Chapter 7

People of Eastern European Origin

A large number of different American ethnic groups originated in Eastern Europe from people who spoke languages such as Polish, Russian, Czech, and Serbo-Croatian, all members of the same Slavic linguistic family. There were also Hungarians, Romanians, and Albanians, who spoke languages not in the Slavic family, as well as Lithuanians and Latvians, whose languages have usually not been considered Slavic in origin. However, from the American perspective, there seemed little to distinguish one group from another. In the early 20th century all the peoples were usually described simply as Slavs. The only eastern European ethnic groups that were widely recognized as not Slavic were Jews and ethnic Germans.

The ethnicity of groups from this part of Europe has been most confusing for Americans and most difficult to identify by census questions. A major problem that still exists, to some extent, with the 1980 data, is that some people identified with a country of origin at the time of immigration and others identified with an ethnic group. This means that the data for Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, and Romanian ancestries in the early 20th century may have identified their ancestry as Austrian, and some people whose ancestors spoke Slovak as their mother tongue may have listed their area of origin as either Hungary or present-day Czechoslovakia.

The most serious potential data problems of this sort have to do with a confusion between Christian ethnic groups and Jews from the same country of origin. Jews constitute a highly distinct ethnic group, and people of eastern European ancestries who are not Jewish do not include Jews in their own ethnic group. Yet there are no good data to distinguish Jews from Gentiles. In 1920, although most Jews from eastern Europe reported their mother tongue as Yiddish, the Russian mother-tongue data also contained a considerable proportion of Jews, and most people of Romanian mother tongue in New York City in 1920 were Jews. The situation was probably similar with respect to other eastern European languages, in that many multilingual Jews may well have listed Polish or Hungarian, for example, as their mother tongue. No maps were made for this atlas of the 1920 Romanian or Russian mother-tongue populations because these data were known to have blurred the Jewish-Christian distinction so seriously. Identification with countries like Austria, Hungary, Romania, or Russia has been important to many Jews, and numerous others were probably prompted by the wording of the ancestry question to list an area of origin in the 1980 census. The situation is similar with respect to Jews of German, Spanish, or other origin, but because most American Jews are descendants of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the ancestry data from that region is subject to greater errors of interpretation.

Eastern Europeans generally came to America later than those from Western and Northern Europe because improvements in communication and transportation were slower in reaching the villages within Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. In the early and mid-19th century a few intellectuals, military officers, and other urban residents left because of failed revolutions against the tyranny of the empires. The first emigrants from small towns and villages were often Jewish tradesmen and craftsmen, who traveled to America as early as the 1850s. Some of these returned, spreading word to Christian acquaintances in villages. Wagons were better in America, and those who decided to leave recognized that with little industrialization, a rapidly growing population, and ownership of most land in the hands of the nobility there were few local opportunities to get ahead. In addition, many young men emigrated in order to avoid compulsory military service. American employers recruited workers from parts of Eastern Europe, but they were not a necessary catalyst. Letters written back by earlier migrants, gossip in the villages, and promotions by steamship companies provided sufficient direction for anyone contemplating the migration.

Many immigrants were men who planned to earn as much money as possible in a few years and then return home to their families, able at last to buy the land or goods they desired. This widespread view of the migration as a temporary stay was reflected in the high rates of return to Europe before World War I (Archeacon 1983). However, many of those who had not returned before the war stayed on afterward and came to accept the reality of permanent life in a new country.

Jews had additional reasons for emigration: the anti-Jewish restrictions on land ownership and occupations. In Russia there were also intermittent pogroms, campaigns of beating and killing and home burning, that began about 1881. Jews were also different from the average Christian immigrant in that whole families migrated, and the crossing was more likely to be permanent, especially after the terrible 1903 pogrom in Russia.

After quotas on immigration were instituted in the 1920s, fewer eastern Europeans, Christian or Jewish, could enter the country. But between 1930 and 1941 nearly 150,000 middle-class Jewish merchants and professionals, including many scientists, fled the Nazis and were able to settle in America (Cohen 1980). In the 1940s, however, some Jews fleeing the Holocaust were refused admittance here, and only later did most Americans learn that the Nazis killed six million (or two-thirds) of Europe's Jews during World War II. Since that war about 400,000 people (mostly eastern Europeans) were able to enter under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 allowed almost 190,000 more to come (U.S. INS 1985). They generally settled in the larger cities where major populations of their ethnic group had previously been established by the pre-World War I immigrants. Control of eastern European countries by Communist governments, often under the hand of the Soviet Union, has restricted emigration. However, refugees from the attempted revolutions in 1956 in Hungary and 1968 in Czechoslovakia have settled in the United States. Also, the U.S. has been receiving permanent residents (peo-
ple given the status of immigrants) in recent decades from several eastern European countries, often after they had first been admitted as refugees. Between 1961 and 1980 such immigrants to the U.S. numbered over 90,000 from Poland, 50,000 from Yugoslavia, 41,000 from the Soviet Union, 14,000 from Romania, 11,000 from Hungary, and 10,000 from Czechoslovakia (U.S. INS. 1983). These figures are misleadingly low in that they include neither refugees who entered the U.S. from Italy or Austria or some other intermediate country of last permanent residence nor those who had not adjusted their status to immigrant. Actually, from 1975 through 1980 an estimated 90,000 Jews from the Soviet Union came to America, most by way of Vienna (Simon and Simon 1982).

In the ethnic societies that have developed in America, those who have come since World War II have been typically more educated, urban, and skilled—contrasting with the earlier migrants. Also, the post-World War II immigrants and refugees have been typically very conscious of their ethnic culture and language and often resentful of the little interest in these matters shown by the children and grandchildren of the pre-1914 immigrants. This has made for tensions and social divisions within those ethnic communities in this country.

### Austrian Ancestry

#### 1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>339,789</th>
<th>Multiple ancestry</th>
<th>606,769</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Counties with Largest Austrian-Ancestry Population**

- New York City, NY 49,155
- Los Angeles, CA 14,370
- Cook (Chicago), IL 10,111
- Nassau, NY 10,866
- Dade (Miami), FL 7,889

#### Counties with Highest Percentage of Austrian Ancestry in Population**

- Pepin (Durand), WI 7.15
- Marshall (Brillion), SD 2.22
- Silver Bow (Butte), MT 2.17

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* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.

** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

Before 1860 or so there were very few immigrants from the areas included in the present-day country of Austria. From 1804 until after World War I (1918) the movement was difficult to measure because the Austrian Empire and, later, the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary included a much larger territory and many ethnic groups.

### Problems of Austrian Data Interpretation

U.S. census and immigration data for Austria before World War I are almost useless for the study of ethnic populations because people were typically identified only in terms of the empire, not the ethnic group. Thus, the numbers recorded as of Austrian birth included Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Poles, Slovenians, and Jews, as well as speakers of German. In the early 20th century speakers of German made up only about 10 percent of the immigration from the Austrian and Hungarian empires, but after World War I the proportion of German-speakers was higher because the area had been so drastically reduced. As of 1970, 56 percent of the population of Austrian birth spoke German as a mother tongue (Census 1973a). Another 12 percent of Austrian immigrants listed Yiddish as their mother tongue, suggesting the proportion of Jews in the 20th-century immigration.

Between 1804 and 1918 many people who did not speak German considered themselves Austrians because they lived within this empire. It is not known to what extent these populations identified their ancestry as Austrian to their children. For example, in the coal-mining towns of southeastern Kansas it has been thought that most of the Slovenians called themselves Austrians (Carmen 1961), but the 1980 data suggest this is not so completely true now. Crawford County reported 135 people of Slovene ancestry and 348 of Austrian ancestry, and the latter group may have also included many Poles.

Mining jobs were apparently not typically taken by ethnic Germans from Austria, and high proportions of Austrians in such counties probably indicate members of Slavic ethnic groups. For instance, over a thousand people of Austrian ancestry were reported in the Butte and Anaconda mining and smelting area (Silver Bow and Deer Lodge counties) in Montana. Also, iron mining created Dickinson County, Michigan, and although a Ford plant for wooden car components later attracted some outsiders, the Austrian-ancestry population has probably been of Croatian or related Slavic background.

On the other hand, German-speaking people from an area of present-day Austria have sometimes identified with German ancestry. In eastern Austria is the strongly German-speaking region of Burgenland, which was Hungarian territory before 1921. Although immigrants from this area were not ethnically Hungarian, those who settled in North Dakota were referred to by others as Hungarians. In Barnes County in 1965 the Burgenlanders represented 11 percent of the people of German-language heritage in the county (Sherman 1953), but in 1980 people who listed an Austrian ancestry constituted less than a half of 1 percent of the German-ancestry population in that county. Very few people in that county identified themselves as of Hungarian ancestry.

The large 1980 ancestry totals for eastern European ethnic groups that were within the old empire suggest that most descendants of immigrants from the pre-1918 period identified with the specific ethnic ancestry rather than Austrian nationality. Nevertheless, users of the atlas cannot assume that the Austrian data represent primarily people descended from speakers of German or that people of Burgenland origin are necessarily included. Moreover, because instructions for the census questionnaire specified that a religion should not be named, most Austrian Jews probably responded as Austrian.

### Settlement Locations

**German-Speaking Austrians.** These people, usefully considered ethnic Austrians, have made some group settlements in rural areas of the United States, but these have generally been small and evanescent. In the 1730s Protestants sought religious freedom in rural Georgia, and there were 19th-century migrations to specific farming areas in Illinois and Iowa. However, in the 1980 data only two rural settlements are clearly evident. In Pepin County, Wisconsin, over 7 percent of the population is of Austrian ancestry, by far the highest in the country. That settlement was begun in the 1870s with over a hundred farming families (Luebbe 1980). In the 1880s Austrians first homesteaded in Marshall County, South Dakota, usually after living for a while in Minfotte (Marshall County Historical Society 1979). Chain migrations to their Eden Township settlement drew other Austrians, a few arriving as late as the 1920s.

In the early 20th century the area of origin for most Austrian immigrants was Burgenland, which had an especially large surplus of unskilled farm laborers. Between World War I and the 1930s probably 70 percent of Austrian immigrants were Burgenlanders (Spaulding 1968). They became
factory workers; Burgenlander communities developed in Detroit, New York, and northern New Jersey industrial cities, and Skew in Chicago was four times the size of any other. This is reflected in the Chicago metropolitan area’s large proportion (71 percent) of Austrian-born people whose mother tongue was German (Census 1975a). Burgenlanders represented a relatively high proportion of the total population in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and surrounding Lehigh County, where in 1930 Austrians constituted the largest foreign-born group and where in 1890 there were nearly four thousand people of Austrian ancestry.

Austrian Jews. The emigration that began in 1938 was very different from the earlier rural exodus in that it was mostly composed of educated, middle-class and professional, Viennese Jews trying to escape the Nazis. A relative few were able to come to the United States before 1941 because of the national origins quotas. Many found refuge in a European country until after the war, when thousands were able to enter the United States (Luebke 1980). The fact that New York City became the main settlement of these refugees is part of the reason why in 1980 the New York metropolitan area contained over 20 percent of all the Austrian-ancestry population in America.

Czech and Czechoslovakian Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>1,103,732</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counties with Largest Czech Ancestry Population**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>57,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga (Cleveland), OH</td>
<td>24,710</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>22,951</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>16,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris (Houston), TX</td>
<td>13,566</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Czech ethnicity is based primarily on the ancestral or current use of the Czech language. Many immigrants from Bohemia and Moravia, in the western and central parts of modern Czechoslovakia, used that language, but there were also many ethnic Germans who emigrated from the same area and would not be considered as Czechs. However, in the 1980 census, the Czech-ancestry category included people who defined their ancestry by nationality and listed the modern country, Czechoslovakia. Probably the largest number of ethnic Slovaks represented in the Czech and Czechoslovakian data were in Pennsylvania because in 1920 that state’s population of Slovak mother tongue was 15 times larger than that of Czech mother tongue.

With a few exceptions, the Czechs arrived about 1850, but by 1860 over 20,000 Czechs had come to the United States. Families predominated in the migration, and there was a low return migration compared to other groups (Freeze 1980). Many of those who came around the mid-19th century were professionals, soldiers, craftsmen, or intellectuals, but most who came in the next few decades were rural farm families.

The Czechs were unusual among European immigrant groups in that, in America, a slight majority abandoned any formal religious beliefs and organizations (Garver 1980). Before emigration most Czechs had been nominally Roman Catholic, and many retained this heritage, sometimes settling near Germans to share religious worship despite past oppression by that group. However, Czechs also inherited a tradition of rationality and freedom of thought, which prompted a lot of questioning of religion (Freeze 1980). The move to America led many to abandon Catholicism and join Protestant denominations, and many urban families gave up any religious practice. Czech communities here were often bitterly divided into Freethinkers and Catholics. In rural areas many Protestant neighbors could not understand how the Czechs could be such good, hardworking farmers and yet dance, drink beer, and party on Sundays.

Midwestern Farming Settlements

Some immigrants were farmers who had sold their small plots of land and brought the money with them. Thus, Czechs differed from many immigrant groups but were like the Swedes, Danes, and Germans in that they were often able to purchase their own land soon after arrival (Birch 1910). Passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 encouraged more people to come, as did a major agricultural depression in 1873. Many Czechs were fortunate to be coming at a time when good farmland was still available. In contrast to the Slovak distribution association with industrial cities, more than 35 percent of all Czech breadwinners in 1900 were either farmers or farmworkers (Imm. Com. 1911a).

Wisconsin and Minnesota. The earliest focus of settlement was Wisconsin, which had an active immigration commissioner, low taxes, and a reputation for political and religious freedom (Bicha 1970). The first Czechs came to Milwaukee in 1848, and by 1854 farm families were established near Racine and to the north in Kewaunee and Manitowoc counties. The Czechs chose land with a forest cover, rather than more fertile prairie lands (Balch 1910). This enabled them to get a cheaper and faster start in farming among the leftover stumps. They could sell the wood they cleared to the railroad or steamboat companies, and there were jobs in nearby sawmills. With the economic prosperity from the Civil War, their farms thrived and communities in Milwaukee and Racine grew.

In the 1850s many Czechs moved westward from the area near Lake Michigan to La Crosse and to Richland, Vernon, and Crawford counties. In those farm settlements they were joined by others from Chicago and a few directly from Bohemia (Bicha 1970). The Czech farm settlements in Iowa began at the same time, and also represented a secondary migration of people who had initially settled in Wisconsin or Illinois. Several scattered counties in Iowa developed Czech communities, but the Cedar Rapids area (Linn County) has been by far the largest focus.

In Minnesota there were several rural settlements that had similar origins in the 1850s (Chrislock 1981). The largest were in Le Sueur, Rice, and Scott counties, just southwest of Minneapolis. In that area there was some railroad work, in addition to farming, and the market towns of Montevideo and New Prague later developed some industry, making it possible to retain more of the younger generations. The annual festival, Kolacky Days, still draws many thousands of people, but as with most such celebrations, the ethnic cultural component has been much diminished.

Less desirable cutover land was sometimes taken up at a later date. In 1876 some immigrants who had been living in Chicago responded to land advertisements and decided to settle such land in northern Wisconsin (Price and Langlade counties) and Minnesota (Pine and Mahnomen counties) in order to begin farming there (Bicha 1970; Chrislock 1981).
Nebraska. After 1862 unclaimed land was free to home- 
steaders, and many Wisconsin and Iowa Czechs moved west- 
tward to make their claims, particularly in Nebraska, whose 
land was enthusiastically described by articles in Czech 
newspapers in Racine, Chicago, and elsewhere (Rosicky 
1929). Farming attracted many people who had little expe- 
rience in it, for they had been craftsmen or traders in Bohemia. 
People often looked for land in a particular area recom- 
mended by a friend or acquaintance, and decisions about 
actual claims were usually made after a scouting trip, some- 
times involving walking 70 or so miles from the land office in 
Nebraska City, on the Missouri River. 

