proportionately greater Yankee (English) ancestry is evident in the three northern states (Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont). This reflects a real regional distinction, which arose in the late 19th century as most industrial centers developed in southern New England, attracting immigrants from Quebec and many different European countries.

Postcolonial Immigration and Settlements

The English who arrived in the 19th century attracted little notice but were perceived at first as slightly different from Americans. In Boston, for example, the newcomers constituted a group somewhat separate from both the aristocratic old families and those Yankees who had drifted in from rural New England, although all three of those predominantly English-ancestry groups took care to keep themselves distinct from the desperately poor Irish immigrants (Handlin 1959).

In the first half of that century most of the immigrants were from English rural areas and small towns, and many became farmers in the Midwest. In contrast to the immigrants who spoke no English when they arrived, these farm families had no strong reason to cluster together; most soon mixed with the Americans and became indistinguishable. There were some efforts to develop agricultural colonies in the Midwest, but most of these were not successful (Erickson 1980). Early out-migration of the original settlers and occupancy of the vacated lands by others meant that by 1980 there was no indication from the ancestry data of any special English character in most counties where the colonies had been located. However, the Albion and Wanborough colonies, begun in 1818 in Edwards County in southern Illinois, apparently kept enough of their settlers and descendants so that in 1980 this county recorded the highest percentage of English ancestry of any county in the state.

Mormon Settlement Region. When farming families were united by exceptionally strong religious bonds, the areal patterns of ancestry were more pronounced. By the 1840s the Mormon religion (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints) had attracted many people of English ancestry in its New England and upstate New York areas of origin. Also, converts from Britain and Scandinavia were arriving in the Midwest, and after the exodus to Utah in 1847 many more came to help settle areas in the West that the Mormon leadership planned as farming colonies (Meinig 1965). Among the foreign-born the English predominated over most of the region where Mormons were the earliest white settlers (Utah, southeastern Idaho, and adjacent counties in Wyoming and Nevada).

The high proportion of English ancestry seen in Mormon areas in 1980 was a reflection of both the formative years in areas populated by New Englanders and the English source of direct immigration. Most of the counties of southeastern Idaho that had over 25 percent English ancestry were over three-quarters Mormon in church membership, and the highest percentages of English ancestry were in Jefferson and Madison counties, where Mormons made up 98 percent of church members (Quinn et al. 1982). In western Wyoming counties a high percentage of English ancestry was also related to Mormon strength. However, in the larger and more culturally mixed Boise area (Ada County) in southwestern Idaho, the population was only 14 percent English in ancestry and 34 percent Mormon in church membership.

Although most rural Utah counties had high percentages of both English ancestry and Mormon membership, an exception was Sanpete County, where Scandinavian converts far outnumbered the English. In 1900 Sanpete County had more than seven times as many foreign-born Scandinavians (mostly Danes) as foreign-born English, and that unusually low percentage of English ancestry in the Mormon region was still evident in 1980.

Immigrants with Mining and Industrial Skills. Experienced mine workers from England came to America beginning in the 1830s. A long tradition of copper mining in Cornwall made Cornish miners especially valuable as rock tunnelers and developers of underground ore deposits in America. Southwestern Wisconsin's lead mining, centered at Mineral Point, attracted communities of Cornish miners in that early period. In 1980 the counties of Iowa, Lafayette, and Grant had higher percentages of English ancestry than surrounding areas. Ironically, development of new American supplies of copper was an important factor in the closure of mines in Cornwall, so that workers often had to come to America to keep the jobs they knew best. Cornish miners settled in most of the hard-rock mining areas except those that were surface or open-pit operations, where their special skills were not so much needed. But as ores were depleted most miners moved on. For example, the underground copper-mining area of Upper Michigan (Houghton County) recorded over 3,000 foreign-born English in 1900, but in 1980 the proportion of people with English ancestry was not distinctive.

Past recruitment of skilled workers, such as weavers and metal workers, by southern New England firms led to concentrations of foreign-born English in that region in 1920 (Hutchinson 1956). Most of the industrial towns grew much larger in the decades after skilled English immigrants arrived, so that the locations of earlier English industrial settlements —such as those connected with textiles in Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts— are not discernible in the 1980 English-ancestry data. Many people of English ancestry moved on to other places, but others stayed in their areas, taking better jobs or becoming supervisors of newer immigrant workers.

Immigration from England during the 20th century has been much less than earlier. Because of the high proportion of professionals and managers and technically skilled people among the immigrants, they have found their best jobs in metropolitan areas where they constitute a small proportion of the population. The net effect is that their presence is revealed as little on map patterns as it has been in society.

Areas of Least English Ancestry. The lowest percentages of English ancestry were mostly in rural counties that were dominated by some other ethnic group. The Hawaiian Islands (where Asians have been proportionately strong), Indian areas in South Dakota, and the heavily Mexican-American areas of Texas are examples. English ancestry is also poorly represented over the largest area in parts of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas—especially in those counties where Norwegian, German, or German-Russian ancestry is particularly strong. In addition, New York City was unusually low in its proportion of English ancestry (1.95 percent) because of the large numbers of immigrants who arrived there from so many other countries and remained.

Scottish Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

Reported Ethnic Population	
Single ancestry	1,172,904
Multiple ancestry	8,875,912

Counties with Largest Scottish-Ancestry Population**	
Los Angeles, CA	33,447
Wayne (Detroit), MI	14,695
Orange, CA	13,972
New York City, NY	13,670
San Diego, CA	13,077

Counties with Highest Percentage of Scottish Ancestry in Population**	
Mono (Mammoth Lakes), CA	3.43
Wasatch (Heber City), UT	3.37
Lewis (Lewiston), ID	3.23
Moore (Southern Pines), NC	3.19
Butte (Arco), ID	3.17

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

In Scotland the distinction between Highlander and Lowlander was once very important. In the early 1700s the Highlanders lived in the more isolated areas to the north and the west. They were a poor farming population, speaking Gaelic and following a feudal tradition emphasizing the authority of clan chiefs. The Lowlanders were essentially a different society, living in the southern and eastern parts of the country where acculturation and mixing with the English was reflected in their use of a dialect of the English language. Highlanders were more frequent immigrants to America than Lowlanders until the early 19th century, but within the United States differences between Highland and Lowland Scot have been of little concern in the last century and a half.

In addition, the Scotch-Irish have constituted a related ethnic group. Because these people were Protestants whose ancestors had migrated from Scotland to northern Ireland in the 1600s, it might be thought that descendants of those who came to America would have identified themselves as either Scottish or Scotch-Irish (Donaldson 1966). On the other hand, after several generations in Ireland they may have considered themselves as Irish, as argued by Leyburn (1962). Because 1980 census data indicate that most people of Scotch-Irish background identified themselves as Irish, this population is covered in this chapter's section on Irish ancestry.

Colonial Settlements

Scots were part of the early migrations to areas east of the Appalachians. Beginning in the 1680s Scottish investors in a colony in New Jersey attracted Lowlanders, and by about 1750 the nearly 4,000 Scots and Scotch-Irish in the counties of Hunterdon, Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset constituted about a fifth of the total population (Landsman 1985). Although high rates of geographical mobility meant that few descendants of the 17th-century settlers were in the area in the mid-18th century, the corridor between New York and Philadelphia retained its Scottish character, at least through the colonial period.

