100 YEARS IN AMERICA

TSAMANTAS (GREECE) – WORCESTER, MA (USA), 1908-2008

Historical Determinants and Images of the Identity and Culture of Diasporas from Southeastern Europe

Proceedings of the Conference held at the Hellenic College, Brookline (Boston) October 11 2008

Edited on behalf of the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta[s], Worcester, MA by

Dimitrios Konstadakopulos and Soterios Zoulas

University of the West of England

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Preface

This edited publication, the contribution of many people, is the result of the *'100 Years in America: Historical Determinants and Images of the Identity and Culture of Diasporas from Southeastern Europe'* conference that took place in the Hellenic College, in Brookline (Boston), Massachusetts, in October 11 2008. The academic aspect of the conference was co-organised by the two editors, while the logistics and planning was undertaken by the executive members of St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta in Worcester, MA, which was celebrating its centenary. The participants were welcomed by Mr Charles Keratsis, president of the St. George's Society, as well as by the Rev. Father Nicholas Triantafilou, president of Hellenic College and the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School in Brookline, MA and Mr Constantinos Orphanides, the Consul General of Greece in Boston. Nicholas Gage, the well-known author of *Eleni* and *A Place for Us*, gave a moving account of his own experience of migrating from Epirus to Worcester, MA.

The *'100 Years in America'* conference was part of three days of celebration which also included the following:

A reception at the Worcester Art Museum on Friday 10 October 2008.
The reception was attended by over 80 individuals, and in the opening speech, Mr Charles Keratsis, the president of the St. George's Society, welcomed everyone and highlighted the philanthropic activities of St. George's over its 100 years of existence. Subsequent speakers included His Eminence Metropolitan Me**thodios** of the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Boston; The Honourable Constantinos Orphanides, the Consul General of Greece in Boston; and Dr Alexander Kitroeff, Associate Professor of History at Haverford College, Philadelphia, PA. Amongst other notable guests were Archimandrite Methodios, the Abbot of the Monastery of Giromeri, Greece; the Rev.Father Dean Paleologos, Cathedral Dean, and Father Gregory Christakos, Associate Pastor, of St. Spyridon Greek Orthodox Cathedral; and Konstantina Lukes, the Mayor of Worcester. The final address, given by the first editor, paid tribute to the St. George's Society, and made an appeal for the migrants' descendants to visit their ancestral village, in order to bring new life to it.

A commemorative symposium at St. Spyridon's Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Worcester, Sunday 12 October 2008.
This was preceded by a celebration of the divine liturgy by the Abbot of Giromeri Methodios, assisted by the Rev. Father Dean Paleologos, Cathedral Dean and the Rev. Father Gregory *Christakos, Associate Pastor*. The powerful sermon was delivered by the Abbot, who had brought the holy relics from the Monastery of St. George's in Tsamantas, for public veneration. The symposium that followed was attended by over 100 people from Worcester's Greek-American community, and especially from the first, second and third generations of the Tsamantas migrants' families. It was addressed by Rep. James McGovern(D-Worcester), who announced that he had deposited – in the National Archives at Washington – a record of the contribution to the American nation made by the first immigrants from Tsamantas, as celebrated in our three-day event, '*100 Years in America*'. The Mayor of Worcester, Konstantina Lukes, also addressed the participants, and declared the 12th of October as a future commemorative date on which to remember the courage and enterprise of those first migrants from Tsamantas to the city of Worcester. The keynote speaker, George Tselos, an archivist at the Statute of Liberty National Monument and Ellis Island, explained why it is important for local societies, such as St. George's, to preserve their documents (newspapers, committee minutes etc) for the benefit of future generations, and academic researchers. Finally, the first editor was once again honoured to spend a few minutes talking about the admirable lives of the first few waves of settlers from Tsamantas.

Dimitrios Konstadakopulos & Soterios Zoulas, January 2010

Acknowledgement

In both Brookline and in the historic city of Worcester, Massachusetts, we celebrated the centenary of the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta[s]. This event would not be taking place without the actions of many individuals, past and present, to whom we should like to pay tribute.

We acknowledge the valuable contribution made by the St. George's Society, which has organised and financed not just the academic conference, but also the other activities, including a reception at the Worcester Arts Museum, and the celebrations in the impressive Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St. Spyridon's in Worcester. The Society was created by pioneering emigrants from the village of Tsamantas in Epirus, who made the courageous decision, more than 100 years ago, to start a new life in the industrialised north-east of the United States. The role of this philanthropic society was (and still is) of a multidimensional nature. For example, it collected money for various projects that would benefit the village of Tsamantas; it prepared those individuals who were planning to return permanently to the village; it offered opportunities for socialising. Testimonies to its generosity can be found in Tsamantas: most significantly, the splendid school, which was built in 1928, thanks to funding by the Society's members, and which provided education for hundreds of children up to its closure in the 1960s. The building is now the home of the small but impressive Folklore Museum of Tsamantas. Ever since the creation of the St George's Society, in 1908, it has been active in maintaining close links with Tsamantas, and these were further strengthened in 1999 when both the Society and the village greatly benefited from the Stavros Bellos legacy. We owe particular thanks to the past and present executive members of St. George's society: Arthur Athanasiou (former president), Charles Keratsis, Steve Zoulas and Helen Pilitsis,

We also want to mention the late Stavros Bellos, the benefactor whose tremendous generosity revitalised the St. George's Society, and reinforced the links between the Greek diaspora in Worcester and the community back home in Tsamantas. We want particularly to mention Vassilis Milionis. Vassilis, has acted as a custodian of the Society for many years. Theofanis Iatrou, who died during the year of the Centennial, is another important contributor to the Society and his many efforts to strengthen the ties to the Village of Tsamantas.