In the 1880s, after government land in eastern Nebraska 
had been taken, the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, which 
had a Czech land agent, offered special discounts for people 
who bought its land. Many of the initial claims and purchases 
were later sold, but numerous towns south of the Platte River 
Valley persisted in their Czech character. In 1980 Saline, 
Cufax, and Butler counties had higher percentages of Czech 
ancestry than had any other counties in America.

Other Great Plains Settlements. Some rural land was 
taken up by Czechs who were disillusioned with factory work 
and life in large cities (Capek 1920), but plans were often 
changed and many people moved several times before set- 
tting. One group of families left Chicago for Knox County, 
Nebraska, but a disagreement over land quality between the 
leaders resulted in a split, with half the people moving just 
across the Missouri River into Bon Homme County, South 
Dakota. In 1876, many people left Saline County, Nebraska, 
because of a locust plague, and moved into the Ellis County area of central Kansas.

As of 1980 the proportions of people of Czech ancestry 
in some of the midwestern farm counties were relatively 
high, but the areas far from cities have suffered from out- 
migration for several decades and the total Czech-ancestry 
numbers were low.

Southern Farming Settlements

Texas. A great many Czechs immigrated directly to Texas, 
beginning in the 1850s and continuing throughout the cen- 
tury. In the 1870s steamships sailing between northern Ger- 
many’s ports of embarkation and Galveston made a fairly 
easy passage for the immigrants. The earliest settlements 
were in Fayette County, but by 1910 a whole series of coun- 
tries had rural Czech farming settlements (Imm. Com. 
1911m). The immigrants frequently chose the rich black-soil 
prairie lands, concentrated on cotton, and used modern farm- 
ning methods. Most were excellent farmers who became major 
producers of cotton in Texas. In their search for lower-priced 
good farmland, Czechs often sold out and moved on, thus 
establishing many small settlements on the gently rolling 
Texas plains south of Dallas, from San Antonio and Austin on the west to Houston on the east.

Czech Catholics in Texas held to their religious beliefs 
more strongly than in any areas of the Midwest, perhaps 
because most of the Texas immigrants had come from Mor- 
avia and more isolated parts of Bohemia, where traditional 
religion retained a stronger hold (Capek 1920).

Although fifty years ago about 95 percent of Texas Czechs 
were in farming (Hewitt 1972), most of the sons and 
grandsons of the immigrants to Texas have turned to various 
white-collar and professional jobs. Nearby Houston (Harris 
County) had in 1980 one of the largest Czech-ancestry popu- 
lations in America. A few farm towns like Fayetteville 
(Fayette County) and Ennis (Ellis County) were still strongly 
Czech, but many of the smallest settlements were almost 
ghost towns. Nevertheless, the two Texas counties where 
Czech ethnicity was proportionately strongest in 1980 were 
the same counties that had been the focus of agricultural 
settlement at the turn of the century: Fayette and Lavaca.

Oklahoma. This state received Czech farmers primarily 
from Nebraska and other midwestern states (Bicha 1980). 
The first arrived in 1889 and the 1890s, when parts of 
the former Indian territory were opened to white homesteading. 
The Czech school attendance was higher than the non-Czechs, neighbors, helped them sur- 
vive the Great Depression without migrating (Jrnych 1944).

In the late 1970s the Czech communities just east and 
west of Oklahoma City — Prague in Lincoln County and 
Yukon in Canadian County — had popular annual festivals 
(Bicha 1980). To the north the largest Czech-ancestry num- 
bers in 1980 were in Garfield and Kingfisher counties. The 
parishes in the small Czech communities along the old Rock 
Island railroad line remained the focus of ethnic activities for 
their aging populations. Out-migration from the various farm 
areas has resulted in a large population in Oklahoma City 
(Oklahoma County).

Virginia. Some Czechs even moved eastward to begin 
 farming near Petersburg (Prince George County), Virginia. In 
1887 some Nebraska Czechs were attracted by newspaper 
advertisements for land in that area, took a trip to investigate, 
and later bought land there (Anderson 1929). Letters written 
to Czech-American newspapers persuaded many people to 
leave cities and mines, often for health reasons, and by the 
1920s there were Protestant and Catholic Czechs numbering 
over three thousand in the area. They were still socially sepa- 
rate from other Virginians, but their great efforts at farming 
and other jobs had made the settlement successful.

City Settlements

In Bohemia, adjacent to Germany, advanced industries had 
developed earlier than elsewhere in eastern Europe. Many 
immigrants who settled in American cities were able to get 
skilled laboring jobs, particularly in mechanical industries 
and manufacturing (Freeze 1980). Czechs preferred to work 
in factories and shops, as opposed to outside jobs like railroad 
construction or mining (Capek 1920). There were also many 
musicians and other professionals, as well as merchants.

Partly because of the large farming communities in Ne-
braska and Iowa, Omaha became a major Czech center. 
There was a commercial district run largely by Czechs with 
boarding houses, groceries, and saloons (Roosicky 1929). For 
many, there were jobs at a smelter and in the slaughter- 
houses. In the early 20th century Czechs were the largest 
foreign-born ethnic group in the meatpacking industry of 
South Omaha (Imm. Com. 1911d).

Two large urban concentrations were New York and 
Cleveland. In Cleveland, as elsewhere in Ohio, some men 
worked in iron and steel mills, though most were in other 
types of manufacturing (Freeze 1980). Perhaps 95 percent 
of New York City Czechs in 1865 made cigars, which by 1900 
still represented the major employment for women. Also, by 
1920 Czechs who were skilled cigar workers had their own 
shops and were responsible for almost half of that type 
of manufacturing in America. As elsewhere, both occupa-
tions and residences have shifted from manufacturing in 
Manhattan to suburban areas.
Immigration increased after World War II, when approximately 35,000 refugees from the Soviet takeover in 1945 and another 10,000 escapes from the 1968 revolution were admitted to America. New York City has become the major intellectual center for those distinctive Czech groups.

**Chicago.** Chicago became the major urban center of Czech immigrants as early as 1870, and by 1980 it had twice as many people of Czech ancestry as any other metropolitan area. The first settlers were a few political exiles, but in the early 1850s others were unloading lumber and living in shacks on the outskirts of the growing city (Capek 1920). Soon craftsmen, skilled laborers, and farmers arrived. Later, Czechs often manufactured garments, many working in sweatshops. They were economically successful, and in the early 20th century began moving to western industrial suburbs like Cicero, which by 1920 was the fourth largest Czech city in America.

Since World War II especially in the 1960s a younger generation often moved still farther west into the newer suburbs of DuPage County, which in 1980 was fifth largest among American counties in its Czech-ancestry population. Older suburbs of Cicero and next-door Berwyn have housed an increasingly older population, often retired from Western Electric or other local plants and highly stable residually in their well-kept, modest brick bungalows (Erbe 1984).

**Slovak Ancestry**

1980 Summary Statistics*

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<tr>
<th>Ethnic Population</th>
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<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
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**Counties with Largest Slovak Ancestry Population**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga (Cleveland), OH</td>
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<td>Allegheny (Pittsburgh), PA</td>
<td>33,736</td>
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<td>Mahoning (Youngstown), OH</td>
<td>12,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre), PA</td>
<td>12,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>12,041</td>
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**Counties with Highest Percentage of Slovak Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carbon (Jim Thorpe), PA</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette (Uniontown), PA</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Czech and Slovak Populations and Data**

The fact that the 1980 ancestry question permitted responses on the basis of either country of origin or ethnic group makes it difficult to know the size of the Slovak population compared to the ethnic Czech population. The census data probably seriously underestimated the people of Slovak ancestry because the census incorporated all persons responding with the national origin Czechoslovakian into the Czech-ancestry total. Presumably ethnic Slovaks frequently reported their ancestry in terms of either the modern country of Czechoslovakia or Hungary, the old country of origin. Thus, the Slovak-ancestry population was probably somewhat larger than the totals reported, in comparison to the Czech-ancestry population and probably also the Hungarian-ancestry population. As explained in the section on Czech ancestry, the data for Pennsylvanians were probably most seriously affected.

Both ethnic groups originated in the modern country of Czechoslovakia, although until 1918 the area had been included with the countries of Austria and Hungary. In 1920, after the major period of immigration, the foreign-stock populations of Czech and Slovak mother tongues were about the same size. However, over 20,000 Czechs had come to America by 1980 (Freeze 1980), over two decades before Slovak immigration began, indicating that there was in 1920 a larger Czech third generation, which was not included in the foreign stock. Also, the population of Czech ancestry has been augmented since World War II by about 35,000 people, mostly refugees (Freeze 1980), whereas the Slovaks received fewer such additions.

**Immigration to Industrial Centers**

Slovak immigration began in the 1870s. In the early days, before the patterns of chain migration had been established, immigrants knew only of rather vague destinations, such as the Pennsylvania coalfields. One group of eight young men were persuaded by a returning Slovak to give America a try (Stolarik 1985). They left their villages in November, 1879, took the train to Bremen, and boarded a steamship to Philadelphia. The city government would not let them off the ship until well after Christmas, at which time they were not admitted to Philadelphia but instead were walked to the edge of the city. Clothed in blankets, they trudged to Trenton, where they were kept out by jeers and stones. After walking for three more days, they arrived in South Bethlehem (Northampton County), where a friendly Czech doctor fed them and put them in touch with a foreman at the local iron and steel plant. There was a labor shortage at the mill, and the men were hired immediately. Their letters home resulted in the chain migration to South Bethlehem.

After 1865 the increasing scale of steelmaking plus the use of the Bessemer and open-hearth processes reduced the need for skilled steelworkers and placed a premium on strength (Erickson 1957). These changes came just at the time that unskilled immigrants from eastern Europe were arriving, a circumstance placing the skilled unionized workers at a disadvantage and leading to labor conflict. Slovaks, like most other eastern Europeans, took the best-paying jobs they could get. These usually were unskilled laboring jobs, such as those in heavy industries.
County’s population listed Slovak as their ancestry in 1980, and to the north Luzerne County (including Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre) was an important center for the population of Slovak ancestry.

Steelmaking and Other Industries. In western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio the Slovaks dug bituminous coal and worked in the iron and steel industry. Virtually all the counties outside the anthracite areas of eastern Pennsylvania that had large numbers or high proportions of Slovaks in 1980 had economies based on soft-coal mining, coke production, or iron and steelmaking.

Slovaks were probably the largest foreign-born ethnic group in the nation’s iron and steel industry in 1900 (Imm. Com. 1911a). For example, they were the largest foreign-born group in the mills of Johnstown (Cambria County), Pennsylvania. Youngstown (Mahoning County), Ohio, was essentially another such mill town in the early 20th century, and it attracted a large Slovak population, still evident in the 1980 ancestry data.

In 1980 Allegheny County in Pennsylvania and Cuyahoga County in Ohio contained easily the largest Slovak-ancestry populations in the country. This was because in the early 20th century Pittsburgh (Allegheny County) was the nation’s leading center of iron and steel production and Cleveland (Cuyahoga County) had a large iron and steel output as well as a major oil refinery and other industries.

The large industrial area in Indiana’s Lake County, along the Lake Michigan shore just east of Chicago, attracted many Slovak workers. At the oil refineries in Whiting they were the largest foreign-born ethnic group in the work force in the early 20th century (Imm. Com. 1911). There were many other jobs in nearby East Chicago, with its foundries, steel mills, chemical plants, and port facilities. In 1909 the first steel Rowing from the massive Gary works of U.S. Steel. Most workers at those plants were immigrants, with the Slovaks next to the Poles in numbers (Phillips 1939). In 1980 Lake County had more people of Slovak ancestry than any other county west of Cleveland except Chicago itself (Cook County).

However, patterns of chain migration resulted in lower proportions of Slovaks at steel mills in Michigan and Illinois. Also, few Slovaks settled in Buffalo’s steel town (Lackawanna), in Erie County, New York, where there already was a large Polish population (Imm. Com. 1911c).

In Birmingham (Broome County), New York, a shoe factory recruited some people directly from Czechoslovakia after World War I, but the Slovak population— together with Czechs and Lithuanians— may be due largely to the 20th-century in-migration of unemployed anthracite miners, espe-

cially attracted by the job security and good working conditions provided by I. M. and the shoe manufacturer, Endicott-Johnson (Van Riper 1966).

Other Locational Characteristics

Evanescent Farm Settlements. There were small farm communities in a few states. One colony in eastern Arkansas (Slovaktown, in Prairie County) was settled mostly by Slovak immigrants who had been working in Pennsylvania or Illinois and in the early years seemed fairly successful (Balch 1910). Apparently a few descendants (including people who responded as Czechoslovaks) remained as of 1980. On the plains of eastern Colorado some Slovak railroad workers in the late 1880s chose land in Elbert and El Paso counties for homesteading (Kedro 1977). Their communities attracted some immigrants directly from Slovaks, but in the last few decades most of that rural farm population probably moved to Colorado Springs or other cities. Moreover, as in other states, Slovaks in Colorado were apt to be miners or industrial workers.

Geographical Persistence. In the early years Slovaks moved from one town or city to another in search of better jobs, but by the 1920s they were well settled into some neighborhood near their jobs. Their values emphasized the continuity of family and ethnic community and the stability of manual labor jobs. Because there was usually only one large industrial employer within walking distance of their homes, they felt tied to that employer and were reluctant to leave steady jobs to gain higher pay. Their churches (usually Catholic parishes) and lodges were the focus of their ethnic life, and they had unusually high rates of homeownership compared to other people in their localities (Brodar 1976a).

Most Slovak men continued to work in laboring jobs most of their lives, and their sons, while moving into skilled industrial work, were not attracted to small businesses (Stolarik 1980). Immigrant parents and their children stayed close together, usually in the older neighborhoods near the mills. Later generations have usually moved to the suburbs and tried to avoid industrial work. Slovaks outside the larger industrial cities have settled in essentially eastern European ethnic suburbs, such as Parma, Ohio, and northeast Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

In 1980 the Slovak-ancestry population was small in New York City, attesting to the strong Slovak movement to industrial and mining areas rather than to large cities in general. Moreover, relatively few Slovaks have moved to California in the years since 1920. In 1980 less than 3 percent of the Slovak-ancestry population lived in California—the lowest figure of all European ancestry groups. This probably reflected their greater rootedness in industrial eastern America.

Hungarian Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>Multiple ancestry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Ethnic Population</td>
<td>727,223</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Counties with Largest Hungarian-Ancestry Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>63,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga (Cleveland), OH</td>
<td>34,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>33,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex (New Brunswick), NJ</td>
<td>20,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne (Detroit), MI</td>
<td>19,056</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Highest Percentage of Hungarian Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex (New Brunswick), NJ</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton (Bethlehem), PA</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake (Mentor), OH</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geauga, OH</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorain, OH</td>
<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Immigrant Populations from Hungary

Probably most of the people who in 1980 identified their ancestry as Hungarian either spoke that language as their mother tongue or had ancestors who did. Such people have been considered ethnic Hungarians, in contrast to others whose ancestral origins have been in historical Hungary but whose first language was not Hungarian. Although the term “Magyar” is the Hungarian term for their language and was once used to distinguish ethnic Hungarians from non-Magyars who came from the country of Hungary, that term is less used in America today.