In general, Lowlanders and many Highlanders did not live in distinct Scottish settlements. An especially large emigration in the 1770s followed employment crises and raising of rents (Donaldson 1966). In one instance, some farmers and weavers pooled their resources in a cooperative organization and arranged to buy land in Ryegate (Caledonia County), Vermont (Fingerhut 1967). Although two years after the initial settlement there were only 30 Scottish households and little sense of ethnic separatism, the venture is still commemorated in the name of the county.

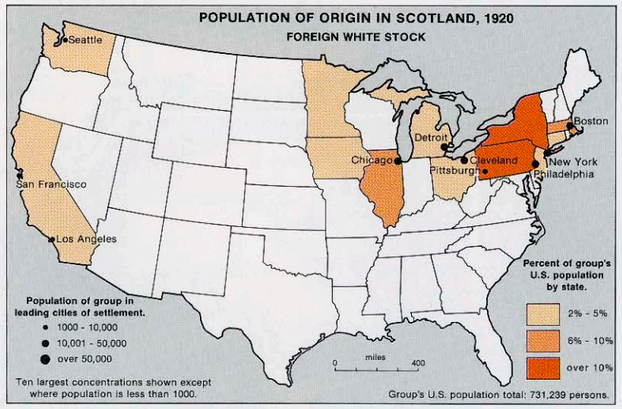
North Carolina. Some Highlanders did develop their own ethnic concentrations; the largest was located in North Carolina, inland along the Cape Fear River and its tributaries (Meyer 1957). By 1776 the estimated 12,000 Highlanders constituted a distinctive farming settlement area, centered in what is now Cumberland, Harnett, and Hoke counties. Some Gaelic was spoken until the 1850s, and a trickle of immigration continued; thus in 1880 there were about 100 Scottish-born people in those counties. The same area of late colonial settlement is still indicated two centuries later by a relatively high percentage of people reporting Scottish ancestry. Although only Moore County recorded more than 3 percent Scottish ancestry, the ancestral heritage was still evident in Scotland, Harnett, Lee, and other counties. The Scottish presence in this part of North Carolina would presumably be much greater today if so many who had supported the British in the Revolutionary War had not moved to Nova Scotia or returned to Scotland after that war (Graham 1956).

Nineteenth-Century Settlements

Later Scottish settlements were generally dispersed. Individuals and small families, often on the move toward better opportunities, were typical. Many were connected with the fur trade, and Scottish sailors had come to California in the early 1840s. During those years before the gold rush they were often loggers and carpenters, and many of them trapped beavers (Voght 1973). However, it seems unlikely that a sense of Scottish heritage could survive to 1980 among the mixed-ancestry progeny of such people, since no ethnic community was present.

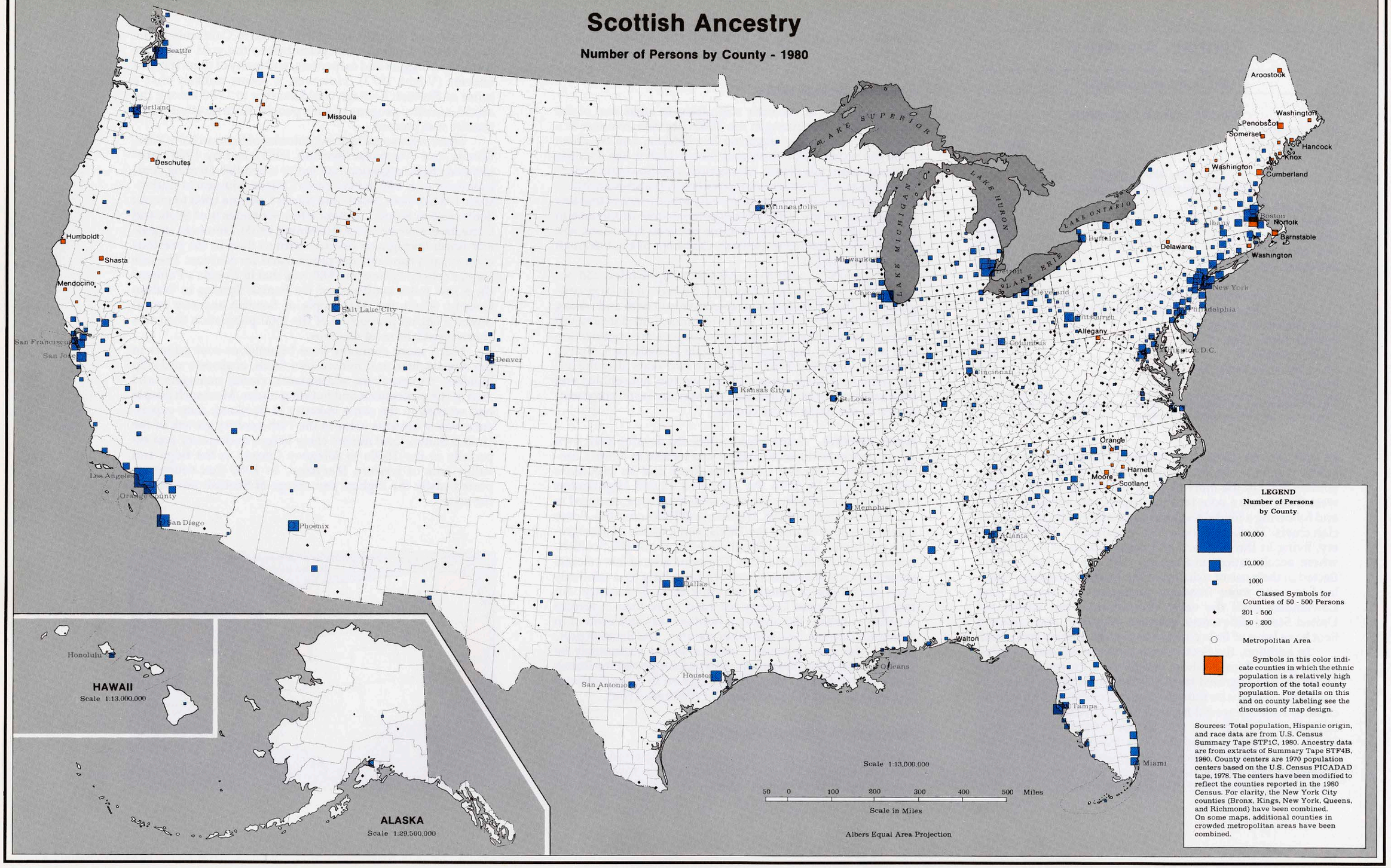
There were some farming colonies of Scots in New York, Illinois, and Wisconsin (Berthoff 1953), and by 1905 unorganized chain migration had led to a Scottish farming community of over 300 in Blue Earth County, Minnesota (Rubinstein 1981a). Both North and South Carolina tried to recruit Scots, and in South Carolina a few settlements of Scots and Canadians were developed (Fleming 1905). However, in general fewer immigrants became farmers than in the previous century, and rural out-migration made for attrition. The one former colony evident in 1980 was that in Florida's Panhandle a few miles southeast of De Funiak Springs in Walton County, where the 324 people of Scottish ancestry represented a higher proportion of the total population than was characteristic of most counties.