And last, but by no means least, we would like to thank the Worcester Cultural Commission, the Massachusetts Cultural Council, the Eastern Nazarene College, the Maliotis Foundation, Hellenic College and the Maliotis Cultural Centre which financially supported or made in-kind contributions.

Introduction

This edited publication is the outcome of the *100 Years in America'* conference, which took place in the Hellenic College in Brookline, Massachusetts, on the 11th of October 2008, and was attended by over 60 participants. The aim of the conference was twofold: firstly, it celebrated the centenary of the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta[s] in Worcester, Massachusetts, as well as acknowledged the society's contribution to social and philanthropic causes, both in Europe and America; secondly, it aimed to develop our historical and cultural knowledge about the movement of individuals, ideas and values, and the desire of migrants to preserve their identity and culture during their gradual integration into their adopted societies. Notwithstanding the work already undertaken on transatlantic migration from southeastern of Europe, the topic is yet to be explored in depth. This interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary conference brought together specialists from a variety of fields (history, economics, politics, anthropology, sociology, ethnology and cultural and museum studies) in order to fill this gap by promoting a collective reflection of this important phenomenon, which has influenced societies in both sides of the Atlantic.

This highly successful interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary conference achieved its objectives by bringing together specialists from a variety of fields (history, economics, politics, anthropology, sociology, geography and cultural studies) to discuss those aspects of the migration process that have influenced, and are still influencing, societies on both sides of the Atlantic. The organisation of the book is as follows:

At the outset, the first editor provided some background information regarding the migration to Worcester from the Epirote Village of Tsamantas. This was followed by chapter one in which **Alexander Kitroeff** of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, discusses the identity of Greek-Americans after the 1940s, and the way in which they assimilated into the wider American society. In chapter two, the first editor, once again constructs a profile of the first transatlantic migrants from Tsamantas to the industrialised northeast of the USA, and in particular to Massachusetts and the city of Worcester. The motivation of individuals deciding to emigrate is examined. The chapter also explains how the kinship and strong sense of community that facilitated chain migration to Worcester almost a century ago still links many of the remaining villagers of Tsamantas.

In chapter three, **Lynn Morrison** from the Saffron Walden Museum, in Essex, UK, presents a thought-provoking paper on *'Hidden histories and silent witnesses – what the migrants left behind'*, drawing from her experience of voluntary work in conserving some of the artefacts at the Folklore Museum of Tsamantas. In chapter four, **Anna Karpathaki**, from the City University of New York, gave an informative presentation on *'Greek Americans through the Census, with an emphasis on the North East'*, which offered a profile of the contemporary average Greek-American in the State of Massachusetts. This was followed by an original piece of academic research in chapter five by **Dr Torsten Feys** from the European University Institute, Brussels, Belgium, entitled *'The Rise of Immigrant Banks: The sale of prepaid and return tickets through the American migrant agent network 1896-1914'*.
In chapter six **Antonia Sagredo Santos**, from the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), in Madrid, Spain, who presented an absorbing paper on *'The Main European Migration Trade towards the American North Atlantic Coast in the Nineteenth Century'*, drawing in particular from the dramatic migration of starving Irish peasants to the USA. Finally, **Paul Frederic** from the University of Maine at Farmington in chapter seven presents a paper entitled *'Going West! Leaving 19th Century Rural Northern New England: Diaspora From the Town of Industry, Maine'*, in which he tells the fascinating story of the migration waves that shaped the fortunes of this small American town.

Broadly, in this book we seek to examine issues of identity and belonging, and the relationship between past and present in the context of cultural globalisation. It is thus

intentionally left wide open to a range of possible contributions. We include papers dealing with any aspect of migration and trans-national and cross-cultural interconnections that shape the identity of diasporic communities. All the above papers, based on research undertaken by academics in both Europe and America focus on the New England and Atlantic Canada, since these regions, and Worcester in particular, have received continuous waves of immigration from Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Latin America. It is hoped that this publication will make a significant contribution to public understanding about the identity and culture of diasporic societies and inspire future research in this area.

Dimitrios Konstadakopulos & Soterios Zoulas, January 2010

Background Information on Migration to Worcester, MA, from the Epirote Village of Tsamantas[1]

Dimitrios Konstadakopulos, University of the West of England, Bristol

The emigration to North America, during the twentieth century, of large numbers of people from southeastern Europe has had profound political, economic, social and cultural consequences for the sending and receiving regions. When the first few migrants (mainly young male peasants) from the nascent Greek state and the disintegrating Ottoman Empire headed across the Atlantic in the late nineteenth century, they started a trend that led to massive migration, reaching its peak between 1905 and 1910. Many of them came from the Ottoman-administered region of Epirus and particularly from the mountainous communities found on the slopes of Mount Mourgana, a good number of whom were from the long-established community of Tsamantas, which at that time had roughly 1,400 inhabitants.

The foremost destination of the majority of emigrants from Tsamantas was the industrialised northeast of the USA, and in particular Massachusetts and the city of Worcester. Industrial Worcester, located 45 miles west of Boston, had been a magnet for migrants from eastern and southern Europe since the late nineteenth century. The city's first Greek immigrants arrived in the 1890s (mostly from the Peloponnese in the free Greek State), and brought their families with them. The migrants from Tsamantas soon formed the largest and most active of the numerous village associations in Worcester: the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamantas, established in 1908. In a letter of 1918 to the editor of *Atlantis*, the Greek-speaking newspaper of New York, Nikolaos Nitsos (1865-1940), the village's most renowned scholar, mentioned the fact that at least 150 men from Tsamantas were by now working in factories in Worcester and elsewhere in the United States (1926: 321). He eloquently describes the philanthropic activity of the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Worcester in providing relief to those back home in Tsamantas, ravaged as they were by epidemics, famine and war (1926: 102-4, 322-3).