Ethnic Diversity. In the period of major immigration from Hungary, before World War I, that country’s area was much larger, and the 1910 U.S. census showed that only 46 percent of immigrants from Hungary spoke Hungarian (or Magyar).
as their mother tongue. Another 22 percent were Slovaks and 15 percent were ethnic Germans. Thus, mother tongue has been a much better measure of the ethnic Hungarian population than country of origin.

Although this interpretation assumes that only ethnic Hungarians responded with this ancestry, the Hungarian-ancestry numbers include many people who identified with that country rather than the ethnic group. Thus, the maps may portray people of Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, German, Jewish, or other ethnic heritage. These different populations rarely settled together, and their locations varied regionally. For example, all the rural North Dakota settlements whose populations reported a Hungarian ancestry in 1980 were, in fact, originally German in speech (Sherman 1983).

The large migration of Hungarians began only in the 1880s, when some people left to take jobs in the expanding American industries. In the 1870s recruiters had visited the mining areas of Galicia, in the north of the area that was then Hungary, and signed up workers, primarily Slovaks, for the coal fields of western Pennsylvania (Puskas 1982).

However, by 1903 over half the emigrants from Hungary were ethnic Hungarians (Benkart 1980). After 1924 immigration dropped abruptly due to American restrictions, so that the next large body of immigrants were about 24,000 refugees from World War II and the Communist takeover of the country. Then, after the 1956 revolution about 200,000 Hungarians fled the country. Of these, the United States admitted about 35,000 (Benkart 1980).

Religious Groups. Several different religions were represented among Hungarian immigrants. There were a variety of Christian groups, with Roman Catholics making up perhaps 60 percent of the immigrants plus Greek Catholics and Protestants (Puskas 1982). The early Jewish Hungarian immigrants, few of whom knew Yiddish, at first kept somewhat separate from other Jewish communities and aided the adjustment of Christian Hungarians who arrived later (Benkart 1980). In 1920 Jews were often included in the Hungarian mother-tongue data, and identification with Hungary has remained important for many Jews.

Settlements of Industrial Workers

Those immigrants who came between 1880 and World War I were the ones who established the major Hungarian settlements. Thus, ethnic Hungarians often followed the Hungarian Jews or Slovaks to particular American destinations, but dangerous work and the drudgery of most people’s lives resulted in much transience. Many Hungarian men found their first jobs in the coal mines of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, then moved on if they heard about jobs elsewhere. As of 1980, however, most of the coal-mining counties in West Virginia had retained a few hundred people of Hungarian ancestry.

Although immigrants from Hungary were unlikely to become farmers or farm laborers. In 1900 only 3 percent of male breadwinners born in Hungary were employed in agriculture (Inm. Com. 1911a). That figure included, of course, Slovaks and ethnic Germans, nearly all of whom chose urban destinations.

Hungarian immigrants were especially apt to work in heavy industry, and often in iron- and steel-making or steel product manufacture. Their settlements were close to the plants and usually mixed with those of other eastern Europeans working in the same facility. Although there has been a substantial shift of jobs out of that industry, many people of Hungarian ancestry remain in these areas. Many of the counties with the highest percentage of Hungarian ancestry in the U.S. were in which such operations were located.

Pennsylvania. After 1899 the steel industry expanded rapidly in South Bethlehem (Northampton County), Pennsylvania, and that area became the largest Hungarian center in eastern Pennsylvania, and in 1980 Northampton County was second highest in the country in its Hungarian-ancestry percentage. Western Pennsylvania, however, had many more Hungarian settlements. In Cambria County some men worked in the coal mines, as at Nanty Glo, while Bethlehem Steel employed most Hungarians at its Johnstown factory (Body and Boros-Kazai 1981). In Fayette County, south of Pittsburgh, Connellsburg and Uniontown became Hungarian centers because their locations made them accessible to men scattered at numerous small coal mines, including some in nearby West Virginia.

The major Hungarian center in the state was the Pitts- burgh (Allegheny County) area. By 1900 there was already a Hungarian settlement in Pittsburgh itself, between Oakland and the Jones and Laughlin plant on the banks of the Monongahela River (Body and Boros-Kazai 1981). Later others appeared upriver near the Homestead and Duquesne works of U.S. Steel, and across the river in Braddock. Farther up the Mon Valley, National Tube’s plant at McKeesport employed thousands of immigrants, and that city evolved into a major center of Hungarian life. In the 1920s many people moved out of the mills and into small businesses, often serving the Hungarian community in particular. The ethnic Hungarians refugees since World War II largely estimated four thousand Hungarian immigrants in Pittsburgh, many of whom became professionals and helped make that area one of the leading Hungarian ethnic communities in America.

Ohio. The greater Cleveland area (Cuyahoga County plus adjacent Lorain, Lake, and Geauga counties) has been the largest focus of Hungarian ethnic life in Ohio. Chain immigration and the pull of Cleveland were extremely strong. In 1902, a group of immigrants bound for Cleveland somehow ended up lost in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where they were conned out of their money and forced to sign labor contracts (Weinberg 1977); after about six months’ work, however, they escaped and finally got the right train to Cleveland.

A major Hungarian community developed near Buckeye Road, on Cleveland’s east side, where most men’s jobs in the various foundries, bronze works, and other factories were within walking distance (Papp 1981). Variously, people became carpenters, repaired car bodies, helped in bakeries, or prepared tobacco for cigarmakers (Weinberg 1977). Few people needed to speak English, and the neighborhood made it possible for immigrants to feel fairly comfortable in the strange land of America. Many Hungarians also lived on the city’s west side, where a particular immigrant from Hungary who was a skilled maker of cabinets for sewing machines opened his own factory in 1876 and employed over a thousand Hungarian immigrants (Papp 1981). Some Hungarians in Cleveland moved west to Lorain to take advantage of higher wages in that city’s steel industry (Komyu 1967), and Lorain became the site of a large Ford plant and shipyard, attracting still more immigrant workers.

Before 1920 the Buckeye Road community of Cleveland was highly transient, but later Hungarians committed themselves to a life in America, became citizens, and bought homes (Papp 1981). Buckeye became the largest Hungarian neighborhood in America, an essentially self-contained com-
munity. After about 1950, some six thousand displaced persons arrived in Cleveland from Hungary, and although most were educated or professional people, they had to take various factory jobs. Perhaps another six thousand refugees from the 1956 revolution settled in Cleveland, where they were especially instrumental in maintaining consciousness of Hungary and its culture.

In the 1960s, however, most immigrants and their children and grandchildren moved to suburban areas toward the northeast and the southern parts of Cuyahoga County. As a black population began to move in, real-estate agents seemed to encourage white flight and lending institutions would not loan money for maintenance of property. By 1980 only a few of the elderly Hungarians still lived in Buckeye, but Cuyahoga County and the suburban counties still showed a very large Hungarian-ancestry population.

Other States. The origins of most other Hungarian communities were similar in a general sense. In Trenton (Mercer County), New Jersey, two iron mills used Hungarians almost exclusively in some departments, especially where strength and stamina were required (Vecsei 1965). Middlesex County developed the largest Hungarian communities, associated with local industries in the cities of Perth Amboy, Carteret, Woodbridge, and especially, New Brunswick, where the Johnson and Johnson Company’s early recruitment in Hungary led to a work force that was once over 60 percent Hungarian (Molnar 1977). With immigrants taking a variety of jobs in the area, New Brunswick was considered the most Hungarian city in America. The claim is probably still valid, as Middlesex County’s population in 1980 had a higher percentage of Hungarian ancestry than any other county in America.

By 1890 there were Hungarian settlements in Connecticut, especially in the industrial cities of Bridgeport and Norwalk (Fairfield County), where immigrants worked in textile and hat factories and a variety of other plants. In Detroit (Wayne County) at the turn of the century, Hungarians were employed at the ironworks and lumberyards and on railroad track gangs (Rankin 1939). When the Dodge and Ford plants opened, many workers eagerly came from the coal mines and steel mills of other states, leading to the growth of a large Hungarian concentration on the west side in Delray, close to many factories. In Detroit, as in the immigrant neighborhoods of most cities, the old housing has deteriorated and most younger people of Hungarian ancestry have moved to suburban areas (Agocs 1981).

Over the last half-century many people of Hungarian ancestry left those industrial cities and states, often moving to Florida or California. In 1920 about 70 percent of Hungarians lived in four states: New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, but by 1980 only 48 percent of the Hungarian-ancestry population lived in those four states.

### Romanian Ancestry

#### 1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th>141,675</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>173,583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Counties with Largest Romanian-Ancestry Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>25,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>10,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>8,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade (Miami), FL</td>
<td>4,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau, NY</td>
<td>4,131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Counties with Highest Percentage of Romanian Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stark (Canton), OH</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumbull (Warren), OH</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broward (Fort Lauderdale), FL</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kane (Aurora), IL</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockland (New City), NY</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics, maps, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.

** Major cities or towns may be included inadvertently.

Only a few Romanians (also spelled Rumanians) came to America before 1870, and until about 1895 most emigrants from that country were Romanian Jews (Bobango 1980). After about 1895 the immigrants were more apt to be ethnic Romanian peasants. When they arrived, hardly any good farmland was left, but job opportunities in the cities were expanding. Many Romanians came to America without apparent personal contacts at particular destinations (Barton 1975). But, just as other eastern Europeans, some received laboring job offers when they first stepped off the boat in New York (Galitzi 1929).

### Settlements in Industrial Cities

In the Midwest the young Romanien single men worked especially in the iron and steel industry and car manufacturing. They often lived in boardinghouses run by the few Romanian wives who had immigrated. Taverns or saloons were popular with Romanians, as they were with other eastern Europeans working in industrial centers. Churches, usually Orthodox, but sometimes Greek Catholic or Protestant, were important parts of Romanian communities as well.

Romanians and other workers lived within walking distance of their jobs. For instance, in Chicago there were three distinct Romanian settlements, each associated with a different set of jobs. The first center was near numerous greenhouses, the second near the Deering Harvester Company and a terracotta factory, and the third in South Chicago, near the stockyards (Galitzi 1929). But by the late 1920s many were able to afford to move to suburbs to the north and west of the city.

Detroit was the largest Romanian center in the Midwest in 1920, a statistic that is not surprising considering that over 1,700 Romanians were employed at Henry Ford’s Highland Park plant in 1916 (Schwartz 1971). Canton (Stark County), Ohio, developed a large Romanian community associated with the roller-bearing mill and other steelworks, and in 1980 Stark County had a higher proportion of Romanians than any other American county.

### Cleveland

Shipbuilding and the car body plant attracted Romanians to Cleveland (Cuyahoga County), which later became the industrial center for Romanian life in America. Romanian immigrants and their children in that city were found to have moved into skilled blue-collar and white-collar jobs more rapidly than the Slovak and Italian immigrants to that city (Barton 1975). This seemed to be due to their greater emphasis on education for professional or managerial work. Those values might well have been found among Romanians in other cities and could have been reflected in a greater geographical dispersal out of the old immigrant neighborhoods compared to some other eastern European groups. In support of this notion is the estimate that, beginning in the 1920s, 80 to 90 percent of people of Romanian ancestry (mostly the second generation) moved out of the old ethnic neighborhoods, leaving the traditional culture and organizations behind them (Bobango 1980).

### The East Chicago-Gary Area

At the time many Romanians were arriving in America, the steel mills, foundries, refineries, and other industries in northwestern Indiana’s Lake County were just being built. In 1901 the person who was to manage Inland Steel’s new plant in Indiana Harbor (East Chicago) recruited two skilled Romanians, together with two Irishmen, from former steelmaking jobs in Muncie, where they had worked together.
Romanian Jews Included in Data. Both the 1920 mother-tongue data and the 1980 ancestry data indicate that New York City has had by far the largest population of Romanians, but there is reason to doubt these figures. In 1920 almost 27,000 people of Romanian mother tongue reportedly lived in New York City. However, a field investigation at that time reported a non-Jewish Romanian population of less than 1,000 (Galitzi 1929). A later, separate count turned up no more than 2,000 Romanian Gentiles and their children (Hategan 1945). Clearly, many Jews in 1920 reported Romanian as their mother tongue, in addition to the very large group listing Yiddish or Hebrew.

With respect to the 1980 data, the fact that 23 percent of the nation's Romanian-ancestry population was living in New York City and the suburban counties of Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk suggests that the data again include a high proportion of Jews. Considering the coding procedures (discussed in chapter 1), this seems quite likely.

Yugoslavian Identities

During the period before 1918, Croatia and neighboring Serbia were controlled by Austria and Turkey, respectively. When those two powers were defeated in World War I, Serbia, Croatia, and certain other areas became one independent country, called Yugoslavia ever since 1929.

Despite its organization as one country, the several ethnic groups within the country have continued to make unification incomplete. The largest two groups, the Croats and the Serbs (or Serbians), speak essentially the same language, but write it in two different alphabets because their literacy was introduced in connection with religious conversion from two distinct sources. Croats, traditionally Roman Catholic but including many Muslims also, use the Roman alphabet, whereas the Serbs, originally converted to eastern Christianity, use a version of the Cyrillic alphabet. In the northern part of Yugoslavia is a completely different ethnic group, the Slovians or Slovenians, also under Austrian control until 1918.

The history of rule by alien countries and the contrasting regions and ethnic divisions within Yugoslavia have resulted in a variety of ancestry labels for immigrants and their children. Immigrants who arrived before the First World War,
when Croatia and Slovenia were Austrian territory, often considered their ancestry to be Austrian (Pripé 1978). Any of their descendants who followed this practice would obviously not be included in the Croatian- and Slovene-ancestry figures.

It is practically impossible to know the sizes of the larger Yugoslav ethnic groups in America. However, there appears to have been a shift in relative sizes of Croatian- and Slovene-ancestry populations since 1920. Mother-tongue data from the 1920 census showed almost equal numbers of Slovene and Serbo-Croatian foreign stock, about 70 percent of whom were Croatians. The larger Croatian-ancestry numbers in 1980 may have been partly due to the fact that since 1918 an estimated 60 percent of immigrants from Yugoslavia have been Croatians (Pripé 1978). Also, in 1920 the many grandchildren of Croatian immigrants were not included as foreign stock.

In the 1980 census about half the people of some Yugoslav ethnic identity identified their ancestry only as Yugoslav. Identification with Yugoslavia was more prevalent in California and the West, where people are less familiar with the ethnic labels. In 1980 California constituted 18 percent of the total Yugoslav-ancestry population in the United States. In contrast, only 6 percent of the Croatians, 3 percent of the Slovene-, and 8 percent of the Serbian-ancestry populations were Californians.

Each of the three main ethnic groups was coded separately in the 1980 census, and people of origin in the island and coastal villages along the Adriatic Sea (Dalmatia) were included as Croatian in ancestry. However, people who listed smaller groups were aggregated as follows: Bosnian, Herzegovinian, and Montenegrin ancestries were counted as Serbian ancestry, and Macedonian was included with the Bulgarian-ancestry group.

Nonindustrial Settlements
People of Croatian ancestry immigrated from the coastal and the northern parts of what is now the country of Yugoslavia. They appeared in America earlier than other ethnic groups from eastern Europe.

Louisiana. In the 1870s men from Dalmatia were settling in New Orleans and other towns along the Mississippi River or near the Gulf of Mexico (Pripé 1971). Many were sailors, some operated grocery stores or coffeehouses, and others became oystermen. By 1860 there were at least 3,000 Croatians in the South, some of whom served in the Confederate army.