Much more common were bituminous-coal miners in the Appalachian and midwestern fields, engineers and ship builders, papermakers, accountants, clerks, managers, and men in the professions and building trades. Most such people had worked in the same industry in Scotland; their experience was of obvious value in the 19th-century growth of the United States. Coal miners came before midcentury and especially in the 1860s to Allegany County in the ridge and valley area of western Maryland. In 1980 that county reported easily the highest percentage of Scottish ancestry in the state.



Scottish Ancestry

Number of Persons by County - 1980



LEGEND
Number of Persons by County

- 100,000
- 10,000
- 1000

Classed Symbols for Counties of 50 - 500 Persons

- 201 - 500
- 50 - 200

Metropolitan Area

Symbols in this color indicate counties in which the ethnic population is a relatively high proportion of the total county population. For details on this and on county labeling see the discussion of map design.

Sources: Total population, Hispanic origin, and race data are from U.S. Census Summary Tape STF1C, 1980. Ancestry data are from extracts of Summary Tape STF4B, 1980. County centers are 1970 population centers based on the U.S. Census PICADAD tape, 1978. The centers have been modified to reflect the counties reported in the 1980 Census. For clarity, the New York City counties (Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens, and Richmond) have been combined. On some maps, additional counties in crowded metropolitan areas have been combined.

New England. Scottish quarriers and weavers had skills of special value in New England. Scottish immigrants to Washington County, Vermont, and Merrimack County, New Hampshire, worked in the granite quarries, especially after 1860, when the U.S. placed a tariff on imported granite (Donaldson 1966). And along the central coast of Maine were small communities of Scots quarrymen and masons connected with the granite operations, such as those near Rockland (Knox County).

In New England many of the Scots who immigrated in the 19th century came as skilled weavers of cotton and woolen cloth and carpets. In 1828, for instance, as high-quality wool from merino sheep became available, the developer of a carpet mill in Thompsonville, Connecticut, brought in an initial group of 60 Scottish weavers to that Hartford County site (Stone 1979). These immigrants were soon followed by others, all of whom lived in a special "foreigners'" section of the town. The enterprise later failed, but many of these Scots found jobs elsewhere. Sometimes groups of Scottish women were recruited by agents for the mills, as in 1881, when 65 weavers were brought to York County in southern Maine (Erickson 1957).

The destinations of earlier immigrants were often chosen by friends and relatives who followed. Thus, chain migrations established in the 19th century continued to bring Scots to the U.S., and especially to southern New England, even though during later years factory workers became relatively fewer. In 1920 foreign-born Scots were concentrated in Rhode Island at three times their proportions in the United States as a whole (Hutchinson 1956). Massachusetts and Connecticut had more than twice the numbers expected from the national proportion of Scots.

General Patterns

Many Scots came to the United States after having first migrated to Canada. For example, the Scottish-born and their children left Scottish settlements in New Brunswick and resumed life just across the border in Aroostook County, Maine. In addition, Vermont, New York, Montana, and other border states received numerous Scots from Canada. Scots and other Canadians worked in all the logging areas of Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and coastal northern California (Hansen 1940). The pattern has continued, so that 40 percent of immigrants reporting Scottish ancestry in 1980 had been born in Canada (Lieberson and Santi 1985).

Scots have emigrated from Britain at a much higher rate than the English or the Welsh, but they usually came as individuals or in small family groups, a circumstance that eased their entry into American society.

Because Scottish immigrants felt no strong need to live near other Scots, there has been hardly any of the residential clustering so frequently found among immigrants to America. The earlier small concentrations of Scots in particular industries and places became even less pronounced in the 20th century when American industries no longer needed to recruit Scottish workers. This scattering of people of Scottish background to many different towns and cities was accentuated by the unusually large immigration of Scots that occurred during the 1920s. And Scots have intermarried with people of other backgrounds to such an extent that Scottish single-ancestry responses constituted less than 12 percent of the total Scottish-ancestry responses.

At both the broad regional and the county levels Scots have dispersed themselves so thoroughly that their distribution is much like that of the total U.S. population. The Pearson correlation coefficient between the number reporting Scottish ancestry and the total population for all counties with over 30 Scots is the second highest of all the ancestry groups (r = .88), a reflection of Scottish geographical as well as social assimilation.

Welsh Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

Reported Ethnic Population	
Single ancestry	308,363
Multiple ancestry	1,356,235

Counties with Largest Welsh-Ancestry Population**	
Los Angeles, CA	8,393
Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre), PA	5,580
Lackawanna (Scranton), PA	3,922
Franklin (Columbus), OH	3,839
Orange, CA	3,704

Counties with Highest Percentage of Welsh Ancestry in Population**	
Oneida (Malad City), ID	11.76
Jackson (Jackson; Wellston), OH	2.59
Lackawanna (Scranton), PA	1.72
Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre), PA	1.63
Wyoming (Tunkhannok), PA	1.42

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

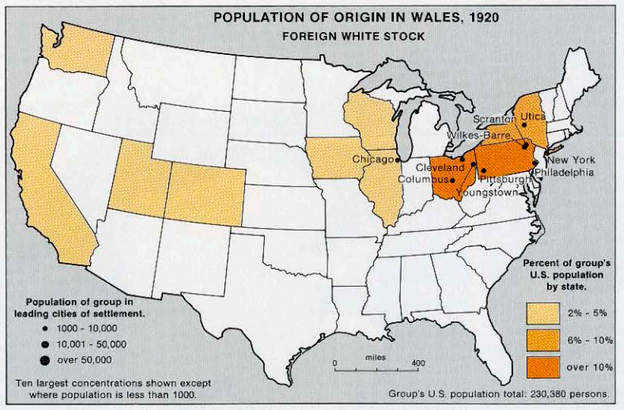
The most important early Welsh settlements were begun in the 1680s just north and west of Philadelphia, in places like Bryn Mawr, Merion, and Gwynedd. Although there are still people of Welsh ancestry in these areas, their proportions are very small because of the great in-migrations of diverse peoples in the succeeding 200 years.

The 1980 distribution of Welsh ancestry was somewhat more indicative of specific destinations chosen by 19th-century immigrants than was the case for the English and the Scots. This is probably because the Welsh clustered together more than the others. Settlement in groups was important because most immigrants spoke Welsh and hoped the Welsh language, religious nonconformity, and other aspects of culture might be preserved in America better than in Wales, where it was being undermined by English power. However, the reality of acculturation to American ways and the English language meant that this vision was to fail.