During the first few decades of the twentieth century a 'chain migration' occurred, resulting in a remarkable concentration of fellow villagers in this one American city. The number of migrants to Worcester continued throughout most of the twentieth century, reaching its peak in the early 1970s. During that period the St. George's Society had 350 members. The kinship and strong sense of community that facilitated chain migration to Worcester and other American cities, as well as Melbourne in Australia, still links the migrants and their descendants to their village of origin. Although migration was initially beneficial to Tsamantas, by alleviating the excessive population, its continuation eventually led to the present sorrowful state of decline in the village. As Constantinou and Diamantides note (1985: 367), 'migration occurred in surges, increasing at first, reaching a peak, and then declining because of depletion of the pool of potential immigrants. New and important occurrences replenish the pool and initiate a resurgence of emigration.' It could almost be said that the village of Tsamantas was transposed from the slopes of Mount Mourgana to the industrial landscape of Worcester, Massachusetts. Indeed, the 2000 census revealed that 2,431 residents of Worcester (comprising 1.4% of the city's population) consider themselves to be Greek rather than American (Ross, 2004).

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[1] This draws from Konstadakopulos, D., (2005), *'The history, stories, identity and culture of a divided region: a case study of the Greek-Albanian border community of Tsamantas in Epirus, northwestern Greece'*, paper presented at the International Seminar *'Regional Identities, Cultures & Images – a Path to Regional Development?*', Campus Norrköping, Linköping University, Sweden (March).

In my paper that follows, I construct the profile of the first transatlantic migrants from Tsamantas by examining the crew and passenger manifests found in the archives of Ellis Island (the main reception point for immigrants to the United States) – which provide a clue not only to the geographical origins of the immigrants but also to their social and economic background. Most importantly, it helps us understand the motivation of individuals deciding to emigrate.

Constantinou and Diamantides state that a number of historical studies on the experience of transatlantic migration from Greece to the USA pay particular attention to the 'push factors' that underlined migration (1985: 352). These studies put forward theoretical analyses that explain migration merely as the movement of surplus labour within a world market. As pointed out by Anderson (2001: 3), many such studies 'lack the theoretical basis or anchor that might bridge the gap between the local, the regional, the national and the global'. This remark raises a central question regarding the role played by local and regional economies in the emerging capitalist system of the early twentieth century. In order to understand the process of migration from Epirus, it is important to view the experience of individuals in a wider context. Anderson suggests that we should endeavour to understand not only the socio-economic conditions prevalent in the region but also the situation worldwide, in view of the emerging capitalist system, and the European and international geopolitical context (Anderson, 2001: 3-4).

In the early 1910s – when, according to Constantinou and Diamantides, (1985: 360), migration from Greece to the USA reached its peak – most immigrants from Tsamantas began their journey overseas at the port of Patras, by joining a Greek or American steamship. Such ships usually originated from Piraeus and would have stopped to pick up passengers at Gytheon, Kalamata, Katakolon and Zante. Patras was the last port of call before the departure to America, a voyage that lasted eighteen days (Kitroeff, 2004: 347-8; Voultsos, 1992: 20-21). From the Ellis Island archives it is clear that the majority were men (many of them groups of young men from a particular locality), and that they declared to the American authorities on arrival that they had come to join a relative already settled in the country. Emigration had been facilitated by the development of transatlantic steamers (Keeling, 2002), but political upheavals at home, coupled with anxiety about possible constraints on emigration to the USA, were some of the strongest motivational factors (Constantinou and Diamantides, 1985). Primarily, however, mass migration occurred because of favourable conditions and economic opportunities in the States.

Examination of the Ellis Island archives suggest that the vast majority of immigrants from Tsamantas were exactly the kind of people sought by the American labour market: they were young, literate and healthy men, had sufficient cash to buy a ticket to reach their final destination, and most importantly already had relatives or friends living in the USA who could support them. Initially, it was common for these migrants to return to Tsamantas every now and then to visit their families[2]; gradually, however, women and children from Tsamantas began to join their husbands and fathers, so that a more permanent and settled community began to develop in Worcester[3].

The journey to America by ship during the inter-war years was far from pleasant, though not so full of hardship and deprivation as some accounts suggest. Undoubtedly, most migrants from Tsamantas had to travel third class (steerage), in cramped conditions. But the transatlantic steamers[4] were relatively new, and their passage was generally safe. A more

[2] Simollardes, A., 'Greek Life in Worcester', *Worcester Telegraph*, 8 July 1973.
[3] See Voultsos (1992) for a comprehensive analysis of the emigration of the first Greek women to the United States.
[4] For instance, the 4,390-ton steamship *Patris* could carry 1,420 passengers.

serious concern was the chance, albeit small, of being rejected on arrival by the American immigration authorities. The shipping companies had to time their arrival to the opening of new quotas for the ethnic groups they were transporting. However, quotas were often met within just twenty-four hours[5]. Eventually, however, migration to the States and elsewhere dramatically declined as a consequence of the Great Depression, as well as the reluctance of British Dominions to receive further immigrants from Europe.