Around the turn of the century more Dalmatians arrived and settled especially in New Orleans and down the Mississippi River in Plaquemines Parish, where they often mixed with the Cajuns (Lovirich 1967). Many were seafaring people, some of whom continued the oyster-growing tradition, and others opened numerous restaurants in the area. After World War II hundreds more came, including refugees. The oyster industry settlement of Empire, strung along the levee 50 miles downstream from New Orleans, was said to be mostly Yugoslav in population (Goworchin 1961). The fact that in 1980 Yugoslav identity in Louisiana was reported almost six times more frequently than Croatian or Dalmatian identity explains partly the small numbers indicated for Croatian ancestry in that state.

California. After gold was discovered in California in 1848, Croatian immigrants generally headed for California. In the 1850s Amador County was the center of Croatian gold seekers, and in the 1860s many prospected for silver in Nevada (Pripé 1971). But in later decades Croatians were more apt to be found in San Francisco and the agricultural areas of northern California, where some developed apple or fig orchards and others became vegetable growers. Few Croatian women immigrated during these early years, and many men married Irish or other Catholic women.

Fishing, however, became an especially successful occupation for some immigrants in California. In the late 19th century Croatians began to fish along the coast from Alaska to Mexico, establishing small settlements at Seattle, Astoria, and other ports. They customarily went after salmon until one man decided to try for tuna, using much larger boats (Niland 1941). His success encouraged others to join his operations at San Pedro, the port section of the city of Los Angeles.

Gradually the Croatian people left Puget Sound and other northern areas, and during this time perhaps 2,000 more came directly from Dalmatia. By 1940 there were over 10,000 Croatians in the San Pedro area. Unskilled young women worked in canneries, and some men were gone for weeks at a time for tuna or sardines while others had come to own businesses in the harbor area. Although by the 1970s Italians and Portuguese had taken over most of the fishing, in 1980 the Croatian community focused in San Pedro was probably one of the largest in the country. People of Croatian ancestry (estimated at over 20,000) may have represented a quarter of San Pedro’s population (Fleming 1982).

New York. Croatians who lived in New Jersey and New York City were often waiters, cooks, dishwashers, stevedores, or construction workers. Also, many worked on ships, and by the 1930s probably half the tugboats in New York harbor had completely Croatian crews (Pripé 1977).

Settlements in Industrial and Mining Centers
After about 1880 the immigrants came less from the Dalmatian coast and more from the interior of Croatia, and their occupations and destinations in America shifted abruptly. These men, like so many other immigrants from eastern Europe in the period between 1880 and World War I, got their jobs primarily in mining towns and industrial cities. Of the nearly 10,000 male Croatian workers questioned by the Immigration Commission around 1910, 40 percent were in the iron and steel industry, 25 percent were in bituminous coal mining, and 16 percent worked in slaughtershops (Imm. Com. 1911a). The 1980 ancestry map reflects primarily the early jobs taken by these more recent immigrants.

Pennsylvania. In 1980 Pennsylvania had more people reporting Croatian ancestry than any other state. Perhaps the largest ethnic labor changes in the Pennsylvania Steel Company’s mill in Steelton (Dauphin County), just south of Harrisburg, were typical. Between 1890 and 1910 Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Italians came to replace most of the native-born workers of English, Irish, or German ancestry (Bodnar 1977). The initial groups of Croatians and other southern Slavs had probably been recruited. Those who stayed in the mill sent for their wives, and some became keepers of boardinghouses and supervisors of the chain migration system that brought many hundreds more workers. Croatians came to make up almost a third of the foreign-born workers in the mill. Also, southern blacks had worked for the company before any Slavs had arrived. Although blacks had been slowly working their way up the mill hierarchy, after about 1905 the white
immigrants began to be favored in promotion to nonmanual and semiskilled jobs (Rodman 1976b).

Western Pennsylvania, with its mix of coal mines and iron and steel industries, had much larger Croatian settlements. The Pittsburgh area (Allegheny County) made about half the nation’s steel in 1910. Nearby large mills in Aliquippa and Ambridge (Beaver County) and the collieries and mills in Westmoreland and Washington counties attracted Croatian workers. Seventy years later Allegheny County had the second largest Croatian settlement in America.

Midwestern States. Some of the larger Croatian settlements in the Midwest in 1980 were in counties where steel-making was important: Youngstown (Mahoning County), Cleveland (Cuyahoga County), and Lorain County in Ohio; Joliet (Will County), Illinois; and Gary (Lake County), Indiana.

In the slaughterhouses of Kansas City (Wyandotte County), Kansas, Croatians were easily the largest foreign-born ethnic group, though they made up only 15 percent of the work force in that city’s packing plants (Imm. Com. 1911d). After a flood in 1903 destroyed their shanties near one plant, they moved to the Strawberry Hill section, close to other plants and to a Catholic church (Manzo 1981). Kansas City became the second largest meatpacking center in America, and in the 1940s Strawberry Hill was a thriving Croatian neighborhood. By 1980, however, the neighborhood was declining, and most younger people of Croatian ancestry had dispersed to other parts of the metropolitan area.

Croatians mined coal, iron, and copper in the early 20th century. Although the 1980 ancestry numbers are small, the percentage of Croatians in mining counties has sometimes remained high compared to non-mining counties. Descendants of Croatian miners in southern Iowa’s Appanoose County have made that county the second highest in America in its percentage of Croatian ancestry. Copper and iron brought Croatians to Upper Michigan’s Houghton and Gogebic counties, but some disillusioned miners founded farming settlements elsewhere in the Great Lakes Cutover Region (Prpic 1971).

Since World War II immigration from Yugoslavia has averaged about two thousand a year. Cleveland has become the largest focus for the new Croatian immigrants, but perhaps 10 percent of the Croatians have been Muslims, who have usually gone to Chicago, where they have had a mosque since 1957 (Prpic 1978).

The West. There is little evidence in the 1980 Croatian-ancestry data of the immigrants who formerly worked the copper mines in Utah, Montana, and Arizona and the coal mines at Gallup (McKinley County), New Mexico. Most of their descendants seem to have left those areas; those remaining may have identified their ancestry as Yugoslavian.

---

**Serbian Ancestry**

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Single ancestry</td>
<td>49,621</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>51,320</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Largest Serbian-Ancestry Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County (City)</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>5,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allegheny (Pittsburgh), PA</td>
<td>3,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake (Gary), IN</td>
<td>3,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, WI</td>
<td>2,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver (Aliquippa), PA</td>
<td>2,074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Highest Percentage of Serbian Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County (City)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaver (Aliquippa), PA</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hancock (Warren), WV</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itasca (Grand Rapids), MN</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake (Gary), IN</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Bow (Bullie), MT</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Country statistics, map, and line interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be included in precincts.

Serbs, most of whose homeland was once part of Austria but has been since 1929 part of Yugoslavia, speak dialect variations of Serbo-Croatian, which also is essentially the speech used by Croatians. As explained at the beginning of the section on Croatian ancestry, many Americans of Serbian heritage may have identified their ancestry in terms of the modern state of Yugoslavia rather than their particular ethnicity.
Ethnic Identities and Relationships

However, Serbs have differed from the Croats in the alphabet with which they write the language and in their religious heritage as well. Whereas most Croats have been Roman Catholic, Serbs have followed their distinct national form of the Orthodox tradition. Although Serbian and Croatian immigrants in Louisiana and California before the 1890s shared major organizations, this religious distinction ultimately led to the formation of separate communities in America (Petrovich and Halpern 1980).

Nevertheless, in 1980, people of Serbian and Croatian ancestries were much more highly correlated geographically (Pearson coefficient r = .91) than either of them was with the Slovene-ancestry population (r = .35 and .52 respectively), suggesting that language may have been an underrated factor in the chain migrations that led to settlements.

Serbian immigrants from different regions within what is now Yugoslavia settled in different places in America, and many Serbian communities can be characterized by their historic area of origin (Petrovich and Halpern 1980). However, in the 1980 census the major regional identities (Bosnian, Herzegovinian, and Montenegrin) were all coded as Serbian.

Settlements

Serbian immigrants before the 1880s were typically from the coastal area of Dalmatia. A few accompanied Croatians to Louisiana and the large Gulf towns in the 1830s, where they worked as fishermen, oystermen, shop- and saloonkeepers, and in a range of jobs (Petrovich and Halpern 1980). During the gold rush Serbs came to California mining towns, and San Francisco became a significant early focus; here the Serbian Orthodox Church in America was founded in the 1860s.

Iron and Steel Centers. A much larger number of Serbian men landed in America after about 1880, and especially during the 1905–1909 period (Balch 1910). They, like most other eastern Europeans, moved to available unskilled laboring jobs, most of which were in heavy industry. In 1909, Serbs were particularly concentrated in the iron and steel industry. Although the Immigration Commission selected only a portion of industrial companies for examination, it found that 63 percent of the Serbian immigrant men who were studied worked for that industry (Imm. Com. 1911a). Another 18 percent were employed in meatpacking.

The earlier connections with particular steelmaking centers were still evident in 1980. The city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the steel plants scattered down the Ohio River past Steubenville (Jefferson County), Ohio, and adjacent West Virginia (Hancock and Brooke counties) have long held a major regional concentration of Serbs. In that area the large U.S. Steel American Bridge works at Ambridge and the Jones and Laughlin plant in Aliquippa helped direct Serbs to Beaver County, Pennsylvania. The steel town of Mingo Junction in Jefferson County, Ohio, may have had three thousand Serbs in 1906 (Petrovich and Halpern 1980). In Chicago (Cook County) Serbs settled compactly near their jobs with iron foundries and Carnegie Steel, and in East Chicago and Gary (Lake County), Indiana, near the Inland and U.S. Steel mills (Govorchin 1961).

Other Manufacturing and Mining Centers. Serbian communities have also been large in the more diverse manufacturing cities of eastern Ohio, and in Detroit over 400 Serbs had been employed at Ford's Highland Park plant in 1916 (Schwartz 1971). In these and other places suburbanization and local residential mobility have blurred the localized foci of the early communities, but sometimes suburban concentrations developed too, as in Parma (Cuyahoga County), Ohio, just south of Cleveland.

Serbian settlements originating with employment other than large-scale metal manufacturing were generally smaller and usually connected with mining or meatpacking. In 1980 many people of Serbian ancestry could still be found in the iron-mining counties of eastern Minnesota (Saint Louis and Itasca counties), but the numbers were smaller in counties once known for their copper or coal mining. A few others remained in counties where slaughterhouses had been especially important—Kansas City (Wyandotte County), Kansas; South Saint Paul (Dakota County), Minnesota; and South Omaha (Sarpy County), Nebraska.

Slovene Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>Multiple ancestry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Ethnic Population</td>
<td>83,567</td>
<td>62,387</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Immigrant Slovenes, or Slovenians, came to America primarily before World War I. Because their homeland was then part of Austria, they and their descendants have often identified themselves as Austrian, as did some people in the southeastern Kansas coal-mining area of Crawford County (Carman 1961). However, most of Slovenia was incorporated into Yugoslavia after World War I. As explained at the beginning of the section on Croatian ancestry, people of Slovenian ethnic background may also have considered themselves to be of Yugoslavian ancestry.

The Slovenian-ancestry distribution in 1980 was primarily a function of the locations of the mining and manufacturing jobs taken by those early immigrants. Many of the mining areas were very small, so that in 1930 a quarter of the foreign-born Slovenes lived in rural areas but were not farmers. Another 7 percent were farmers.

**Selected Midwestern Settlements**

Small farming colonies were established in the 1860s in northern Stearns County, Minnesota, after one of several pioneering Slovene priests in the Midwest had persuaded settlers to follow him there (Holmquist, Stipanovich, and Moss 1981). Although descendants have retained much of the same land over the last century, the 1980 Slovene-ancestry population was small.

More typical in the Great Lakes area were settlements associated with iron mining and industry. Probably as a result of the influence of early Slovene priests in the area, Slovenes immigrated to become copper and iron miners and lumbermen on Michigan's Upper Peninsula. For a while Calumet (Houghton County) was a Slovenian center (Suset 1980). In northeastern Minnesota Slovenes were a major part of mining employment in the Vermillion Range after 1885, and around 1900 the towns of Tower and Ely (Saint Louis County) were between 30 and 40 percent Slovenian (Holmquist, Stipanovich, and Moss 1981). In the 1890s the companies that were developing the open-pit mines of the Mesabi Range recruited unskilled single men from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago. Soon Hibbing, Chisholm, and Eveleth (all in Saint Louis County) and Nashwauk (Itasca County) came to have large Slovene populations. Later, Slovenes also worked at the steel and cement plants in the Duluth area (Saint Louis County) and in meatpacking in South Saint Paul (Dakota County).

In Illinois during the late 1880s the blast furnaces and rail, rod, and wire mills in Joliet (Will County) were providing work for newly arrived Slovenians (Suset 1980). Industrial expansion continued during the 20th century, with U.S. Steel, Mobil Oil, Dow Chemical, Caterpillar, and many smaller manufacturers operating during the 1970s (Erbe 1984). As has been the case in other Midwestern industrial centers, blacks and Mexican workers have replaced people of Slovene and other European ancestries in most low-paying jobs.
Cleveland (Cuyahoga County) became the most important Slovenian center as early as 1900, attracting immigrants who had initially gone elsewhere (Sused 1980). Cleveland has benefited especially from the thousands of skilled and educated Slovenian refugees who have settled in the city since the late 1940s (Pap 1973). The old Slovenian neighborhoods could still be found in the 1970s, but most people of Slovenian ancestry had moved to suburban areas, even those in distant Geauga and Lake counties.

Colorado

In Colorado the Slovenians were easily the largest foreign-born group in the smelting and refining industry in 1909 (Imm. Com. 1911n). They represented 18 percent of all the state's workers in that industry and 11 percent of all the hard-rock miners. Slovenian immigrants to Denver, for example, came as early as the 1880s for work at a smelter, although packing houses soon offered additional employment opportunities for those who settled in the multiethnic neighborhood of Globeville (Doepers 1967).

In the 1890s the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company expanded its smelting and smelting facilities in the city of Pueblo. It began to recruit Slovenians and other immigrant workers from eastern states (Kedro 1977). During the early decades of this century Pueblo had a Little Slovenia, with its church and its lodges, shops, and saloons; and in 1908 Pueblo County ranked sixth nationally in its Slovene-ancestry proportion.

Far up the Arkansas Valley near the Continental Divide in the high Rocky Mountains—the Leadville mining area (Lake County) of Colorado was also growing. Although once known for its gold, silver, and zinc, by the time of World War I molybdenum found at nearby Climax was on its way to becoming the basis for Leadville's continued existence during the 20th century (Normark 1984). Despite periodic layoffs and closures and a high turnover of workers at those mining and smelting operations, the 1980 population of Lake County still showed a relatively high proportion of Slovenian ancestry.

### Albanian Ancestry

#### 1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>21,897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>16,971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the unskilled Albanian men who arrived in America in the early 20th century were Orthodox Christians, but more recent immigrants have included more Muslims and Catholics (Albanians 1980). Thus, Albanian communities in America have come more than ever to reflect that Balkan country's religious diversity. Although most early immigrants thought of themselves as sojourners and thousands did return to Albania during World War I, it was they who established most of the settlements evident in 1980.

The Boston area has always been the most important center for Americans of Albanian ancestry (Albanians 1980). During the early decades Albanians found work in various factories or in menial jobs in hotels and restaurants. In Boston itself many Albanian men were hired by Greek restaurants, replacing Greeks as cooks, countermen, and busboys, since Greeks were also Orthodox and many spoke Albanian (Federal Writers' Project 1939). Other immigrants began as fruit peddlers but by the 1930s were operating grocery stores in the city. Shoe factories attracted Albanians to several outlying cities, of which the community in Natick (Middlesex County) was largest.