Rural Settlements

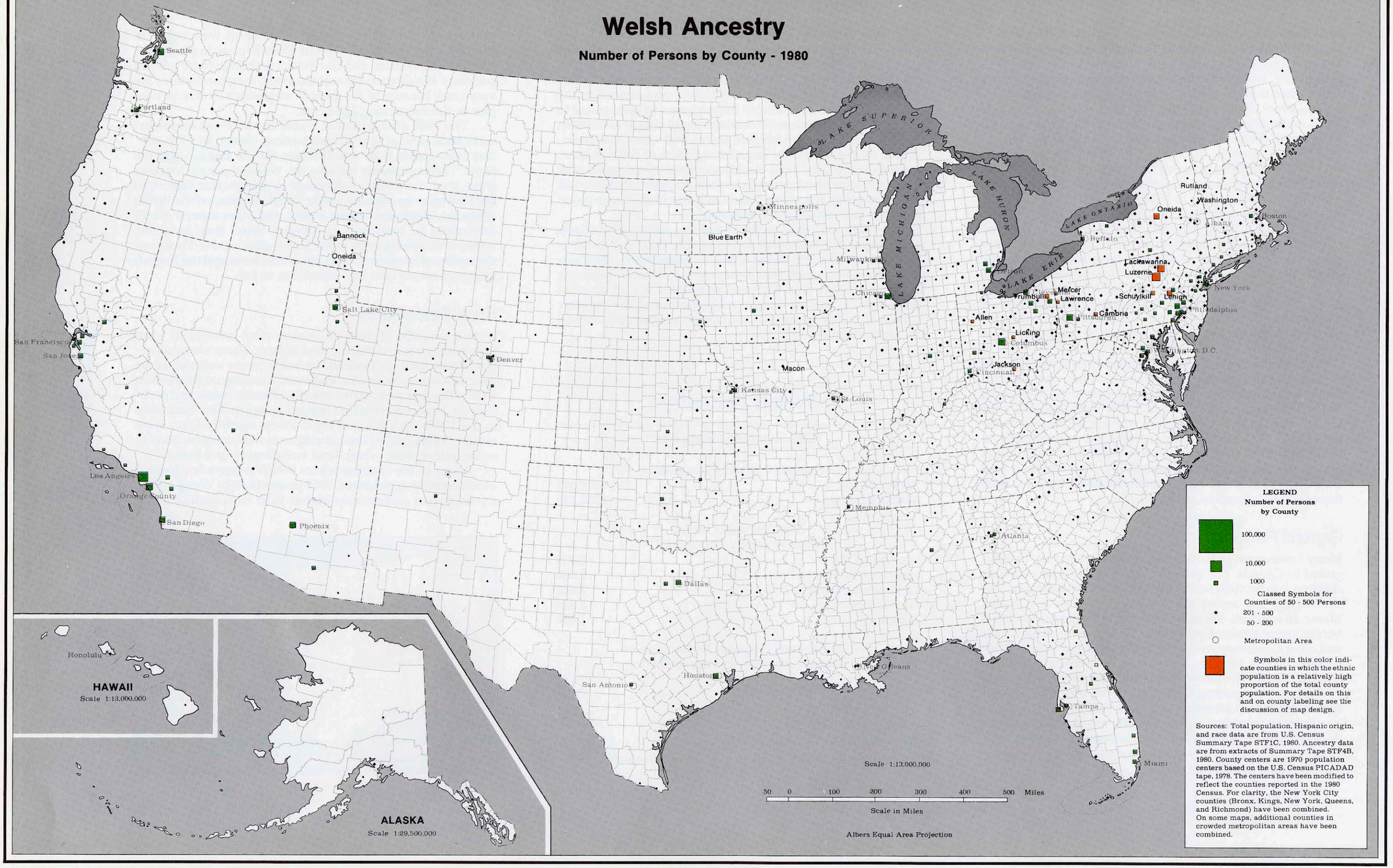
Until the middle of the 19th century most immigrants were from rural areas and desired land to farm. There were numerous Welsh farm settlements, including some colonies as far west as Kansas, Nebraska, and even Washington (Hartmann 1967). The first such settlement after Pennsylvania and probably the largest was that in Oneida County in New York State in the 1790s. In 1850 two small towns north of Utica were mostly Welsh, but by then immigrants were more inclined to settle farther west, where land was cheaper and better.

Many of the counties where Welsh farmers first located over a century ago showed 1980 proportions of Welsh ancestry that were distinctively higher than surrounding areas,



Welsh Ancestry

Number of Persons by County - 1980



LEGEND
Number of Persons by County

- 100,000
- 10,000
- 1000

Classed Symbols for Counties of 50 - 500 Persons

- 201 - 500
- 50 - 200

Metropolitan Area

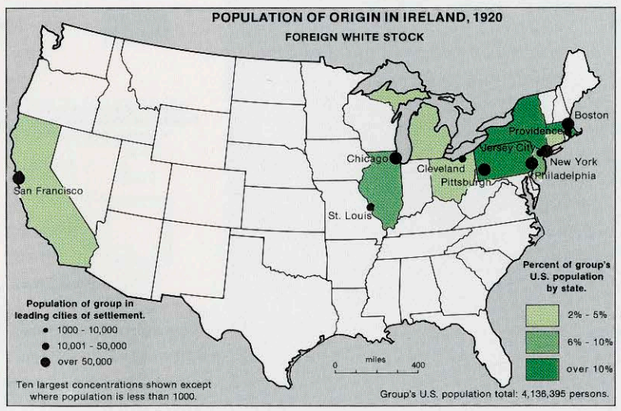
Symbols in this color indicate counties in which the ethnic population is a relatively high proportion of the total county population. For details on this and on county labeling see the discussion of map design.

Sources: Total population, Hispanic origin, and race data are from U.S. Census Summary Tape STF1C, 1980. Ancestry data are from extracts of Summary Tape STF4B, 1980. County centers are 1970 population centers based on the U.S. Census PICADAD tape, 1978. The centers have been modified to reflect the counties reported in the 1980 Census. For clarity, the New York City counties (Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens, and Richmond) have been combined.
On some maps, additional counties in crowded metropolitan areas have been combined.

ous jobs. Irish women, who after the Famine typically immigrated as single women in search of jobs, worked toward economic self-sufficiency by taking jobs that many other women shunned (Diner 1983). They became household servants and seamstresses, and by the 1870s constituted the largest group of machine operatives in the textile mills of southern New England. After the 1870s, however, recently arrived immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were willing to take these jobs, and many Irish were able to move into better positions.

Dispersal Westward. Irishmen were recruited in Boston and New York to work in gangs of several hundred on the many construction jobs that were needed for the country's expansion. The National Road, the Erie Canal, and the landfill operations in Boston were completed with mostly Irish labor. The Irish dug most of the canals and laid most of the railroad tracks in the East before about 1880. Their work in coal mines is particularly reflected in the presence of many people of Irish ancestry in the anthracite-producing area of Pennsylvania, especially Lackawanna County.

The backbreaking and dangerous work with the pick and shovel, especially in the building of canals and railroads, was an important factor in the movement of Irish out of the big centers like Boston and New York, because it gave Irish men a glimpse of distant opportunities. After a labor contract was finished, some workers settled for a while in the area where they happened to be. But few Irish Catholics settled in the South. In 1870 Southern states contained 4 percent of the people of Irish birth, and the majority of these were clustered in the cities along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and on the Gulf of Mexico. Although many Southern leaders wanted immigrant labor during the late 19th century, not many Irish came (Berthoff 1951), probably because of fear of isolation from the larger ethnic communities to the north and concern over low wages and a large potentially competitive black population (Dunlevy 1983). In addition, a century ago many Irish and other immigrants imagined that white people could not work outdoors in the climate of the South and survive for long (Maguire [1868] 1969).



Much more appealing was California, where some Irish had settled even before the 1848 Gold Rush. San Francisco became the main focus, and by 1870 the more than 28,000 foreign-born Irish in the area seemed, on the average, to be more prosperous and successful than their fellow Irish in the East (Maguire [1868] 1969).

Miners in the western states represented a range of states and countries of origin, but in the period up to about 1880 the leading foreign-born group working the mines was often the Irish. Networks of personal contact meant that individual mines varied somewhat in the ethnic composition of their employees, but changes in migration patterns resulted in shifts in the origin of workers over time.