When the pioneering emigrants left the village of Tsamantas, at the turn of the 20th century, it was still part of the Ottoman Empire. Arriving at Union Station in Worcester, they found a bustling industrial city in which a third of the population had come from overseas, like themselves. As it was mentioned earlier, they were not, in fact, the first ethnic Greeks immigrants in Worcester, having been preceded by a handful of individuals from the free Greek state, especially from the Peloponnese, who had arrived in the mid-1890s, bringing their families with them. However, as I am pointing out in my contribution later, it was the Kentros brothers and cousins from Tsamantas who – in 1901, we think – initiated the chain migration process that resulted in the influx of at least 60 young men from the home village, most of whom settled in Worcester. And by the 1915 state census, the total Greek population in Worcester amounted to 678, of whom the vast majority were males. This was the highest concentration of Epirote Greeks in any central Massachusetts city. These men, however, were reluctant to work in the steel and wire mills which were the principal sources of employment. This may have been partly due to the discriminatory practices of the Worcester industrialists, but the fact that the immigrants had been accustomed to working either in fields back home, or on the roads as tinkers, was certainly a factor, as they found it hard to adapt to the discipline required in the production line of a factory – and so instead, like their Jewish neighbours, they began to start up their own businesses.

As we shall see later, some of the Tsamantas immigrants bought bananas wholesale and became fruit peddlers. Others worked as bakers, or as dishwashers and cooks in restaurants. But, unlike most of the other ethnic groups in the city, who settled in self-contained units or voluntary ghettoes in various parts of the East End, the Epirote settlers lived in small enclaves spread throughout that district, in places such as Spring Street, Mechanic Street and Brackett Court. Such enclaves gave the first migrants from Tsamantas a shared basis of experience – similar life-styles, housing and jobs – but more importantly the enclaves provided a refuge and resource for those who were confronted with the unemployment, poverty, disease and accidents that often accompanied life and work in the rapidly industrialising city of Worcester. The Tsamantas fruit peddlers were probably earning about $9-10 a week, of which they spent around $4 on rent and food, plus wages for a fellow immigrant who took on the task of cooking for them all, and cleaning their shared accommodation. They were hard workers, and extremely thrifty, and they sent most of their earnings back to their families in the village.

The process of settling in Worcester, and adjusting to a new life there, was eased by the presence of family members and fellow villagers, as well as by the maintenance of strong links with others back home in Tsamantas. Further support, in the form of material assistance, and help in making new social connections, came from the church, the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society, and the wider community of Epirotes and other Greeks living in Worcester.

Reflecting the traditions of their life back home, it was the cafes that became an important focus in the lives of the male immigrants, while the church was a social centre for the relatively few women, as indeed was the St. George's Society, which was one of the first to organise social events, such as picnics. However, the most valuable support of all came in the form of elementary language teaching, and familiarisation with local customs and

[5] *The Times [of London]*, '*15,000 Seeking Entrance to New York*', 1 August 1923.

geography, provided by those who had already lived for some time in the city. Newly arriving immigrants were also helped in finding employment, and their wages enabled them to pay back their debt to the community by contributing to the upkeep of their ethnic institutions, such as the church of St. Spyridon, the school, and the St. George's Society, through the payment of annual membership fees. By the 1920s, increasing affluence in Worcester meant that some of the Tsamantas immigrants were able to amass sufficient profits to purchase their own grocery stores or restaurants. The scholar Nikolaos Nitsos mentions a number of successful businessmen in Worcester at the time, including Athanasios Kentros, Michalis Alexis, Ioannis Zoulas, the Boukali brothers, and the Kiratsis brothers. The new community was so successful, indeed, that it could almost be said that the village of Tsamantas had been transported from the slopes of Mount Mourgana to the industrial landscape of Worcester. Sadly, however, this was the beginning of the economic decline and stagnation of the old historic community back home.

Migration to the United States from Tsamantas came to a stop during the Second World War and the ensuing Greek Civil War, but renewed in earnest in the 1950s and 60s. In the early 1970s, more immigrants came to the city of Worcester from Greece than from any other country, according to the *Worcester Telegraph* (quoting from State Immigration Statistics)[6]. It is estimated that there were between 3,500 and 4,000 Greeks in Worcester at the time, the vast majority of them (80%) from Epirus, including the village of Tsamantas.

Since its creation in 1908 the St. George's Society has been active in maintaining links with Tsamantas. In 1999 the Society greatly benefited from the Bellos legacy. Stavros Bellos, one of the early migrants to Worcester from Tsamantas, left most of his considerable estate to his native village, but also a substantial amount both to the Society, of which he was a member, and the Greek-Orthodox Church of Worcester. The St. George's Society, was established by a group of 30-40 immigrants, and a group photograph, dated 1926, shows that there were already at least 70 members, though only four of these were women, plus a small number of children. In a later photograph, dated 1937, the Society appears to have grown to at least 130 members, now including as many as thirty women and children. And by the second half of the 20th century, St. George's had become one of the biggest fraternal societies in Worcester, with about 350 members.

The role of this philanthropic society was, and still is, of a multidimensional nature. For example, it collected money for various projects that would benefit the village of Tsamantas; it prepared those individuals who were planning to return permanently to the village; it even offered opportunities for socialising, and was one of the first societies to organise picnics at Lake Quinsigamond. And now, there are testimonies of its generosity back in the Tsamantas, most significantly the splendid school, which was built in 1928, thanks to funding by the Society's members, and which provided education for hundreds of children up to its closure in the 1960s. The building is now the home of the splendid Folklore Museum of Tsamantas.

As Nikolaos Nitsos acknowledges in a letter of thanks to the Greek-American daily *Atlantis* in 1918, 'thousands of dollars' were sent home by migrant workers living in Worcester, for the maintenance of their families in Tsamantas. This saved many lives in the village, during one of the most precarious periods in its history, when the First World War and the consequent famine and Spanish flu epidemic had such catastrophic repercussions in south-eastern Europe. Ever since its creation in 1908, the Society has been active in maintaining close links with Tsamantas, and these links were further strengthened in 1999 when both the Society and the village greatly benefited from the afore-mentioned Stavros Bellos legacy.

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[6] Simollardes, A., 'Greek Life in Worcester', *Worcester Telegraph*, 8 July 1973.