In Southbridge (Worcester County) a search by the American Optical Company for cheap labor turned up Albanians, who liked the small-town environment and the steady
work due to the stable demand for lenses (Federal Writers' Project 1939). By the 1930s many had worked their way into skilled jobs involving molding, grinding, or polishing glass. Albanians in the city of Worcester were associated for many years with the Reed and Prince Screw factory, where many men learned skills that enabled them to work in machine shops elsewhere in the city.

Albanians also came to Waterbury (New Haven County) and Bridgeport (Fairfield County), Connecticut, for factory work; and some Albanian Muslims manned textile mills in Biddeford (York County), Maine (Albanians 1980). Outside New England, Albanians could be found in small numbers in the larger industrial centers.

The few hundred Albanians who have arrived since 1950 have often been political exiles (U.S. INS. 1985). Probably most of these settled close to earlier immigrants. Some immigrants who are ethnic Albanians from the adjacent part of Yugoslavia may also have joined such communities. Many Albanian Catholics have come to the New York borough of the Bronx, often settling near Italians—perhaps because of their common religion and some familiarity with the Italian language from experiences in Italian refugee camps at the end of the war (Albanians 1980). In the 1970s most immigrants worked as custodians, handymen, or in other low-status jobs. In 1980 the Albanian-ancestry population of the Bronx and adjacent Westchester County equaled more than a third of the Albanian total for New York City.

Polish Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
<td>3,805,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>4,422,297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Largest Polish-Ancestry Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago)</td>
<td>365,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>196,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne (Detroit)</td>
<td>147,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie (Buffalo)</td>
<td>132,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, WI</td>
<td>80,566</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Highest Percentage of Polish Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sherman (Loud, NE)</td>
<td>26.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portage (Stevens Point, WI)</td>
<td>24.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Polish immigrants, who arrived in increasing numbers after about 1850, often settled where there were already large numbers of Germans. Most who came before 1880 were from German-controlled areas. Although in Europe they had objected to German attempts to undermine Polish culture and identity, many Poles spoke German, and German acquaintances were still useful in guiding Polish immigrants to destitute nations in America. Immigrants after about 1890 were more likely to be from the more backward Austrian and Russian sections of Poland, but the networks that had been developed by the earlier arrivals sometimes persisted. Useful information slowly made its way on to Poles in Austria and Russia (Golab 1977). Nearly all the Poles embarked from the north German ports of Bremen or Hamburg. Such links partly explain the fact that Polish communities often developed in the same cities where Germans had large settlements: Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo.

Mining and Industrial Employment

The menial and physically demanding jobs taken by most Poles in this country reflected the immigrants' lack of skills. By 1909, of the 48,000 male Polish workers surveyed by the U.S. Immigration Commission, 18 percent were in the cotton-goods industry, 16 percent in iron and steel, 15 percent in coal mining, and 14 percent in meatpacking (Imm. Com. 1911a). Over half of the employed Poles were found to be in the cotton-goods industry.

A few immigrants settled in the South because of the limited industrial development of that region provided few unskilled laboring jobs that could not be filled by local labor. Even in the coal-mining and iron and steel industries of the Birmingham area, U.S.-born workers supplied over 70 percent of the labor, with blacks and whites contributing approximately equal numbers (Imm. Com. 1911b,c).

Pennsylvania. As early as 1869 Poles were recruited out of New York for the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania (Greene 1968). Before about 1890 most Polish miners worked in the middle (Lehigh) district, and the towns like Shamokin (Northumberland County) and Shenandoah (Schuylkill County) came to have large Polish communities within their ethnically diverse populations. After about 1890 mining in the northern or Wyoming district expanded more rapidly, and many new arrivals settled in the towns of Luzerne and Lackawanna counties, so that by 1903 the largest immigrant group among anthracite miners was the Poles. Despite the loss of nearly all mining jobs in recent decades, enough people have remained in the small towns or moved to Wilkes-Barre (Luzerne County) or Scranton (Lackawanna County) that the percentages of Polish ancestry in those areas were still unusually high in 1980.

The Midwest. In the meatpacking industry Irish and German had been considered the best butchers, but by the early 20th century Poles and other Slavic workers replaced many older workers in the slaughterhouses. The largest centers of that industry were generally located between the middlewestern livestock production areas and the urban markets to the east. In 1910 Chicago had 24 percent of the nation's meatpacking, with Kansas City, Kansas, and South Omaha also especially important (Census 1913:125), and all three cities developed important Slavic settlements.

Chicago (Cook County) came to have the largest Polish population in America. By 1890 there were already five large ethnic neighborhoods, one located near the Union Stockyards and others near jobs in certain heavy industries (Kantorowicz 1977). The Polish downtown area and the settlement near South Chicago's steel mills were intensely Polish in character, but even in the areas that were more mixed in ethnic population, the Poles tended to stay together socially. Catholicism was intimately tied to Polish ethnicity, in Chicago and elsewhere, and the establishment of parochial schools was seen as crucial. However, the struggles within the church between Irish bishops and Polish lay people echoed the tensions felt in the French Canadian and German communities of American cities when the Irish hierarchy controlled the church, even in areas where other Catholic ethnic groups were much more numerous.

Detroit's Polish population has been associated most with jobs in the automobile industry and life in nearby Polish working-class neighborhoods. The family and the Catholic parish have been at the center of their social world. The unusual dominance of Poles in the enclave city of Hamtramck (also Wayne County) originated when the large Dodge plant was opened before World War I, attracting people from many other cities and leading to an extension of the Polish section of Detroit into Hamtramck. At Henry Ford's plant in Highland Park, the 7,500 Polish employees were by far the largest foreign-born group of workers in 1916 (Schwartz 1971), but Poles continued to live in their older neighborhoods rather than in the Anglo-American enclave of Highland Park (Zunn 1982).

Wayne County, Michigan, has remained one of the largest Polish centers in America. Compared to the other Euro-
pean ethnic groups in 1970, people of Polish mother tongue were less suburbanized and more likely to occupy the same neighborhoods as their parents and grandparents (Agoes 1980). Nonetheless, by 1980 the Polish ancestry population of suburban Macomb and Oakland counties was three-quarters as large as that of Wayne County itself.

Buffalo. This lake port that was also a railroad focus developed a large German and Irish population in the mid-19th century. In the early 1870s, a local priest was hopeful that the stream of Polish immigrants passing through Buffalo on their way to midwestern cities could be dissuaded from leaving, and to this end he arranged for a Polish priest to come (Cedel 1963). When a new parish, primarily for Poles, was built on donated land east of town, the Poles did indeed come to stay, working in the iron foundries, clothing factories, tanneries, and railroad yards. The area around the church became the stronghold of Buffalo Poles, but Polish communities were also formed toward the northwest, in Black Rock and Tonawanda. In 1901 Italian workers began to erect large iron and steel mills on the shores of Lake Erie to what became in 1909 the town of Lackawanna. Poles quickly became the largest ethnic group in the mills and represented over one-third of the total population (Imm. Com., 1911c). In 1980 Erie County was ranked fourth among American counties in the size of its Polish-ancestry population. Moreover, its percentage of Polish ancestry in the total county population was twice that of either Chicago (Cook County) or Detroit (Wayne County), making it the most Polish large county in America.

New England. Poles came to the Connecticut River Valley in central Massachusetts in 1887 as railroad construction workers, but were laid off due to a depression and sought farm jobs in the nearby area (Abel 1929). Local farmers liked these reliable and inexpensive workers and began to recruit Polish immigrants from New York City to help in tobacco cultivation and harvesting (Imm. Com., 1911m). Most Poles immigrated directly to the area, but some people came from American industrial cities. After a few years some Polish families began to move permanently to little towns like Sunderland, Deerfield (Franklin County), and North Amherst and Hadley (Hampshire County). As laborers and tenants, many saved enough to buy some land. In the late 1920s the rural Polish Catholic communities still constituted a social world distinct from the surrounding Yankee Protestants (Abel 1929).

Despite the strong Polish presence in many small towns, only 12 percent of Poles in Massachusetts worked in agriculture in 1909 (Imm. Com. 1911m). At the same time that some Poles began to work on farms, others got the first mill jobs, especially at the Dwight cotton mills in nearby Chicopee in Hampden County (Pikowski 1978). In the 1890s Polish immigrants flooded to that town, and in the 20th century, as additional employers opened factories, the Polish presence has remained exceptionally strong in Chicopee. Other immigrants and their children worked in textile and paper mills and other factories in Holyoke or Springfield (Hampden County). In recent decades people of Polish ancestry have tended to move toward the greater Springfield area, but all three counties in the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts had high percentages of Polish ancestry in 1980.

Rural Settlements

Sharply contrasting with the life of miners and industrial workers was that of the farmer. Although the proportion of Polish farmers among the immigrants was not large, their settlements in several states appear as important parts of the 1980 distribution pattern.

Texas. In the early 1850s a series of Polish farming communities were developed in Texas, mostly by immigrants from Silesia in Austrian territory (Baker 1979). A Polish Franciscan missionary among the Germans was impressed by their successes and imagined that his people could improve their lives substantially by settling in Texas. Because economic conditions in Silesia were worsening and flooding one winter was exceptionally severe, his letters home were persuasive. In 1854 the first of several groups sailed into Galveston harbor. They then walked and took oxcarts to the place selected by the priest—a grassy area with scattered oaks in Karnes County, southeast of San Antonio. The immigrants named the first settlement Panna Maria, for the Virgin Mary, and later several other colonies were founded in different parts of Texas. Landowners and merchants encouraged the immigration, and in 1860 there were about one thousand Poles in Texas. Some people worked for local American families, and most Poles raised corn, vegetables, cattle, and later, cotton. Colonies also developed in and near San Antonio, where there were better opportunities for artisans and for sale of farm produce.

As Catholics and foreigners, the Poles were sometimes abused, and they generally had closer ties with Mexicans than with Anglos in the state (Baker 1979). But the Poles persisted, and by the 1890s the settlements had expanded from Karnes County west into neighboring Wilson County. Beginning in the 1920s the cities attracted more and more young people from farm areas. During the 20th century visitors from Poland have been frequent, and the colonies have been well publicized in Poland. In 1980 most people of Polish ancestry in rural Karnes and Wilson counties continued their farming way of life and preserved some aspects of Polish culture (Baker 1982). These were proportionately the most intensely Polish counties in the state, although the Polish-ancrey population was understandably much larger in Houston (Harris County) and San Antonio.

The Midwest. Polish settlements in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota reflected the Polish immigrants’ preference for owning land and farming over working in factories. Those who could not afford to buy the better midwestern land chose the more northern Cutover Region, where farm income could be supplemented by work in the woods and sawmills. Cutover land may have been cheap, but clearing the stumps was an ordeal. However, many finally were able to become independent farmers. The first Poles in Wisconsin came to Milwaukee well after that German settlement was established. When in 1857 some Germans chose to move to Marathon County in the middle of the state, some Poles followed, but many decided to settle instead the cheaper land in Portage County, just to the south (Imm. Com., 1911m). Over the next decades others joined them as farmers, railroad employees, paper-mill workers, miners, and traders. Stevens Point became the major urban center, and in 1980 Portage County had the second highest percentage of Polish ancestry in all the United States. Ruth and nearby counties were developed at the beginning of the 20th century from the unsettled land, and marketed land sales farther north in the Cutover Region (Pikowski 1978).
Some Poles arrived at Winona (Winona County) in southwestern Minnesota in 1855, just as that town was beginning to prosper from lumbering and grain shipping down the Mississippi (Renikiewicz 1980). They persuaded others to join them, and by 1888 there were about seven hundred Polish families in the town. By that time many had bought farms on the other side of the river in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, which in 1980 had a relatively very high proportion of Polish ancestry. In the late 19th century numerous other Polish settlements were established in Minnesota, such as the Little Falls and North Prairie area (Morrison County) near the state’s center.

Some rural Michigan counties also became strongly Polish at an early period. In the 1850s railroad workers arriving from Canada and coal miners from Pennsylvania bought unclaimed swamp land in Huron County, drained it, and ultimately made the so-called Thumb Area a major center of bean production (Pinkowski 1978). In Presque Isle County in the far northeast some immigrants were hired in 1872 to cut timber. After that was completed, they bought the land and slowly improved it and developed some fine farms. The 20th century Poles have been frequent workers in the limestone quarries of Presque Isle and Alpena counties. Manistee County, bordering Lake Michigan, became a leading cherry producer and was also a strongly Polish county in 1980.

The midwestern farm settlements of Polish immigrants were not just in the Cutover Region, because land owned by railroads was sometimes relatively inexpensive. In southern Illinois (primarily in Washington County) Poles who had been living in Chicago and other cities bought well-advertised tracts of Illinois Central Railroad land in the 1870s, and in northwestern Indiana (Saint Joseph and Laporte counties) there were both farm communities and industrial jobs (Imm. Com. 1911).

In 1877 a Polish fraternal and immigrant aid society was looking for cheap land for a colony at the same time that the Burlington and Missouri Railroad was trying to sell off its land-holdings in Nebraska (Casper 1966). The railroad advertised widely in Europe and in America, and a member of the society became the railroad’s agent for the sale of land in four counties—the same ones in which Polish ancestry was proportionately strong in 1980 (Owens 1952). Many Polish people responded to the promotion and settled in Nance and Platte counties in the eastern part of the state.

Poles also bought up most of the railroad land in western Howard County and the eastern Sherman counties, just south of the Sandhills in central Nebraska (Rosicky 1929). With relatively little in-migration in recent decades, the Polish heritage has remained. In 1980 Sherman County had a higher percentage of Polish ancestry than any other county in America, justifying the claim of Loup City, the county seat, that it is the Polish capital of America.

### Lithuanian Ancestry

#### 1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th>Multiethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
<td>339,438</td>
<td>403,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiethnic ancestry</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Counties with Largest Lithuanian-Ancestry Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Ancestry Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>39,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>13,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>10,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, MA</td>
<td>8,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre), PA</td>
<td>7,555</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Counties with Highest Percentage of Lithuanian Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schuykill (Pottsville), PA</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre), PA</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery (Amsterdam), NY</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake, MI</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lackawaxna (Scranton), PA</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Some Lithuanians arrived in America in the late 1860s, but the period from the 1880s until 1914 was the major period of immigration. As with most other eastern European groups, the majority of Lithuanian immigrants had been farmers or farmworkers in Europe and had few skills to offer employers in industrial America. After landing in New York City, they found unskilled laboring jobs, especially in mining and manufacturing. These early settlements are evident in most features of the Lithuanian-ancestry distribution in 1980.

The earliest peasant migrants generally chose destinations where Poles had already settled. As both were intensely Roman Catholic, at first the Lithuanians joined Polish parishes, but they later became adamant regarding the establishment of their own parishes. After World War II a very different group of Lithuanians appeared in America. These were the 35,000 displaced persons (DPs) who arrived penniless after having spent three or more years in refugee camps in Germany (Budreckis 1982).

They included more literate and intellectual individuals, many intensely nationalistic. These people invigorated Lithuanian ethnic life and provided much leadership in the communities where they settled. However, their different background, their orientation toward Europe, and their professional successes have alienated many of the older immigrants, and the two groups have remained in many ways separate.