Although geographical mobility among miners was high, many of the Irish in Butte in southwestern Montana remained and new miners came directly from Ireland. At the turn of the century the mines and smelters of that area were one of the largest operations in the world, and over a third of the population was Irish by birth or descent (Emmons 1985). This meant that the Butte area was proportionately the most Irish county in America at that time. Most immigrants worked underground, whereas their sons often got jobs in various surface operations. In 1980 the general area was over 10 percent Irish, and Silver Bow County recorded over 14 percent Irish ancestry, making it the eighth most Irish county in the country.

Most Catholic Irish have not liked the life of the farmer, and most attempts by various church leaders to resettle immigrants in rural colonies failed after a few years. At the edge of Nebraska's Sandhills a colony was formed in the 1870s at O'Neill (Holt County), to which many Irish from Pennsylvania's anthracite towns had been persuaded to come (Casper 1966) but which was barely evident in the 1980 Irish-ancestry data. A second colony to the south in Greeley County was originally established in 1877. It attracted more settlers, and people seemed relatively satisfied with their situation. Although Greeley County had non-Irish newcomers from its beginning, its Irish heritage has remained evident: 13 percent Irish ancestry in 1980.

Despite the urban orientation of the Irish, in 1900 farmers or farm laborers made up 15 percent of the male breadwinners of Irish birth or parentage (Imm. Com. 1911a). Their descendants, however, may have left farm work more readily than people of some other ethnic backgrounds. In Wisconsin, as late as the 1970s, descendants of Irish who did take up farming have typically sold out to people who valued the land and farm life more—those of Norwegian, Dutch, or especially German heritage (Lewis 1978).

Twentieth-Century Distribution

In spite of travel over much of the country, the Irish foreign stock (immigrants and their children) continued to make their homes primarily in cities, particularly those in New England and in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. They had established an early presence in Boston, Providence, and Philadelphia, for example, and were able to meet enough of the demand for unskilled workers so that Germans were induced to seek better opportunities in midwestern cities (Golab 1977).

A Pearson correlation analysis of all counties with over 30 Irish in 1980 shows that the Irish-ancestry group's distribution was, of all ancestry groups, most like that of the total U.S. population ($r = .90$). A slight regional concentration in the Northeast and relative absence in the West still appeared for people of Irish ancestry, although the clearer regionalization of earlier decades has been much reduced. The major regions where Irish ancestry represented especially low proportions in 1980 were those where other ethnic groups were particularly strong, for example, the British (Mormons) in Utah, the French in Louisiana, Scandinavians and Germans on the Northern Plains, and Mexicans in southern Texas.

In 1980, 35 percent of the nation's Irish-ancestry population lived in the South. They represented as large a proportion of the South's population as they averaged in the entire country. Because measures of the Irish in earlier censuses were based on only the Irish immigrants and their children, most of this high percentage of Irish is accounted for by the Protestant Irish. However, it is also known that there have been hundreds of thousands of Catholic Irish who have retired in Florida or migrated to the growing metropolitan areas of Texas, the Carolinas, and other southern states.

The New York area is the largest center for people of Irish ancestry, followed by eastern Massachusetts, Chicago, and Philadelphia as the second-, third-, and fourth-ranked Irish centers. Although 20th-century immigration from Ireland has not been large, immigrants have chosen New York City above all other destinations. New York City and surrounding counties had over 60,000 foreign-born Irish in 1980, compared to over 18,000 in the greater Boston area. Like other

Irish Ancestry

Percentage in County Population - 1980

Seattle
Portland
Salt Lake City
San Francisco
San Jose
Denver
Los Angeles
Orange County
San Diego
Phoenix
Minneapolis
Milwaukee
Chicago
Kansas City
St. Louis
Dallas
San Antonio
Houston
Memphis
New Orleans
Atlanta
Tampa
Miami
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Pittsburgh
Columbus
Cincinnati
Albany
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington, D.C.
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO

LEGEND
Percentage in County Population

	0 - 1.25
	1.26 - 2.50
	2.51 - 5.00
	5.01 - 10.00
	10.01 - 21.98

Number of Persons in the Ethnic Population where that Population in a County is at least 50,000

	100,000
	500,000
○	Metropolitan Area

Note: For some groups the graduated symbols represent an aggregation of several counties in crowded metropolitan areas.

Sources: Total population, Hispanic origin, and race data are from U.S. Census Summary Tape STF1C, 1980. Ancestry data are from extracts of Summary Tape STF4B, 1980. The five New York City counties have been combined and the data reported for St. Louis City and most independent cities in Virginia have been added to that of surrounding counties.

Honolulu
HAWAII
Scale 1:13,000,000

ALASKA
Scale 1:29,500,000

Scale 1:13,000,000

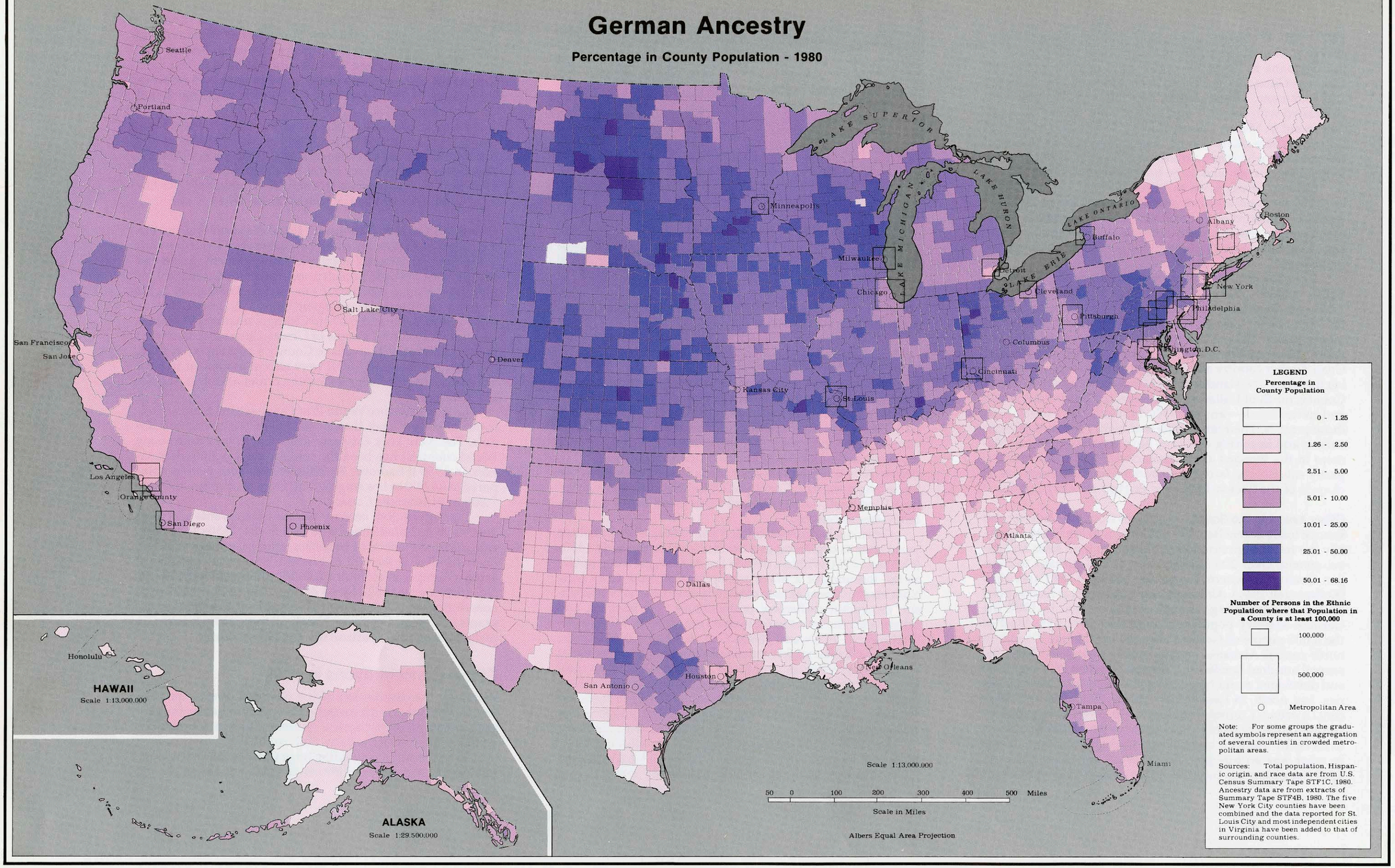
50 0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