Regrettably, however, Tsamantas is now in sharp decline. From a population of more than 1,400 inhabitants in 1913, it has dwindled down to a mere 50 people, most of whom are elderly. Only 2 or 3 families are still economically active, and many of the local stone-built houses are in ruins. Furthermore, the Folklore Museum is open for just a couple of months a year, and the magnificent church of the St. George's Monastery, from which the Society takes its name, is in urgent need of repair and conservation.

So what do we conclude from all of this? It seems that the complex interweaving of family, neighbourhood, church, and brotherhood association very much shaped the lives of the Epirote immigrants in Worcester. Nevertheless, these immigrants also played a dynamic part in the wider working-class ethnic communities of Worcester. This was in spite of the fact that they had a very strong sense of separateness, and their own cultural identity. However, after the first World War, this ethnic separatism and insularity started to diminish, as did their nationalistic ties with Greece. And now a shift in the aspirations of some of the migrants from Tsamantas became apparent, as they abandoned their former plans to return to the village; instead they chose to bring their families over to Worcester, with the intention of residing permanently in the United States. And so, in a city in the eastern United States, which now has a large and successful community of Greeks, gradually strengthened over the years, and here to stay. The long tradition of migration from Tsamantas has undoubtedly enriched the city of Worcester, and contributed to its economic, social and cultural development over the last 100 years. We must not forget, however, that this is also the case with today's immigrants, from Honduras, Cameroon, Vietnam and elsewhere, whom we welcome in both America and Europe, and who will undoubtedly carry on helping to build stronger, more prosperous and fairer societies on both sides of the Atlantic.

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Chapter 1
Celebrating Greek American Heritage
Keynote Address at “100 Years in America” Conference

Alexander Kitroeff, Haverford College, Pennsylvania

I am honored to be taking part in this centenary celebration of the St. George’s Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta. There are, of course many Greek American fraternity-type of societies made up of persons of a common geographical origin in Greece, but I cannot recall any such group that has included an entire day of academic presentations on their history, which describe and document its richness. It is remarkable that your society has done so on its centenary celebration and I commend you for this initiative – may it serve as the model for other Greek American organizations!

It is also a great honor to be following Nicholas Gage as a speaker. He has done a great deal to focus the world’s attention to the history and society of your particular part of Epirus, not only politically but also through evoking in graphic and emotional detail the lives of the people in the region in the 1940s through his book *Eleni* and as immigrants in Worcester, Mass. in his autobiographical work *A Place for Us.*

The purpose of my presentation is to place the Greek American embrace of heritage that your centenary celebration represents in a wider historical context. The Greek immigrants in the United States were not always able to, or even allowed, to celebrate their roots in Greece publicly. Nor did they wish to, being more concerned with the urgent need adapt to their new home after emigrating from Greece. We can think of the century long presence of the Greeks in the United States – a time span that coincides with that of the St. George’s Society – as being divided into four broad phases.

The Early History of the Greeks in the United States

The first phase was that of arrival and settlement, and was a time when many Greeks considered their presence in America as a temporary experience. There was relatively little adaptation and the Greeks retained very strong ties with their homeland. It was only around the time of World War I when the majority of the Greeks decided to stay permanently and this, incidentally, is confirmed by the increase of women from Greece entering the United States.

The second phase came in the era between the two world wars when immigration from Greece and the rest of Southeastern Europe was curtailed and immigrants from that region. Faced the full brunt of racism and xenophobia that had been escalating since the early days of the twentieth century, they had no option but to conform to the pressures of Americanization and assimilation throughout the 1920s and the 1930s. That is when AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was established with a main goal to promote the cultural and social integration of Greeks into American life.

Assimilation was not a one-way street, the Greeks retained their identity while they Americanized, balancing between the two cultures. Assimilation pressures did not mean the disappearance of Greek ethnicity – it was preserved thanks to the work of several organizations, GAPA, the Greek American Progressive Association and the Orthodox Church which was growing under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras.

Perhaps the best way to describe this balancing between Americanization and Greekness is to recount a story told to me by Eugene Rossides, one of the leaders of the Greek American lobby in Washington DC. He grew up in Brooklyn and he remembers one day playing on the

street with some other Greek boys and shouting and having fun when suddenly his mother leant out the window and told them: “no more speaking Greek when you are on the street. Speak The Greek only inside the house.”

It is a story that captures the climate of Americanization that many historians specializing in ethnic history have confirmed in their studies. It was a difficult period. There remained a lingering fear among many Greeks that they would be considered not Americans and in some cases not white by the Anglo White Protestant majority. For example, several Greek characters on novels were depicted as “swarthy” or “non-white” as late as the 1930s.

The third phase in the Greek experience in the United States came on October 28th 1940 and Greece’s entry into World War II which as one of the finest hours in the country’s modern history. On that day, the country’s leader General Metaxas said “no” - OXI - to Mussolini and decided to fight rather than allow Italy’s troops entry into Greece, he was reflecting the sentiments of the entire Greek people.
The foreign threat brought not only a spirit of Greek national unity, but a will to do battle against a superior enemy in a way that would impress the entire world.

Assimilation pressures did not mean the disappearance of Greek ethnicity – it was preserved thanks to the work of several organizations, GAPA, the Greek American Progressive Association and the Orthodox Church which was growing under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras.

But October 28, 1940 was also a turning point in the history of the Greek Americans, because brought about a new and stronger appreciation of both modern Greece and of the Greek Americans, on the part of the U.S. government and American public opinion.

Greece, the American Media & October 28th 1940

The news that Greece rejected Italy’s ultimatum on October 28th and that the Greek people were enthusiastically preparing to fight was greeted with admiration throughout the world.