At first the DPs changed the earlier settlement pattern but little. Although many were at first assigned to sponsors who lived far from other Lithuanian communities, they often later settled in the larger metropolitan areas where Lithuanians had already been established, especially in the Midwest (Alisauskas 1980). By the 1970s, however, so many refugees and their children had moved to California that they were easily dominant in most Lithuanian communities in that state.

Although the populations of Lithuanian and Latvian foreign stock were combined in the 1920 census, their relative proportions are suggested by the fact that in 1930 Lithuanians comprised over 95 percent of the total foreign-born of those two mother-tongue populations.

### Settlements in Eastern States

#### Pennsylvania’s Anthracite Region

The first major Lithuanian-Polish settlements were in eastern Pennsylvania, where low-wage immigrants began in the 1870s to displace the English-speaking anthracite coal miners. Lithuanian workers lived in Shamokin (Northumberland County), Nanticoke (Luzerne County), and numerous small camps and
company towns. The towns of Shenandoah and Mahanoy City (Schuylkill County), with so many different churches and cemeteries for their varied nationalities, came to epitomize the population character of the entire anthracite area. In Shenandoah Lithuanians owned many stores and businesses and perhaps represented a quarter of the total population (Kucas 1975). Although people of Lithuanian ancestry were found in 1980 throughout the anthracite counties, compared to the Poles they did not move as much to the Scranton area (Lackawanna County).

**Industrial New England.** Lithuanian communities were especially strong in Massachusetts and Connecticut. There the widespread distribution of the population in 1980 reflected both the scattered industrial cities that originally drew the immigrants and, since World War II, urbanization. The larger communities had their own ethnic business sections, as in South Boston with its Lithuanian restaurants, taverns, real-estate offices, funeral homes, and stores along certain blocks (Furgola 1978).

In Massachusetts some Lithuanians worked in the wire factories and machine shops in Worcester (Worcester County), and others replaced older immigrants in the leather, shoe, and cotton textile industries (Kucas 1975). Chain migrations led them more to the shoe factories of Brockton (Plymouth County) than to Lynn, and to the textile mills of Lawrence (Essex County) and Lowell (Middlesex County) rather than Fall River.

Lithuanian immigrants to Connecticut took jobs in the bronze, iron, lamp, and watch factories of Waterbury (New Haven County), and that city became a Lithuanian center for much of the surrounding area (Kucas 1975). The smaller nearby community in Meriden (New Haven County) was particularly associated with employment in the foundries and gun factories (Imm. Com. 1911k). Some of the first Lithuanians in the Hartford area worked on the tobacco farms with Polish immigrants (Kucas 1975), but later they took a range of manufacturing jobs in Hartford and New Britain (Hartford County).

**New York and Other Cities.** Most ships sailing from northern Germany docked at New York, where Lithuanian immigrants remained to work in the garment or other industries. Some immigrants moved from New York to Baltimore in 1880 and found higher pay as tailors, while other immigrants came from Europe directly on the Bremen-Baltimore run and found a variety of industrial jobs in Baltimore (Kucas 1975). Lithuanians also worked in the sugar refineries of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York (Imm. Com. 1911h).

As a result of recruitment and chain migration, Lithuanians built up a big population. They worked in paper mills or clothing factories (Alissauskas 1980). In 1980 the population of Montgomery County, New York, in the Mohawk Valley was third highest in America in its Lithuanian-ancestry percentage, a statistic due partly to the many descendants of Lithuanian carpet weavers in the city of Amsterdam (Kucas 1975). In New Jersey Lithuanians began in 1878 to make sewing machines for the Singer Company in Elizabeth (Union County). They were stevedores on the docks of Perth Amboy and South Amboy (Middlesex County). They worked in chemical plants and oil refineries in Bayonne (Hudson County) and made silk in Paterson (Passaic County) (Kucas 1975; Imm. Com. 1911j).

**Midwestern Settlements.** The scattered coalfields of Illinois provided jobs for many immigrants (Imm. Com. 1911b). In Vermilion County on the eastern border, the mining town of Westville attracted several hundred Lithuanians (Kucas 1975). Also, they made up perhaps 40 percent of the population of Spring Valley (Bureau County) in the central north part of the state. Although the jobs have since changed and many people have moved, Bureau County still had over two hundred people of Lithuanian ancestry in 1980. Other former coal-mining centers of Franklin and Williamson counties, near the southern tip, also had high proportions of Lithuanian ancestry compared to most American counties. Sangamon County, a mining county containing the city of Springfield, had a much larger Lithuanian-ancestry population.

As with other immigrants, there was a high mobility rate during the early years. Later many people left mining, logging, or construction gangs for the more stable surroundings of an industrial city. Lithuanians worked in the sawmills of Grand Rapids (Kent County), Michigan (Kucas 1975), and were a major component in the furniture industry in Rockford (Winnebago County), Illinois (Imm. Com. 1911g). In Detroit there was no large settlement until Henry Ford decided to pay five dollars a day, but thereafter former lumberjacks and coal miners flocked to the city (Rankin 1939).

**Chicago.** This became the largest Lithuanian center in America. There were jobs in the garment industry, brickyards, slaughterhouses, and a variety of metal product factories. Although in 1909 the Poles were easily the largest foreign-born group in the city's meatpacking industry, Lithuanians were next in numbers, slightly outnumbering the Irish and German workers (Imm. Com. 1911d). To the south and east of the stockyards was the belt of heavy industries, stretching from South Chicago west to Indiana, where people of most East European ancestries found jobs. Most immigrants lived frugally, with the goal of buying houses in Chicago or farmland back in Europe (Greene 1975).

In the early years Lithuanians settled in most of the same areas where Poles were living and shared Catholic parishes with the Poles, just as the early German-speaking Poles had often settled among the Germans (Greene 1975). However, by the 1960s Lithuanians began to develop their own parishes and neighborhoods, still close to their jobs. St. George's parish in the industrialized Bridgeport area in the Near West Side, close to a Polish section, became the focus of the largest Lithuanian neighborhood in the city, especially after the arrival of refugees in the 1940s. However, by the 1960s most children and grandchildren of the pre-1914 immigrants had left those declining areas and moved a few miles southwest to Marquette Park or to the suburbs. Refugees have developed a strong residential concentration in the Marquette Park area, a higher-status area than Bridgeport. Lithuanian is commonly spoken in Marquette Park (Baskauskas 1985), and the sisters of a Lithuanian order have administered programs in their hospital/school/church complex (Erez 1984). The Lithuanian Plaza has provided a commercial and organizational focus for the community. In 1980 Cook County still had three times the Lithuanian-ancestry population of the next largest center, New York City. Chicago has been the home of two major national newspapers and has remained the cultural center of national Lithuanian life.

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**Lithuanian Ancestry**

1980 Summary Statistics*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
<td>55,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>36,576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counts with Largest Lithuanian-Ancestry Population**  

| New York City, NY  | 3,306 |
| Chicago, IL        | 3,123 |
| Los Angeles, CA    | 2,196 |
| Cleveland, OH      | 1,193 |
| Minneapolis, MN    | 1,146 |
Immigrants from Latvia have been composed of two major groups. The first was primarily saloos, artisans, and peasants and, after the revolution of 1905, some more-educated individuals who arrived in the decade before World War I (Anderson 1980). Partly because some returned to Latvia after that country's independence in 1918, the total foreign-born population of Latvian mother tongue was less than eight thousand in 1930.

The second group was composed of some 40,000 refugees from World War II and Soviet rule, many of whom entered as displaced persons (DPs). In contrast to most eastern European ethnic groups, the 1980 distribution was determined primarily by these more recent immigrants and their children. As with other peoples whose homelands have come under Russian or Soviet control, Latvians have remained strong in their ethnic or nationalistic identity and their desire for their homeland's independence.

**Early Settlements**

Some Latvians were present in the U.S. during the late half of the 19th century, but most immigrants came in the early 20th century and had to take unskilled work in such industries as steel mills, packing houses, foundries, and textile mills (Anderson 1980). As with other immigrants, many later upgraded their skills or established small businesses.

Boston was the main port of entry, and people scattered to towns and cities in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and farther west. As of 1930, about 20 percent of the foreign-born Latvians lived in rural areas though less than half of these were farming. Although good land was not cheap, some Latvian farmers did settle northwest of Albany, New York, and near Easton, Pennsylvania (Roucek 1952).

The rural colony in northern Wisconsin (Lincoln County) was founded in 1897 when a timber company advertised in Latvian newspapers for men to clear the local forest (Videimans 1963). Latvian leaders, imagining a successful farm colony in later years, recommended the project. Over the next decade several hundred men settled, at least temporarily.

Wives were found on return trips to Latvia or in Latvian settlements in the U.S. However, few children were born in the community and many people departed; in 1980 Lincoln County ranked seventh in its Latvian-ancestry proportion, but that population was estimated at only 53.

**Displaced Persons**

The displaced persons settled in urban areas, especially larger metropolitan ones, such as Milwaukee and Cleveland. The concentration in southwestern Michigan appeared when a large number of DPs came to the area. In 1949 a Methodist minister of Latvian ancestry persuaded his parishioners to sponsor the settlement of a group of Latvians in their city, Kalamazoo (Muiznieks 1987). The group, a choir that had been formed in a camp for displaced persons in Germany, was brought over and assisted in adjusting to their new lives here. During the next few years the choir gave frequent performances, which led to the sponsorship of other Latvian refugees by various churches. With good employment opportunities in the Grand Rapids (Kent County) area and a thriving ethnic community in western Michigan, many Latvians have migrated in from other places.

**Russian Ancestry**

1980 Summary Statistics*

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<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
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Counties with Largest Russian-Ancestry Population**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>215,687</td>
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<td>Nassau, NY</td>
<td>56,216</td>
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<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
<td>55,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>46,426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be included in parentheses.
Ethnic Variety in the 1980 Data

The population of Russian ancestry may include more ethnic variety than any other group. This is primarily because several different immigrant peoples have come to think of themselves as substantially Russian although their origins were distinct. Of the immigrants who arrived in the United States from Russia in the early 20th century, only an estimated 17 percent were ethnic Russians or Great Russians (Magoci 1980). The remainder of the immigrants of Russian origin were Jews, Belorussians, Rusyns (Ruthenians), Ukrainians, and some people, such as Cossacks, from non-European parts of Russia.

Jews.

Estimates of the percentage of Jews among immigrants from Russia have ranged from 8 percent of the pre-1930 immigrants (Magoci 1980c) to 84 percent of the 1889–1924 immigrants and 25 percent of others coming between 1880 and 1899 (Rosenthal 1975). A late 1970s national sample survey indicated that 70 percent of Americans of Russian origin were Jewish (Archdeacon 1983). Coding procedures for the 1980 census which had Russian Jewish responses recorded as single-ancestry Russian made it likely that at least two thirds of the Russian-ancestry population represented on the map was Jewish.

Orthodox Christians of Non-Russian Origin.

Among Christians the role of religion in modifying linguistic group identity is suggested by the 1939 estimate that about 80 percent of membership in the Russian Orthodox church in the U.S. was not Russian in mother tongue (Chyz and Roucek 1939). And in 1977 probably over half the people (other than Jews) in America who considered themselves Russian had their origins in areas other than the Russian-language area (Magoci 1980c). Because of a weak sense of ethnic identity within the Russian Empire and because the Belorussians, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians had been strongly proselytized between 1891 and 1916 (Chyz and Roucek 1939), non-Russian inhabitants of the empire frequently considered themselves Russian. In 1930, many people who were members of the Russian Orthodox Church and politically supportive of Russia but who did not speak Russian at all still reported themselves as of Russian mother tongue (Chyz and Roucek 1939).

Under these conditions it is likely that many descendants of these immigrants would list a Russian ancestry in 1980. Such developments help explain why, in spite of the arrival of several thousand Belorussian refugees since 1947, so few people reported Belorussian ancestry in 1980 (less than 4,300 single-ancestry responses).

Another ethnic population that may have been partly incorporated into the Russian-ancestry category has been known by any of several names, most commonly as Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusyns, or Ruthenians. Their origin, on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains in what was before 1919 Austria-Hungary, is today roughly the area of the westernmost part of the Ukraine SSR and eastern Czechoslovakia. Between 1880 and 1914 probably at least 125,000 Rusyns came to America (Magoci 1980a). But because there never was a separate country for this ethnic group and because they never developed a distinctive language as a symbolic focus, their allegiance was pulled by several stronger cultures in different directions and their identity was often blurred or merged with that of other, larger groups. The majority, who came to call themselves Ukrainian, are discussed in that section of this chapter.

In 1920 over 95,000 people indicated Ruthenian as their mother tongue, but these did not include the unknown numbers of Ruthenians who identified themselves at that time as having a Russian mother tongue. The Russian Orthodox church was an attractive source of ethnic identity for many of the group. At the time of immigration the Rusyns were nearly all Eastern (Greek, or Byzantine rite) Catholics. The Roman Catholic church had jurisdiction over the Eastern Catholic organization in America, but conflicts, especially over the marriage of priests, plagued the Eastern Catholic communities (Magoci 1980a). Many Eastern Catholics gravitated to the Orthodox church, increasing the numbers who considered themselves Russian.

A Russian Orthodox source estimated that in 1914 about 43 percent of the Russian Orthodox population in America was of Rusyn or Ukrainian origin (Procko 1973). And in some Russian Orthodox congregations Rusyns constituted up to 80 percent of the members (Magoci 1980c). Also, the fact that "Rusyn" was coded as Russian ancestry in the 1980 census may have added substantial numbers to the Russian-ancestry population.

In the 1980 census non-European ethnic groups (other than Armenians and Georgians) originating within the area of the Soviet Union were coded as Russian. Thus, the Cossack communities, from the southern Ukraine, cannot be distinguished within the Russian-ancestry data. They probably totaled more than 3,500 people in Atlantic, Ocean, and Monmouth counties, New Jersey, in Providence, Rhode Island; and in several larger metropolitan areas (Magoci 1980b). Although the elderly usually spoke Russian or Ukrainian and were members of the Russian Orthodox church, they have remained somewhat separate from the Russian ethnic communities.

Other Peoples Not Ethnic Russians.

Turkistanis from Soviet Central Asia have represented several Muslim language groups and have not considered themselves Russian (Mak-sud-Bek 1977). By the mid-1970s they had settled in several cities in New York and New Jersey, including about 50 families living in Boonton (Morris County), New Jersey.

Some descendants of German-Russian immigrants identified themselves as of Russian ancestry in the 1980 census. Culturally German but having lived under the Russian Empire for several generations, their ethnic communities have not been known by any consistent label. Frequently, as American attitudes toward Germany and Russia have shifted, so has the terminology. During the Russo-Japanese War in the early 20th century and in the post-World War II period, Americans were often hostile to Russia, prompting most German-Russians to identify as German. However, during the world wars and the Nazi period (1914–1945) most found it useful to describe their ethnicity as Russian.

In all the United States, the county that in 1980 had the highest percentage of Russian ancestry was McIntosh County, North Dakota —a county intensely German-Russian in ethnic character. This and other sparsely settled North Dakota counties (Logan, Dunn, Emmens, and McLean) reported small Russian-ancestry populations, but the percentages were relatively high. Responses from these counties suggest that among people of German-Russian ancestry, more than 90 percent of those who responded with only a single-ancestry label chose German in 1980.