Scale in Miles

Albers Equal Area Projection

German Ancestry

Percentage in County Population - 1980



LEGEND

Percentage in County Population

- 0 - 1.25
- 1.26 - 2.50
- 2.51 - 5.00
- 5.01 - 10.00
- 10.01 - 25.00
- 25.01 - 50.00
- 50.01 - 68.16

Number of Persons in the Ethnic Population where that Population in a County is at least 100,000

- 100,000
- 500,000
- Metropolitan Area

Note: For some groups the graduated symbols represent an aggregation of several counties in crowded metropolitan areas.

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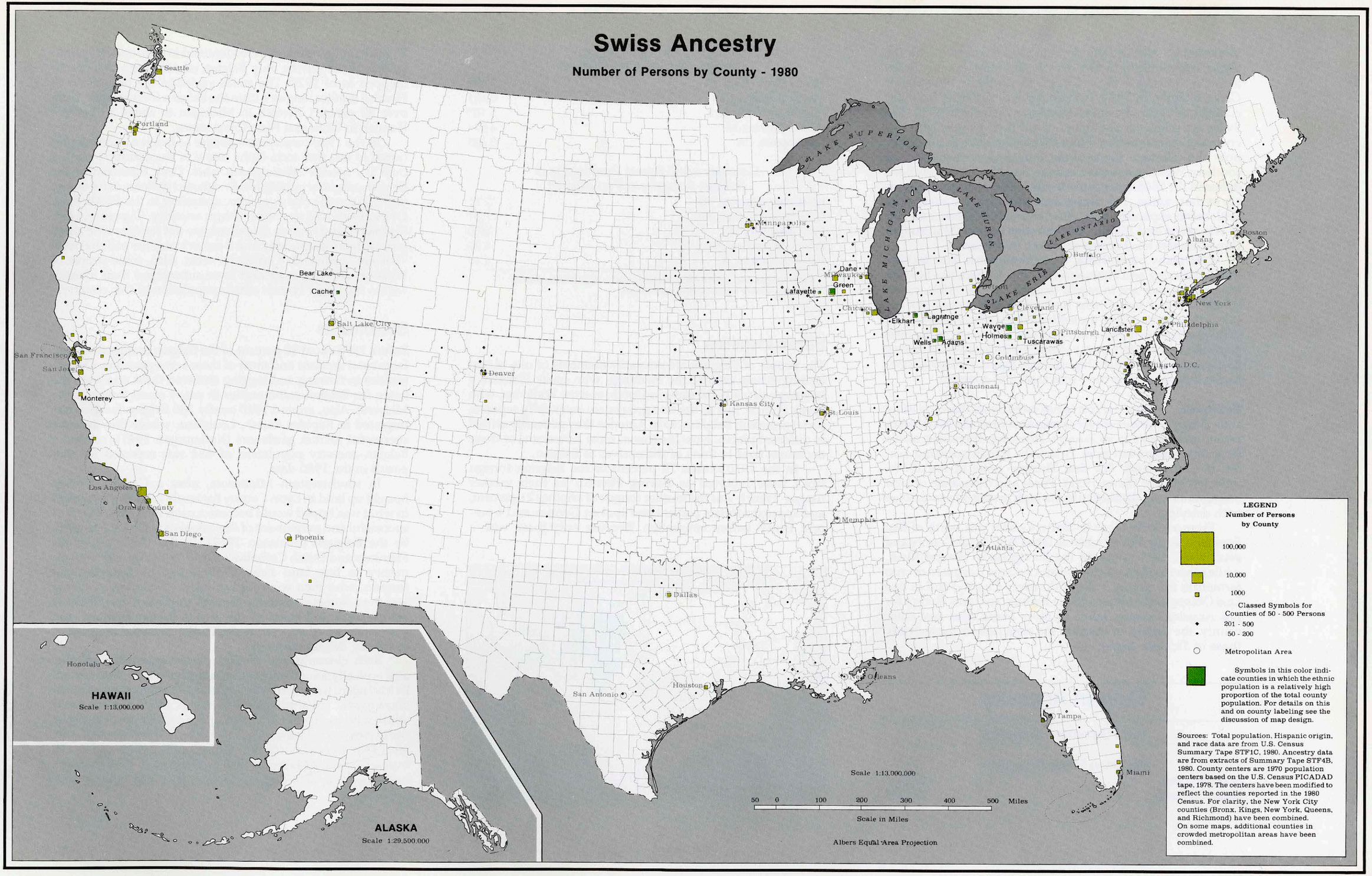
Swiss Ancestry