The *New York Times* reported from Athens on October 29th:

“With shops closed for the day owing to air-raid warnings, merrymaking was in full swing here. Flags were out and bands of enthusiasts marched around. They greeted each other with handshakes and thumbs up. Everywhere officers, soldiers and civilians scurried helter-skelter through the streets to join the colors, clambering into taxis and buses. Students demonstrated outside the university and scattered patriotic pamphlets in the streets.”

And the same day, the *New York Times* declared in an editorial entitled “The Hour of Greece”:

“the Greeks in this hour, outnumbered as they are, poor in the instruments of modern war, remember and defend the glory that was Greece. They recognize at once that this is a fight for independence of all small nations. Whatever happens, their instant determination to prove worthy of their ancestors of their freedom vindicates the heroic tradition of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis and establishes once more the title to nationhood of a brave and ancient people…
Whatever happens, Greece’s stand is a bright sign in the darkness. In its long history Hellas has never been a Great Power; it has survived many invasions and defeats because it is a great nation.”

The morale booster that Greece provided the democratic world beginning in October 28th 1940 can be more fully understood if we bear in mind that Belgium had fallen to the

Germans in May 1940 and that was followed in June by France's collapse. And in September 1940, Nazi Germany had launched the Blitz, the two month-long aerial bombardment of London.

In the next few months, the American media continued to shower Greece with praise in light of the extraordinary achievement of the Greek armies in pushing the Italian forces back over the Albanian border and deep into Albanian territory.

It is not an exaggeration to describe that epic struggle as one pitting David against Goliath, and the Greek advances against the Italians were all the more impressive because of the extremely difficult terrain and bad weather conditions they had to overcome. We all know, I believe, those immortal words that Churchill uttered in April 1941, in recognition of Greece's success: "We will not say thereafter that the Greeks fight like heroes, but heroes fight like the Greeks!"

The American media's praise of Greece peaked when the Life magazine cover of the December 1940s issues featured a large photograph of a Greek evzone sounding a bugle, against a background of ancient Greek columns. It's a photo taken by the Greek photographer Nelly.

The Greek American Reaction

Meanwhile, even before October 28th, the status of the Greek American community had begun to improve. In battling totalitarianism and Nazism, even before Pearl Harbor, American spokesmen portrayed the United States as a nation whose values were antithetical to its enemies. This meant that if totalitarianism demanded conformity, mocked freedom and preached racial hatred then Americans were surely plural and instinctively democratic.

Popular films and novels during the war never tired of celebrating American racial diversity. The first stamp featuring an African American, booker T. Washington, appeared in April 1940. While this inclusiveness did not quite apply in practice to all groups, most notably the German and Italian Americans, it functioned as an open invitation to most Southern and Eastern European immigrants to feel fully American. And to be "American" was no longer a synonym for conformity with the Anglo standard, instead, to be American now meant to be part of a multi-ethnic whole.

The exception were the Black American poor who in fact were moving north to find jobs in the industrial cities, a phenomenon that led to racial tension. Labor disputes led to protests and violence with the European immigrants caught in the middle of race riots such as that in Detroit. The Greek American writer Jeffrey Eugenides includes such an instance in his best-selling novel *Middlesex*.
Yet that wave of racial tension focused the fears of part of the white establishment on the Blacks which meant that those Southeastern European immigrants, whose whiteness had previously been disputed, were now considered unambiguously "white."

If this new climate operated beneficially for all East and South European groups, Greece's particular role in World War II meant that the Greeks were made twice as welcome into mainstream America.

And they responded as no other group to that invitation, in three ways:
The first was by massive enlisting in the U.S. Army. Unfortunately, we do not have any exact figures because the Army did not keep any records of the ethnicity of the enlisted men. Recently, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the end of WWII there has been an effort locally by several communities and organizations to record the contributions of the

Greek Americans in the war and honor the memory of the dead, but still lack a comprehensive overall picture.
But the overall significance of this phenomenon, what it means to Greek America's relationship and commitment to the United States is unmistakable.

The second way the Greek Americans joined their adopted country's war effort was through becoming very active in the purchase and sale of government war bonds. Both the Archdiocese and AHEPA were actively involved in this project. As important, was the recognition that the American media accorded that effort and its wider implications: confirming Greek Americans were now part of the American mainstream.

The best example of this is the extensive coverage of the bond selling efforts of Steve Vasilakos a 60-year old immigrant from Sparta, who sold peanuts in Washington DC from a pushcart strategically located on a corner of Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and the Treasury. Vasilakos, who had started that business soon after he had arrived in the United States in 1910, had sold peanuts to presidents, senators, congressmen and foreign dignitaries.
However, Vasilakos kept neglecting to obtain the proper permit to set up on that prime spot and the District of Columbia police tried to move him several times.

But Vasilakos always managed to return through the help of his regular customers. Two first ladies, Grace Coolidge and Eleanor Roosevelt personally intervened in his behalf. A permanent fixture of the nation's capital, Vasilakos took to selling government war bonds offering free peanuts to all who bought them from him on their way in and out of the White House. Naturally, Vasilakos received wide publicity in the media, which made a connection between his Greek origins, Greece's role in the war, his own commitment to the war effort and his American patriotism. Vasilakos was honored in 1943 as one of four Greek Americans who sold a record number of government bonds, a contribution to a Greek American campaign that sold bonds of 100 million dollars, more than any other ethnic group.

The Greek War Relief Association

Next to enlistment in the U.S. Army and the sale of government bonds, a third way in which the Greek Americans mobilized after October 28th was in working toward sending supplies to Greece. The Greek War Relief Association was established in November 1940 in New York City and launched what would become a multi-million dollar relief project that offered aid to Greece during the war.