Ethnic Russian Settlements

Russian immigrants arrived during the same decades as did other eastern Europeans and made their settlements in the same types of mining towns and industrial cities. They worked in lumbering in Michigan and Washington and fishing on the West Coast; they were mechanics, tailors, and stevedores in Bridgeport, New Haven, and the larger cities of the East and Midwest (Chyz and Roucek 1939). However, due to out-migrations from these areas, the immigration of so many refugees after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, and the
inclusion of Russian Jews in the data, the early distribution in such places is not easily discernible in the 1980 pattern. Only in a few places, including anthracite mining areas like Luzerne County in Pennsylvania and a few industrial centers like the Lake County, Indiana, is it possible to identify on the map ethnic Russian as opposed to Jewish immigrant centers.

Refugees. Refugees and their descendants probably constituted a larger portion of the Russian-ancestry population than is the case with other eastern European groups. Of the 2 million that fled to western Europe after 1917, approximately 30,000 came to America in the 1920s. As Nazi power grew more threatening, many of those who made it to France or Germany entered the U.S. (Magocsi 1980). Most of all these refugees had left originally because of opposition to Communism. They were a middle- and upper-class group, not at all likely to settle in the same places where the earlier Russian immigrants were living, but like most refugees they had to take jobs as waiters, watchmen, and taxi drivers in their early years here (Chyz and Rounce 1939). They developed an Orthodox church organization distinct from that of most of the older immigrants.

After World War II, thousands of refugees were able to come to America after several years in temporary camps in Europe. Many of these had begun their experience in America in mental occupations, but such jobs were no longer predominant in the mines and factories as they had been for the pre-1914 immigrants. Moreover, most of these refugees were able to move into better jobs in larger metropolitan areas fairly rapidly. The most recent Russian immigrants have been those permitted to leave since 1949.

Descendants of 19th-Century Alaska Settlements. It is possible that some people reporting Russian ancestry in Alaska had their link with Russia established during the pre-1867 period of Russian control. Alaska was a Russian outpost colony and a supply point for their fur trade. When it was sold to America, the tiny colonial society collapsed and most of the approximately 800 Russians returned home, though some went to the U.S. (Lain 1976). However, much of the administration had been handled by people of mixed Russian and native ancestry, who had become culturally Russian and separate from the native societies. By 1880 this group totaled about 2,000 at various settlements along the coast, such as Sitka and Kodiak Island.

That this mixed population had persisted, however, as some descendants have cherished the old faith, and in the 1950s most families (usually Tlingit or Aleut) that could claim even a single distant Russian ancestor usually considered themselves Russian (Shenitz 1955). A different attitude probably appeared with passage of the 1971 Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act, when presumably few people wished to assert any Russian or other immigrant heritage in public. How many of the Russian-ancestry people who were reported in the 1980 census were descendants from the period of Russian domination is not known.

Molokans. Small groups of Russian fundamentalist Christians in America came as religious refugees and settled particularly on the West Coast. All were groups that had dissented from the Russian Orthodox church centuries before, but the members still retained use of the Russian language and a strong Russian identity. There were a very few Dubchobors, who migrated via Canada to California and elsewhere (Magocsi 1980). Also, beginning about 1905 groups of Molokans, who were pacifists and had left Russia because of military service requirements, came to California. One of these groups, the largest Molokan settlement was in Los Angeles, focused in the run-down immigrant section called the Flats, south of Union Station (Young 1932). Other Molokans settled in the Potrero Hill area of San Francisco and in several farming settlements scattered through the San Joaquin Valley (Dunn and Dunn 1977). By 1970 an estimated 20,000 Molokans were present in California. No longer were they living in the old Holmenback neighborhood in Los Angeles, and many of the San Francisco Molokans have dispersed from their original settlements. However, in the mid-1970s Potrero Hill was still home to a geographically clustered community, quietly attempting to sustain its simple life, traditions, and aging population in a declining neighborhood (Dunn and Dunn 1977).

Old Believers. A similar group of refugees—the Old Believers—separated from the Russian Orthodox church in the 1600s due to a dispute over doctrine. In search of a safe and somewhat isolated haven, the Old Believers lived in a series of different countries, but in the 1860s migrated from Brazil to Oregon. Most settled in the Woodburn (Marion County) area, where they numbered about four thousand in 1972 (Bearden 1972). Schools have taught Russian as part of a bilingual program, but the preservation of their conservative, religious way of life has been difficult in modern urbanized America. The influence of the surrounding secular society is reflected in much television, tobacco, and drugs in their community.

In reaction, some Old Believers bought one section of Alaskan wilderness and in 1967 proceeded to build a new town, Nikolaevsk, near Anchor Point on the Kenai Peninsula (Rearden 1972). There some men have found jobs in towns, and others developed fishing and shipbuilding businesses. During the 1970s and early 1980s more Old Believers arrived from Oregon, and a dispute over priestly authority resulted in a partial exodus to two additional additional communities in Alaska (Gay 1985).

In 1980 Kenai Peninsula Borough reported over 500 people of Russian ancestry, making it relatively high nationally in its percentage of Russian ancestry. Despite the impossibility of restricting outside influences even in rural Alaska, a high birthrate among Old Believers suggests the continued growth of this population.

**Ukrainian Ancestry**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1980 Summary Statistics*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Ethnic Population*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties with Largest Ukrainian Ancestry Population**</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuyahoga (Cleveland), OH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties with Highest Percentage of Ukrainian Ancestry in Population**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Billings, ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schyullik (Pottsville), PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayuga (Auburn), NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lackawanna (Scranton), PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumberland (Shamokin, Sunbury), PA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.

** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

Ruthenian and Ukrainian Identities

In the period from 1880 to 1914, when the Ukrainian settlement pattern in America was established in areas, ethnic immigrants came from far western and marginally related parts of the Ukraine. From 85 percent (Magocsi 1980a) to 95 percent (Markus 1971) of those early immigrants who spoke some version of Ukrainian were essentially Rusyn or Ruthenians.
from what was then part of Austria-Hungary but is now mostly in the Ukraine SSR.

Before the 1920s hardly any of the immigrants thought of themselves as Ukrainian, mostly described themselves as Rusyn or Ruthenian, but some probably identified as Austrian or Hungarian because of their country of origin. Ethnic identity was neither clear nor strong. During the early decades in America, the immigrants’ weak sense of Rusyn identity was further dissipated by Roman Catholic church policies and Russian government efforts that pushed and pulled some of the people toward the Russian Orthodox church and a Russian identity.

However, since the First World War there has been an evolution in identity labels toward Ukrainian, especially among people whose origin was in Galicia (to the north of the Carpathian Mountains). In the 1920s separate Ukrainian organizations in America were created for both the Byzantine rite Catholics and Orthodox believers. The establishment of a Ukrainian SSR and the dream of an independent country of the Ukraine made that an attractive identity for Rusyn-Americans whose ethnic origins still had not been commemorated by any officially designated territory in Europe. This is indicated by responses to the mother-tongue question in the 1930 census, in which people were able to list either Ukrainian or Ruthenian for the first time. Those who reported Ruthenian represented only 15 percent of the total choosing Ukrainian.

The 1930 data also showed that retention of a Rusyn or Ruthenian identity was much more characteristic of those from the south side of the Carpathians, presumably due to their Hungarian orientation and lack of contact with either Galicia (on the northern side) or the Ukraine. Many of those from the southern slopes felt no Ukrainian identity at all and believed that those Rusyns who identified themselves as Ukrainians were betraying the ethnic group, but the former were a minority among the Rusyns. In 1980 only 4,485 people (single and multiple responses) reported any Ruthenian ancestry. The few members of the Rusyn or Ruthenian ethnic group reported in 1980 was no doubt partly due to the census decision to code Rusyn as Russian. The variant forms Rusyn and the formerly widespread terms Russnak and Russnik were not even listed as possible ancestry responses, thus further diluting the number of respondents to the category Other European.

Also, some people in 1980 probably expressed their ancestry in terms of the country of their ancestral origin, either Austria or Hungary.

Ukrainian Settlements

Ukrainian identity has since been strengthened by the addition of approximately 110,000 post-1914 refugees from farther east in the Ukraine. It was estimated in the late 1970s that only about 40 percent of those people of Ukrainian ancestry who were active in ethnic churches originated in the far western (Rusyn) sections (Magocsi 1980a). The geographical shift of origin of the Ukrainian ethnic population in America, from the marginally connected and dialectically different Ruthenian or Rusyn area toward the Ukrainian heartland, has further intensified Ukrainian identity. The Rusyns (now included in the term Ukrainian) were among the very last of the European groups to settle in America. Like so many other eastern Europeans, they came via northern Germany to New York, looking for jobs there or in the growing industrial cities and mines. They settled predominantly in Pennsylvania and New York State in 1980 those states contained 50 percent of the Ukrainian-ancestry population in the country, or, if multiple-ancestry responses are included, 37 percent.

Mining and Industrial Work.

The Ukrainian concentrations in the anthracite counties of Pennsylvania followed from an 1867 trip to Galicia made by a coal company agent who was recruiting strikebreakers (Halich 1935). Men bought the promises of high wages and steady work, and like most other eastern Europeans, Ukrainians came to be proportionately very strong in those counties. The town of Shenandoah (Schuylkill County) became an early ethnic and religious focus, since that was where the first Eastern rite church was established in America (Magocsi 1978).

In those early years Ukrainians were probably more commonly found as coal miners than in any other job (Imms, Com. 1911b). That dispersed them in small numbers through Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and southeastern Ohio, and farther west to Oklahoma and Texas (Halich 1937). However, with better jobs appearing elsewhere and the closing or mechanization of most mines, there was little reason for Ukrainians to remain in most of those sparsely settled towns, where there were too few for a viable ethnic community. Most moved on to the larger industrial cities of the East and Midwest.

In upstate New York, Ukrainians settled especially in the Buffalo (Erie County) area, and Ukrainian settlements were established as well in many of the cities that had grown up along the canal and railroad lines across the state, particularly in Rochester (Monroe County), Syracuse (Onondaga County), Auburn (Cayuga County), and Elmira (Chemung County).

Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, with their bituminous coal mining and industry, developed large Ukrainian communities. Allentown (Lehigh County), Chester (Chester County), and Philadelphia in the East had the largest settlements as of 1920. To the west the iron and steel cities of Johnstown (Cambria County), Pittsburgh (Allegheny County), and Ambridge ( Beaver County) in Pennsylvania, and Youngstown (Mahoning County) and Cleveland (Cuyahoga County) in Ohio became major centers.

The New York City Area.

More Ukrainians and people of Ukrainian ancestry have lived in the New York City area than anywhere else. As the main port of arrival and a diverse manufacturing center, it retained many of the immigrants, and a large neighborhood on the Lower East Side became the major focus.

In adjacent Yonkers (Westchester County) were also numerous Ukrainians, who had arrived in America in the early 20th century, at the time of that city’s rapid growth (Imms, Com. 1911b). There were probably the largest immigrant group in that city in 1909, working particularly in carpet manufacturing and molasses refining, but also as farm laborers. There were also many Ukrainian women, most of whom took in boarders or worked in the carpenter plants. Apart from New York City itself, Yonkers had in 1980 a larger Ukrainian-ancestry population than any other city in the state. It is likely that the New York City area has also been the major destination for Ukrainian refugees arriving last 60 years, thus reinforcing that area’s position as the leading Ukrainian community in the country.

Ukrainian ethnicity has flourished most strongly among the post-World War II refugees and their children, many of whom may reside in the suburbs but remain somewhat apart from the wider American society.

Attempts at Farming.

Only a few Ukrainians became farmers, but many tried it for a short time and still more dreamed of that possibility. By the time most immigrants arrived, only fairly poor land was available for purchase or homesteading. Most Ukrainians who left Europe with a strong desire for the life of an independent farmer headed for Canada or South America. But of the majority who came to the U.S., some used their savings from years of toil in the mines and factories to buy up nearby land, usually upland or stony areas that had been abandoned by earlier farmers or mining companies. This move to the countryside brought Ukrainians, as well as Poles and Slovaks, to the far corners of rural Connecticut and Massachusetts, and to rural sections of western Pennsylvania, including parts of Erie County (Halich 1935).

In their search for farming opportunities, some Ukrainians settled in Minnesota. In Koochiching County, along the Canadian border, about 35 Ukrainian families arrived just before the First World War, and another group came from Canada for jobs in the paper mills at International Falls.
(Dyrd 1980). In the northwestern corner of the state, Ukrainians farmers from Canada established a community with the assumption that they were settling in Canada; but despite the fact that their farms were later declared to be in U.S. territory (Kittson County), they still participated in the adjacent Canadian Ukrainian community. The proportion of Ukrainian ancestry in those counties remains unusually high, but with so much out-migration, the numbers are low.

North Dakota. Most Ukrainian homesteaders went to North Dakota, where farming was more successful and coal mines provided some employment (Sherman 1983). Around 1897 some moved south from Canada into the area near Belfield, mostly in Billings, Dunn, and Stark counties (Halich 1937). By 1933 there were 237 Ukrainian families in a widely scattered community, including some town dwellers in small businesses. Though numbers have become reduced, in Stark County the 360 people of Ukrainian ancestry made that county the seventh most intensely Ukrainian county in the U.S. In nearby Billings County, the Ukrainian-ancestry population represented 14 percent of the total population—five times the proportion of any other American county.

Another major Ukrainian farm area was begun by Protestants who had been converted by German-Russians while in the Ukraine (Markus 1971). Persecuted there, they fled to the U.S., claiming land near the center of North Dakota in northern McLean County and adjacent portions of Ward and McHenry counties. Their letters brought others from both Eastern America and the Ukraine so that, for a while, there was an area of about 15 by 40 miles that was nearly all Ukrainian (Halich 1937). That community has been distinct from the smaller Ukrainian settlements around Williston, at the southern tip of McLean County, as these were Eastern Catholic (Galician) and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox (Sherman 1983).

Ukrainian farm families moved to northeastern Montana from Canada and North Dakota, but the numbers were few by 1980. Out of the many Ukrainian settlements in rural America by about 1930, only some in North Dakota have survived to the late 1970s with any community cohesiveness (Magosci 1988d).

Jewish Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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Jews constitute an important American ethnic group, but because they are also a religion, no data on them can be collected in decennial censuses. Nevertheless, many Jews listed some ancestry in the 1980 census and were thus included in the numbers for the groups. Presumably this occurred for most ancestries that represented areas of origin of Jewish immigrants, such as Germany, Hungary, and Poland. However, because by 1920 over 60 percent of American Jews had family origins in the Russian Empire (Green 1980), the Jewish population is most strongly represented in the Russian-ancestry data. This predominantly Russian (or Soviet) origin has been accentuated since 1966, when the Soviet Union permitted the emigration of selected Jews and over 100,000 immigrated to the United States (Simon and Simon 1982). In addition, virtually all the people who reported Israeli ancestry are presumed to be Jewish.

In order to distinguish this ethnic group from those of the predominantly Christian populations of various European countries, estimates collected through Jewish organizations were used as a data source. These are inferior to the census data in quality but are the best available and probably adequate for the purposes of this atlas. An explanation of the data is provided in chapter 2.

Sephardic Jews

Jews migrated to the American colonies in the mid-1600s, settling in what became New York City and later Newport, Rhode Island. Over the next century a trickle of other immigrants followed, and Jewish congregations also appeared in Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah (Marcus 1970). Most of the earliest of these people had been Sephardic Jews, a term that refers to their Spanish and Portuguese heritage, although by the 1500s they had been forced out of Iberia. Many had sought refuge in Brazil or Dutch possessions in the Caribbean before migrating to New York. These early Jews were successful and cosmopolitan merchants, who adjusted easily to America and its commercial opportunities.