Number of Persons by County - 1980



LEGEND
Number of Persons by County

- 100,000
- 10,000
- 1000

Classed Symbols for Counties of 50 - 500 Persons

- 201 - 500
- 50 - 200

Metropolitan Area

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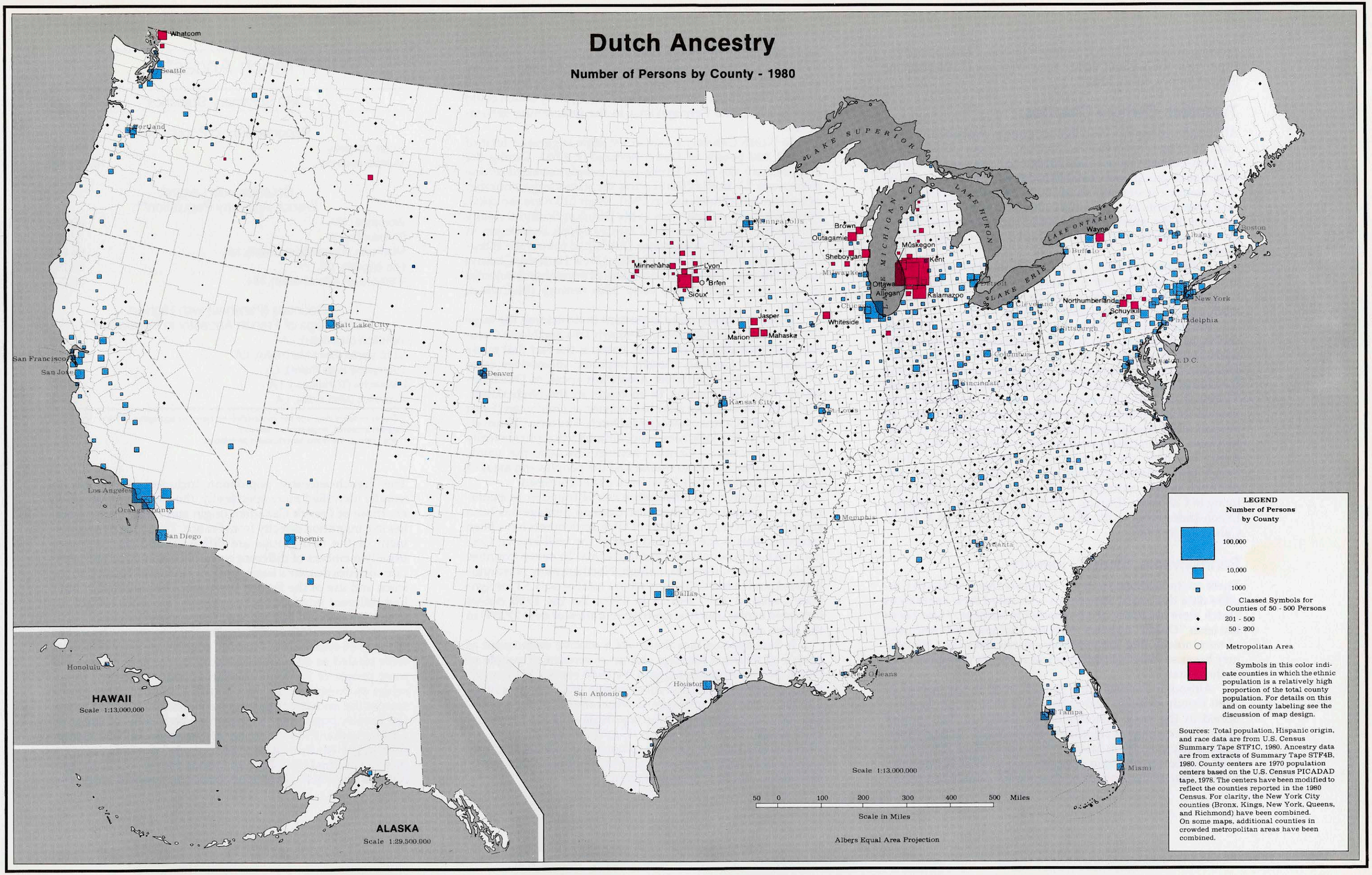
Dutch Ancestry

Number of Persons by County - 1980



LEGEND
Number of Persons by County

- 100,000
- 10,000
- 1000

Classed Symbols for Counties of 50 - 500 Persons

- 201 - 500
- 50 - 200

Metropolitan Area

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Scale 1:13,000,000

50 0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

Scale in Miles

Albers Equal Area Projection

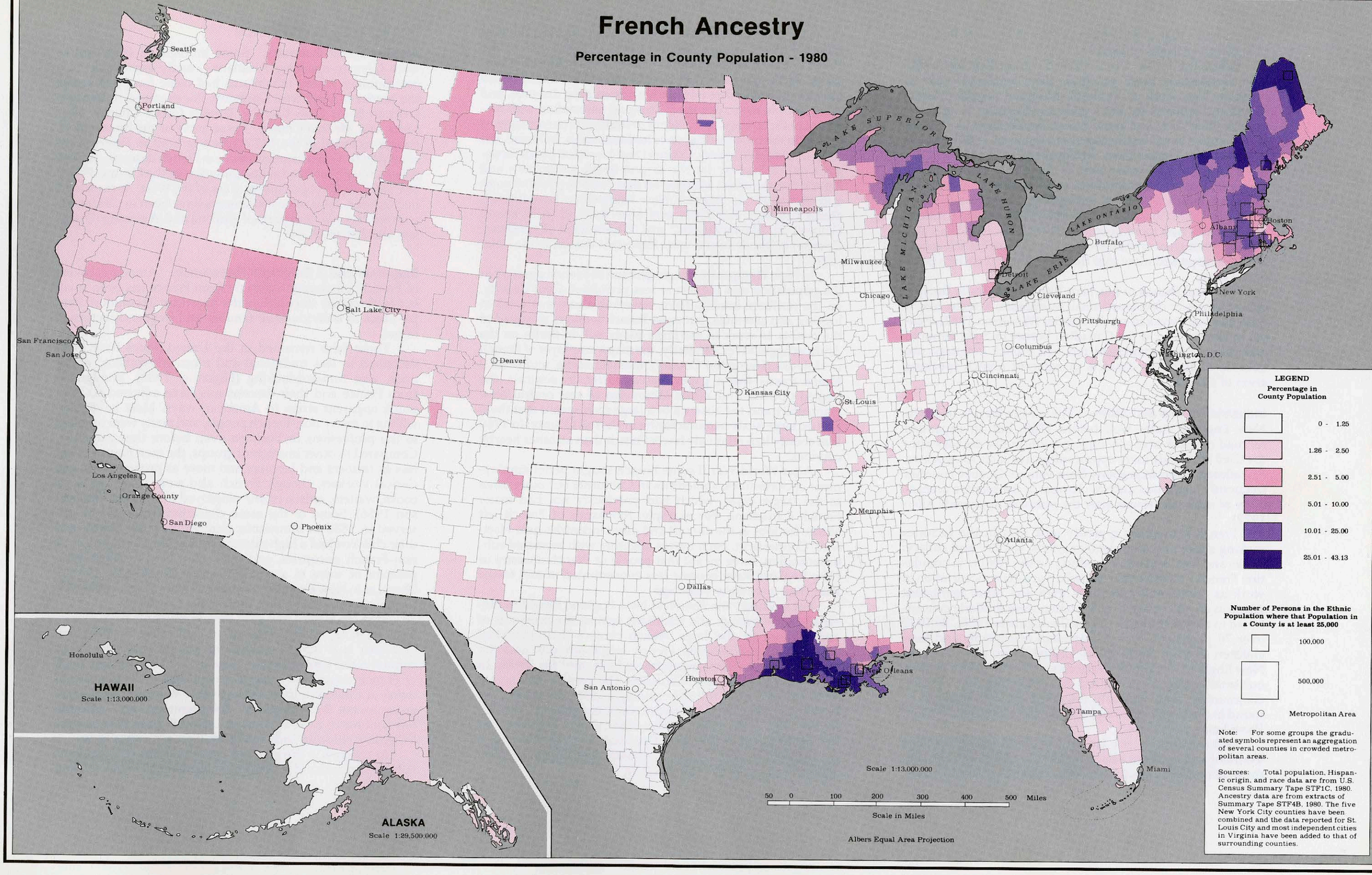
HAWAII
Scale 1:13,000,000

Honolulu

ALASKA
Scale 1:29,500,000

French Ancestry

Percentage in County Population - 1980



LEGEND

Percentage in County Population

- 0 - 1.25
- 1.26 - 2.50
- 2.51 - 5.00
- 5.01 - 10.00
- 10.01 - 25.00
- 25.01 - 43.13

Number of Persons in the Ethnic Population where that Population in a County is at least 25,000

- 100,000
- 500,000
- Metropolitan Area

Note: For some groups the graduated symbols represent an aggregation of several counties in crowded metropolitan areas.