The Greek War Relief Association was the initiative of Greek businessmen, bankers and professionals such as Spyros Skouras who would become chairman of 20th Century Fox in 1942, oil executive William Helis, Tom Pappas then an owner of a supermarket chain, Harry Rekkas a Chicago businessman, Stephano Stephano who was owned a cigarette manufacturing company in Philadelphia, and George Vournas a Washington DC lawyer and AHEPA president. The organization was crucial in aiding Greece. In mid-March 1941, meanwhile, it was announced that the total sums the GWRA had collected to that point had reached $2,750,000.

The Greek American Relief Association's activities continued well after Greece fell to the Germans in April 1941, and entered a harsh period of extreme deprivation until its liberation in 1944. The Greek War Relief Association's aid was especially critical during the awful winter of 1941-42 when famine swept throughout Greece. The organization raised a total of $20 million for the benefit of the Greek people.

American Recognition of Greece and the Greek Americans

All these activities served to radically transform the negative images of the Greek Americans throughout the United States. In February, a gathering of 10,000 persons at the historic site of Valley Forge in Pennsylvania, including 7,000 boy scouts linked the suffering and heroism of George Washington's army in the winter of 1777-78 with the struggle of the Greeks, and a service was held in the chapel with Archbishop Athenagoras participating. Who could have dreamt during the several preceding decades when the Greeks struggled for acceptance that the Greek army would be associated with that of George Washington?

The celebration of Greece unleashed on October 28th culminated with an extensive celebration of the anniversary of the Greek revolution on March 25th, 1941 by the Greek Americans – the first time this took place in such a great scale. The New York State Legislature proclaimed March 25rth "Hellenic Day" and Governor Lehman of New York called upon the people of the state to honor the contribution the Greek people had made for the civilization of the world and to the cause of democracy and liberty. The Greek parade on 5th Avenue attracted 10,000 participants and 50,000 spectators – in earlier years crowds had been much smaller – and the coverage in the American media was extensive.

The occasion was also marked by the American media. On March 25th, 1941 the *New York Times* published an editorial entitled "The Glory That Is Greece" in which it commented:

"Few expected from Greece more than a few weeks' resistance – a brave but brief gesture for freedom that would have to be recognized when the post-war settlement was made. She has surprised the world, revealed Mussolini's pitiful weakness, upset Hitler's plans. It is a poignant irony of our time that the will to resist should be so vehement in this little, half-armed nation, whereas in some greater nations it hardly existed at all. Greece… has done the unpredictable, achieved the impossible. She has lighted a flame as bright as any that lit freedom's skies over Thermopylae, Salamis and Marathon. She may go down underneath overwhelming force, but it is as certain as tomorrow's dawn that she cannot permanently enslaved."

On that same day, President Roosevelt publicly praised Greece's heroism.

As we know, in April and May of 1941, the overwhelming force of the German armies swept through Greece, the country was occupied but the resistance continued in the Greek mountains until liberation came in 1944. The Greek Americans remained publicly engaged in America's war effort and in Greek affairs. The Greek War Relief Association continued its efforts to aid the Greek homeland.

Meanwhile, there appeared new Greek American political organizations that took sides in the new right versus left polarization that was emerging in Greece. The Greek American Committee for National Unity supported the views of the Greek Left, while the Justice for Greece Committee favored the policies of the Greek right.
But unlike earlier such political organizations that were mere reflections of the Greek political world, those that emerged in the 1940s were primarily concerned about persuading the United States to support the side they favored – they were acting not as Greek entities but as American lobbying organizations.

From the 1950s to the Present

The next phase in Greek American history came with the so-called revival of ethnicity in the 1960s. This was the moment in which the success of the black civil rights movement. In the time that elapsed between, the changes in the 1940s helped the Greek Americans integrate into American life, but the new immigrants who began arriving in the 1950s, many of them from Epirus, faced difficulties in adapting to American life, especially because the

devastation Greece underwent the previous decade meant most of the newcomers were poorly educated.

Yet the 1960s brought the so-called revival of ethnicity and this benefitted the white ethnic groups from Southeastern Europe. Ethnicity was now publicly celebrated in the United States. Greek Orthodox churches began organizing widely advertized fairs. The mainstream media began covering ethnic topics as for example the phenomenon of the Greek American ethnic enclave of Astoria in Queens, New York. Ethnic food began growing in popularity. Universities began initiating ethnic studies programs in the 1970s. As Gage wrote in a newspaper article in 1975, "it is chic to be Greek."

This phase came to an end in the 1990s as the numbers of Greek born began declining again. But the new generation of Greek Americans, who were born in the United States benefitted from the new legitimacy on ethnicity conferred by the era of globalization and multiculturalism that followed the end of the Cold War. But the new legitimacy did not refer so much to ethnic identity per se but to ethnic heritage. Especially in the case of European-origin ethnic groups, "heritage" was more relevant since their majority was now American-born. It was not a coincidence that the question about ethnicity in the U.S. census of 2000 asked not the ethnic identity of the respondents but their ethnic heritage. The growing significance of ethnic heritage led to the emergence of ethnic and immigration museums, and the preservation and highlighting of the immigrant and ethnic experience going back to the nineteenth century.

The embrace of ethnic heritage as part of American identity is the present phase of a process that began in the 1940s, when the Greek Americans joined, tentatively, the American mainstream. From October 28 1940 onward, the Greek Americans drew inspiration from the events in their ancestral homeland, events that served to raise their standing in the United States and they found a new and stronger voice with which they asserted their support for America's and Greece's democratic values and principles.

The U.S. itself, moved away from the earlier mode of "Americanizing" immigrants and acknowledged its multi-ethnicity, and recognized it as a virtue that contrasted with the racial discrimination that typified the attitude of the Axis powers.