At the same time Ashkenazic Jews were settling in North America. Ashkenazic Jews, whose origins were in Germany or Poland or elsewhere to the north in Europe, differed from the Sephardim in ritual, language, and identity. By the 1770s the Ashkenazim were in the majority, but there had been much intermarriage in the small Jewish communities and a distinctive Sephardic population no longer existed (Marcus 1970). However, two Sephardic synagogues (in New York and Philadelphia) have survived, symbols of the special historical status of some Jewish families in those cities.

Not until the early 20th century did many more (approximately 25,000) Sephardic Jews immigrate (Angel 1973). Most settled in New York, where their Judeo-Spanish or Ladino speech, as well as some Greek and some Arabic speech, and their Levantine ways set them apart from the vast majority of German and East European Ashkenazic Jews. In New York the Syrian Sephardim of Brooklyn have constituted a cohesive and a viable community, residentially clustered and relatively affluent. The men have usually been importers or retailers, often owners of the bargain-counter stores or the camera and electronics goods shops that cater to the New York tourist trade (Zemner 1982). Several thousand of them have lived or vacationed in coastal New Jersey, especially in Deal and Bradley Beach (Monmouth County).

Sephardic Jews in the United States numbered about 100,000 in the early 1970s—less than 2 percent of American Jews. Most Sephardim still feel a pride in their distinctive identity, but in most cities, like Atlanta, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle the small Sephardic congregations have merged with the local Ashkenazic community.

German Jews

There were two major groups among the Jews of the Ashkenazic rite who immigrated to America: German Jews (including many from Russian territory in Poland), who dominated the immigration until the 1880s, and eastern European Jews, who poured into New York in the decades before World War I.

Identities. Until the late 19th century Americans thought of German Jews as essentially German and of the several religious groups among those immigrants (Higham 1984). Their Jewish identity became emphasized as many acquired substantial wealth and spent it conspicuously, leading to an increase in anti-Semitism. In the 1880s there appeared much greater numbers of eastern European or Russian Jews—obviously destitute and a focus of many people's concerns about the effects of hordes of immigrants. The German and
Russian Jews were lumped together by others, and both became subject to increasing discrimination. The few Jewish European immigrants were very concerned over the flood of so many poor eastern Europeans into our cities, the highly Americanized and successful German Jews much resented the eastern European Jews who crowded into tenements and streets and disturbed the tolerance and favorable social position previously won by the German Jews. For a while the German and eastern European Jews could have been considered two ethnic groups, but in recent decades the rift between them has disappeared.

Early Peddling and Dispersal. German Jews began to arrive in significant numbers in the 1830s, as part of the large 19th-century immigration from Germany. However, unlike Christians, who were apt to become farmers or industrial workers, the Jews usually started as peddlers. Often advanced credit by suppliers, they walked from farmstead to town to town. They helped to bring a variety of clothing and other manufactured goods to the rural and small-town dwellers of America. Only after several years or more of a highly mobile and demanding life had they accumulated enough capital to settle down and open a store.

The initial peddling experiences and the search for better opportunities resulted in a scattering of Jews throughout much of the country. Jewish entrepreneurs ranged from mining towns in California, Nevada, and Montana to midwestern farm towns. Those who settled in the smaller places, especially in the South, where there were frequently too few Jews to form a community, were often assimilated into the surrounding society and no longer retained a sense of Jewish identity (Higham 1981). Assimilation did not lead to a complete loss of Jewish identity, however, among descendants of early Sephardic migrants to northern colonial New Spain. Although they became Catholic and ostensibly marginally Spanish or Chicano, in northern New Mexico (Nidel 1984) and South Texas they have preserved but generally hidden the family traditions that indicate their Jewish past (Lerralde 1978).

Commerces in Larger Cities. More typical were those who followed fellow German immigrants to the larger towns or cities, such as those on the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. In 1850 Cincinnati had the second largest Jewish community in any interior city and was the third largest Jewish center in America. Like New York and Philadelphia, it was a supply center for the merchants and peddlers scattered to the west. By 1860 there were Jewish communities in more than 25 cities between Saint Louis and Boston (Learski 1954). German Jewish families in many cities had become economically successful; some had risen to positions of civic prominence.

By 1890 Jewish communities had appeared in most American cities, as the explorations of Jewish entrepreneurs uncovered opportunities farther from major ethnic German centers. In 1860 over a fifth of the Jews in America lived in the South in places like Richmond, Mobile, New Orleans, and Macon. In the South the entreprenuership of cotton and sugar production and a southern Protestant agrarian bias had left many openings for entrepreneurs (Hertzberg 1978). In Atlanta, for example, Jews had arrived in the 1840s, and many more came and opened shops in the decades after the Civil War, actively seeking the business of both whites and blacks. In 1880, 71 percent of employed Jewish men in Atlanta were merchants, mostly of dry goods and clothing—an occupation followed by only 25 percent of the other men in the city.

Also, Jews became well established in the towns and cities of the West. They followed the gold rush to California in 1848 and had marketed their merchandise in both small farming towns and big cities (Levinson 1974). Generally, they saw much greater opportunities in supplying the miners and local populations with goods than in mining or farming itself (Narell 1981). With brisk sales and replacement supplies sent by relatives from eastern cities, the traders had prospered.

East European Jews

Beginning in the 1880s, hundreds of thousands of eastern European Jews began to arrive in New York City. Over 75 percent of Jewish immigrants in the period 1881–1914 were from the Russian Empire, with about 19 percent from Austria-Hungary and 4 percent from Romania (Kuznets 1975). All were commonly labeled as Russian Jews.

Whereas the German Jews had established themselves in numerous urban communities across the country, the Russian Jews concentrated in the largest cities, particularly those on the East Coast. The 1920 census count of persons claiming Yiddish as their mother tongue (representing Russian Jews), in comparison to the 1920 estimated Jewish population (representing Russian, German, and other Jews), shows that the German Jews were proportionately much stronger in the South and West (Census 1922a; Linfield 1924).

Skilled Entrepreneurial Immigrants. In contrast to the Christians, who in Russia tended to be farmers or farmworkers and live in villages, Jews had been made to live in certain towns and cities. But they handled much of the trade over large areas and had developed some craft and manufacturing skills. When they arrived in America they possessed far more skills than watchmakers, hatmakers, furriers, tailors, bookbinders, tinsmiths, tanners, glaziers, bakers, and carpenters than other immigrant groups (Rischin 1962). The rapidly expanding garment industry, in particular, provided good pay compared to other industries, and with little capital needed to open a small factory, many Jews were able to begin small-scale businesses soon after arrival (Steinberg 1981).

These differences in occupational background were significant factors in the development of a distinctive Jewish distribution. Jews rarely needed or wished to take the unskilled laboring jobs in the mines and iron and steel mills that attracted so many Christian immigrants. Rather, Jews found their best opportunities for trading, skilled labor, and entrepreneurship in large cities. These provided the protective warmth of a viable Jewish community and an ample market for sales of goods. Whereas most other eastern European populations developed their largest communities in cities associated with heavy industry, Jews were especially apt to see New York City as offering the most rewards.

New York's Lower East Side. Russian Jews settled especially on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Many scraped and borrowed to get pushcarts, from which they peddled bread, Sabbath candles, items of clothing, and all sorts of household furnishings. (Fruits and vegetables were more typically sold by Italians and Greeks.) Their manufacturing and building trade skills led to employment as jewelers, carpenters, and painters. Also, in 1909 New York City was the country's third largest center for slaughtering and meatpacking, after Chicago and Kansas City (Census 1913), due a great deal to the need for Kosher products for immigrant Jews (Rischin 1962).

The most important occupation for immigrant Jews was garment manufacture, where already-developed skills could be utilized. About 30 percent of all gainfully employed Rus-
sian Jewish immigrants in the early 20th century had been tailors or seamstresses in Russia (Kuznets 1975). Cotton and woolen cloth was easily shipped from New England textile factories, and in the nation's center for silk manufacturing, Paterson, New Jersey, 90 percent of the factories were owned by Jews (Shapiro 1977). In 1900, 53 percent of employed Rochester Jewish males in New York City were employed in the needle industries (Bernheimer 1905). That work permitted Jewish families to work together and at home, and take the time necessary for religious rituals and holidays.

In the 1890s the manufacturing and trade of garments had been in the hands of German Jews, but by 1914 eastern European Jews predominated (Rischin 1962). Although by this time Italian immigrants had become the main work force in that industry, manual or blue-collar jobs remained much more characteristic occupations of Jewish men in New York City than in other places.

Planned Dispersal from New York. The crowded conditions of New York led to Jewish efforts to reduce that concentration. Beginning in the 1880s new farm communities in several states were sponsored, including several short-lived colonies on the Great Plains. However, the one that was successful was in southern New Jersey. The largest of these were Woodbine (Cape May County), which was almost completely Jewish in its early years, and Vineland in Cumberland County (Shapiro 1977). In both places a variety of manufacturing was needed to supplement the income from the market gardens. The most successful operations were those connected with poultry and egg production. (In the 1980 data the Jews in Woodbine have been included with the Cumberland County estimate.)

Also, between 1907 and 1922 over 79,000 Jews were assisted in moving from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, by way of a tiring boat trip to Galveston, Texas, to smaller places, especially in the Midwest (Marinbach 1983). Probably most of those who were resettled in small cities missed the more stimulating social and cultural life of a large Jewish community and later migrated to Chicago. In Los Angeles by 1917 over 2,200 Jews (almost half the total Jewish population) had come by means of the Jewish Welfare Board's Galveston Movement (Vorspan and Gartner 1970), and many Jews settled in Kansas City, Denver, and Colorado Springs because of this program of dispersal.

Moves to Other Sections of the New York Area. In the 1890s the immigrants were crowded into the slums of the Lower East Side, with separate neighborhoods for Hungarian, Galician, Romanian, and Russian Jews. German Jews, in contrast, were living in the middle-class uptown Manhattan areas. By 1915 almost 28 percent of New York City's population was Jewish (Rischin 1962).

But already those new immigrants who could afford to do so moved out of the congested tenements, following the German Jews uptown. Rapid transit was about to be built to northern Manhattan, and Harlem experienced a massive building boom, which kept rents for the new brownstone apartments fairly low (Gurock 1979). In the first decade of the century Russian Jews joined Germans and Irish there, though the Italians formed and retained a separate enclave. Blacks joined the movement, originally settling in a different area. However, after World War I, they entered what had been Jewish sections when Jews again moved northward to Washington Heights, or to the affluent Upper West Side, or across the river into sections of the Bronx (Moore 1981).

Later, Jews moved to newer suburbs in Rockland and Westchester counties. After the George Washington Bridge was built in 1931, many Jews crossed the Hudson to suburban Bergen County, New Jersey (Shapiro 1977). By the 1930s most Russian Jews had left the Lower East Side, though that area would retain some Jewish shops for another half century.

Others who left the original New York ghetto simply moved to Brooklyn, following various extensions of rapid transit. The Williamsburg section, near the bridge from the Lower East Side, and Brownsville were the largest Jewish immigrant areas. Typically, the second generation moved south, to Flatbush or beyond, as far as Coney Island and Rockaway (Moore 1981). After World War II extremely traditional Hasidic Jews arrived from central Europe. They formed almost self-contained communities in Williamsburg, and other parts of Brooklyn and by 1950 numbered 100,000 (Goren 1980). In 1980 Brooklyn (Kings County) had more Jews than any other county in New York City, while adjoining counties of Nassau and Suffolk contained almost as many Jews as Brooklyn.

Since the 1880s there has been a dispersal to seasonal and winter-round vacation areas. A few Jews headed north to small towns in the Catskill Mountains (Sullivan County, New York), where in the late 19th century they bought their own hotels in order to eliminate the exclusion from local resorts (Higham 1984). The Catskills came to have separate series of hotels to serve distinct Jewish and Christian clienteles. Also, the seaside areas of Long Branch (Monmouth County), New Jersey, and the Long Island area of Rockaway Beach along the south shore of Long Island became essentially vacation areas for New York Jews. Lateron, Atlantic City (Atlantic County), New Jersey, became a major resort area and also developed a large Jewish population.

Despite suburbanization and out-migration from the entire area, which have reduced the proportions of Jews in New York City, the city has retained its primacy for American Jews. About 40 percent of the Soviet Jewish refugees since 1971 have settled in New York (Jacobs 1981). In 1980 Jews constituted 15 percent of the City's population, and Jews in the City represented 20 percent of the national Jewish population. If suburban counties in New York and New Jersey are included, almost 2 million Jews—37 percent of the national total—lived in the greater New York area. In their single-family homes on Long Island or in other metropolitan areas, many Jews raised in New York City have remembered with nostalgia the street life and sociability of apartment living in those densely Jewish concentrations. But in recent decades proportionately fewer American Jews have lived the New York City experience, which has been such a powerful ingredient in so many people's lives.

Los Angeles. This area has become easily the second largest American Jewish center. German Jews had participated in the boom of the 1880s, and eastern European Jews began to arrive in the 1890s. A series of Russian Jewish neighborhoods evolved, the first of which were not far from the central business and warehouse districts. From early focuses on Temple Street and Central Avenue, most Jews in the 1930s were living in Boyle Heights, on the east side of downtown and the railroad yards (Vorspan and Gartner 1970). Beginning in the 1920s and increasing after World War II, thousands of Jewish migrants came from New York, Chicago, and other cities. Most prospered and were able to leave the older housing behind. Jews moved west into newer areas, such as Hollywood and Beverly Hills, and then into the San Fernando Valley and beyond. Because of the continued influx of new migrants from the East, as well as immigrants from Israel and some Soviet refugees, in 1980 only 16 percent of Jewish adults in greater Los Angeles had been born in that area (Huberman 1983).

Florida's Gold Coast. The third largest Jewish population was located in Florida—from Miami (Dade County) to West Palm Beach (Palm Beach County). Especially since World War II, migration from New York has brought thousands of seasonal and permanent residents to the Everglades, which became intensely Jewish, with a high proportion of elderly migrants, including many poor people. The more affluent often occupy the single-family homes, hotels, and condominiums that border the miles of beaches.

General Metropolitan Patterns In general, Jews have continued to live in large metropolitan areas. The best opportunities in the businesses and professions to which they have been especially attracted (medicine,
the law, and university teaching) have been found in such places. A national survey of over 41,000 people in 1979 showed that 58 percent of American Jews lived in areas of over one million population, compared to 20 percent of Americans in general (Fisher 1982). Only 9 percent of Jews lived in rural areas or urban places of less than 20,000 people, in contrast to the 42 percent of Americans inhabiting such places.

Most metropolitan Jews live in metropolitan suburbs. Except for New York City, the old Russian Jewish neighborhoods have been virtually abandoned by all except a few elderly Jews, although Jews have often maintained ownership of the old housing. Typically those areas have become occupied by blacks, part of a newer and larger ghetto, though in some cities other ethnic groups have moved in.

**Clustering in the Suburbs.** Apart from the suburban-central city distinction, Jews have tended to live in some sections and be relatively absent from others. In contrast to the 19th century, when German Jews found few restrictions on their ambition or their choice of residential neighborhood, the 20th century brought housing discrimination, preventing Jews from living in certain sections. At the same time many Jews wanted to be among their own kind. The net effect was that in both older Russian Jewish ghettos and the suburbs of most large cities Jewish residential areas were clustered. A similar pattern, though not so sharply defined and not based on legal restrictions, has continued in recent decades. In Detroit (Agocs 1981) and Chicago (Winsberg 1986), for example, Jews in the suburbs were more clustered than any other white ethnic group. The desire for life in a close-knit ethnic community may still be strong, as well as a residual wariness regarding full acceptance by other Americans.