Sources: Total population, Hispanic origin, and race data are from U.S. Census Summary Tape STF1C, 1980. Ancestry data are from extracts of Summary Tape STF4B, 1980. The five New York City counties have been combined and the data reported for St. Louis City and most independent cities in Virginia have been added to that of surrounding counties.

County had a higher percentage of French ancestry than any U.S. county outside Louisiana.

Before the 1850s, when railroad connections made distant destinations more practical, most migrants went to northern New York or Vermont. Montreal provided farmhands and workers for the woods and factories in adjacent parts of New York, and many French later bought local farms or developed small businesses there (Hansen 1940). French Canadians also found farm, laboring, and trading jobs in the more accessible lowlands west of the Green Mountains in Vermont. French concentrations soon developed in Burlington, the largest city, and in surrounding Franklin and Chittenden counties (Vicero 1971). In 1980 Franklin and Chittenden counties had more people of French ancestry than any others, although over the last century people of French ancestry have dispersed more into the southern and eastern parts of the state.

The rural French in northern Vermont typically became dairy farmers or developed small businesses; in some towns there has been work in small factories (Woolfson 1982). People in towns close to the Canadian border in both Vermont and Maine have sometimes retained French-language use because of frequent contacts in adjacent French-speaking areas of Canada.

Industrial Towns and Cities. There were French in all the New England states well before 1860, but an expanded railroad network and economic growth in the decades after the Civil War made more opportunities available for workers. Prerailroad chain migrations from various Quebec counties frequently continued despite changes in the relative accessibility of industrial towns after the railroads appeared (Allen 1972).

French Canadians typically took jobs in the factories making shoes and other leather goods, jewelry and cutlery, bricks and tiles, and other products. In the 1890 U.S. population French Canadian men showed a greater concentration in work as cotton-mill operatives than any other immigrant group in any occupation, and women were similarly concentrated to almost the same degree (Hutchinson 1956). By 1920 over 70 percent of French Canadian immigrants and their children (foreign stock) in the United States were living in New England. Because the factories were scattered in numerous small towns or specialized manufacturing cities, French communities were similarly dispersed and less likely to be found in the largest cities and commercial centers like Boston, Providence, or Hartford.

Not surprisingly, the largest French settlements outside Vermont and northern Maine were those of families who ran the machines that produced cotton cloth. As in many mines, the work force in the cotton mills typically evolved through different ethnic groups, from Yankee farmgirls before the 1840s to Irish immigrants later, and by 1880 to French Canadians. Although most cotton mills have now closed, there have often been other jobs within commuting distance, and many people have remained. This past association with textile manufacturing is still evident in the higher percentages of French in the counties that once had such mills. In Maine, the cities of Biddeford (York County) and Lewiston (Androscoggin County) had by far the largest textile production and French communities. Manchester and Nashua (Hillsborough and Merrimack counties) in New Hampshire, Lowell (Middlesex County), Fall River, and New Bedford (both Bristol County) in Massachusetts, and Woonsocket (Providence County) in Rhode Island were important centers in the other states.

In New Hampshire, the proportion of French ancestry in the population was highest in less-populated Coos County, on the northern border. Here, however, there was work in logging and sawmills, but most French workers migrated to the county to work in the large paper mill in Berlin on the Androscoggin River. Similarly, the major employer of French in Holyoke (Hampden County), Massachusetts, and several Maine towns was a paper manufacturer. In contrast, the rugged uplands and White Mountains of east central New Hampshire and the absence of a large river meant that there was no large-scale manufacturing in Carroll County. In 1980 that county had relatively fewer French than all other nearby counties.

After World War II some French sought better employment opportunities, sometimes in California but more often in the larger cities, which had previously not had many French Canadians. For example, thousands of French left Maine for jobs in the aircraft and other industries near Hartford, Connecticut. Such moves, together with increased suburbanization, have meant that people of French ancestry in New England have become less concentrated in mill towns than they were forty years ago.

For a century the French in New England fought to preserve their language and traditions against the pressures of assimilation. In the large French centers their parochial schools and concentrated French neighborhoods near the mills made this effort successful, at least until the 1960s. In these communities, as in Louisiana, the French were somewhat isolated from the surrounding society, increasing the likelihood of marriage within the ethnic community. Thus, in Maine, New Hampshire, and Louisiana, over 50 percent of the total French and French Canadian ancestries recorded were single ancestries, more than twice the average percentage for states outside New England.

Immigrants from France

Alsatians and Basques. Some immigrants from France were German-speaking Alsatians—easily assimilated into communities whose inhabitants had come from just across the border in southwest Germany. For example, in strongly German Saint Clair County, Illinois; Osage County, Missouri; and Medina County, Texas, most of the hundreds of people recorded in the 1870 census as born in France were from Alsace. Other immigrants were French Basques, most of whom initially worked as sheepherders in the Central Valley of California and open-range areas of the West. As explained in chapter 8, their main settlements have been in California, western Nevada, and parts of Arizona and Wyoming (Douglass and Bilbao 1975).

Dispersal and a California Preference. Among speakers of French, immigration directly from France has been small but fairly steady since before the American Revolution. People came as individuals or families and frequently returned home.

Those who remained in the United States have been described as less traditional and more enterprising, ambitious, and forward-looking (Higonnet 1980). Immigrants from France and their descendants have adjusted without much apparent stress to American ways. Most have been willing to marry non-French people, and many were oriented to the professions or business even before they migrated. Compared to other immigrant groups, the men have worked less as farmers and laborers and more as professionals and clerical workers, though French also were more apt to be cooks, waiters, artists, or self-employed managers (Hutchinson 1956). Some of the same characteristics could be observed in 1880 in Minnesota: immigrants from France and their children had a high rate of intermarriage with people of non-French ancestries, and most men held a white-collar position or were in a small business (Rubinstein 1981b). There, as in New England, immigrants from France seemed to have no special bond with those from Quebec.

Ever since the 1848 gold rush immigrants from France have been especially attracted to California. In 1870 San Francisco had more French-born people than any other county in the United States. Also, in 1920 the foreign-stock of French origin had a higher percentage of its population living in California than did any other European immigrant group except the Portuguese. The preference for California has continued: in 1980 more immigrants from France were living in California and New York than any other states.

In contrast to the regional concentrations of Canadians in New England and Acadians in Louisiana, immigrants from

France tended to disperse to many different towns and cities. The comparative distributions of these and the French Canadians can be found from the data on foreign white stock in the census of 1910 or 1920, appropriate sources because Alsatians should not have been included. (Birthplaces were supposed to be identified in terms of pre-World War I boundaries of European countries, when Alsace was part of Germany). In 1910 French Canadians were more than six times as numerous as those from France in the states adjacent to Canada, from Michigan through Montana, and thirty times more numerous in New England. However, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the South (except Florida), and California, those of origin in France were about four times more likely to be found than were French Canadians.

In 1970 the ratio of the foreign-born population from France to the foreign-born French Canadians was about 2 to 5 (Census 1973a). Recent migrations have brought members of all French groups to California, particularly Los Angeles, and also to those other metropolitan areas in the South and the West that have grown so spectacularly during this century. However, the older regional patterns have persisted in the fact that in 1970 French Canadians far outnumbered immigrants from France in the Boston and Detroit metropolitan areas. Immigrants from France were twice as numerous in New York, but the two sources were approximately equal in Los Angeles.