This in turn enabled the Greek Americans, for the first time in their history to celebrate their Greekness *and* their Americaness because those identities were now perceived as sharing a common perspective exemplified by the common robust stance against Nazism and fascism the two countries adopted.

All this brought about the "mainstreaming" of Greek America, a novel and unambiguous acceptance of both Greece and the Greek immigrants in the United States and, by the same token, the public engagement of the community as loyal Americans and persons of Greek ancestry. This paved the way for the community to seize the opportunities offered by the next phase, the revival of ethnicity.

In a very real way, the centenary celebration of St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamanta is yet another example of the present phase in which we focus on the significance of ethnic heritage in America. But in many ways it is more than that, because by including an academic component to the celebration, St. George's points the way for many other Greek American organizations. These three days of celebration honor the century-long experience of the Greeks in the United States and their dual American and Greek identity and their ties to the United States and to their homeland in Greece in a way that carefully records and preserves a rich legacy. It is the best way to honor the courage and perseverance the generations of immigrants from Tsamanta displayed throughout their long and successful voyage.

Chapter 2
Family, Community and the Migration Process: The First Greek Epirotes in Early-Twentieth-Century Worcester, Massachusetts[1]

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Abstract

There has been relatively little systematic analysis of the role of extended family networks in facilitating the process of emigration. Although such networks have assisted migrants in dealing with the problems of settlement and adaptation, they have also restrained migrants' ambitions and curtailed their entrepreneurial spirit. This chapter documents the process of the chain migration of emigrants from the village of Tsamantas, in Greece, to Worcester (Massachusetts) in the early 20th century, and shows that kinship networks had a considerable influence on the migration process, resulting in a remarkable concentration of fellow villagers in this one American city.

A profile of the first transatlantic migrants from Tsamantas, compiled by examining the crew and passenger manifests found in the archives of Ellis Island (the main reception point for immigrants to the United States), provides a clue not only to the kinship affiliation and occupational experiences of the immigrants but also to their social and economic background in the wider geopolitical context. Most importantly, it helps us comprehend the motivation of individuals in deciding to emigrate. The process of settling in Worcester and adjusting to a new life there was also facilitated by kinship. The vast majority of the migrants from Tsamantas headed for Worcester, where they usually joined a family member. The local Greek church in Worcester, the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society (brotherhood of Tsamantas), and the wider Epirote and Greek immigrant community also provided support, in the form of material assistance, and help in making new social connections. Perhaps the most valuable support of all came in the form of elementary language teaching, and familiarisation with local customs and geography. The newly arrived immigrants were also helped in finding employment, which meant that they could contribute to the upkeep of ethnic institutions, such as the church, the school and the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society, by paying annual membership fees. The new community was so successful, indeed, that it could almost be said that the village of Tsamantas had been transposed from the slopes of Mount Mourgana, back in Greece, to the industrial landscape of Worcester in Massachusetts. Sadly, however, this eventually led to the economic decline and stagnation of their native historic community.

In conclusion, the chapter shows that the kinship networks that facilitated chain migration to Worcester a hundred years ago still link many of the remaining villagers of Tsamantas in Greece with this diasporic community in New England, as well as in other American cities. Our understanding of the motivation and kinship affiliation of chain migrants has economic, social and political ramifications for both the home and host societies. The constant influx of new immigrants to both Europe and the United States suggests that this issue is still of relevance today, and merits more research.

[1] The paper draws from the research project *'The growth and decline of borderland micro-economies in South-East Europe during the 20th century'*, which was generously supported by the Dr M. Aylwin Cotton Foundation, Guernsey, Channel Islands.

Introduction

Like many other areas of Mediterranean Europe, the region of Epirus in northwestern Greece[2] witnessed a troubling phenomenon during the early part of the 20th century, when dozens of its young men began to leave their homes and journey across the Atlantic. Originating mostly from the remote but thriving communities of the Pindus mountain range, they were part of a growing trend that saw approximately 170,000 individuals from Greece alone – representing one tenth of the country's population – migrating to the United States (Kitroeff, 2004: 346; Voultsos, 1992: 8). A large number of these migrants came from villages situated on the flanks of Mount Mourgana in the Illyric Alps, part of the Pindus range, and a substantial number of these were from the village of Tsamanta[s][3], a historic community located near the Greek-Albanian border. The destination of most of these Epirote migrants was the industrialised northeast of the United States, and in particular Massachusetts and the city of Worcester.

Large-scale migration was not a new phenomenon for these mountain communities. Up to the late nineteenth century, the men of Tsamantas had often been obliged to move to the major commercial centres of Epirus or of the nascent Greek state, as well as those of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. However, successive waves of mass emigration in the 1900s-30s, and then the 1950s-60s, reduced the village's labour force, and those left behind abandoned agricultural and commercial activities, and neglected local resources. In this respect the diaspora was instrumental in the creation of an unproductive middle class and, as a consequence, the sharp decline of the village.

The fact that most historical studies of the experience of migration from Greece to the United States pay attention to the so-called 'push factor', explaining it merely as the movement of surplus labour within a world market, has been criticised by (Constantinou and Diamantides, 1985: 352). Nevertheless there has been much scholarly work on the history of the first Greeks migrants to the United States[4], although very little systematic research has been undertaken on the role played by family and extended kinship networks in the migration process. This theme was first addressed by Abbott[5], who, in a short but illuminating sociological essay written a hundred years ago, sheds some light on how Greek family and non-family kinship groups shared housing, food and money in Chicago in the early 1900s.

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[2] Still under Ottoman control at the time, Epirus only became a part of the Greek state in 1913, following victory in the first Balkan war against the Ottoman Empire. A small area of Epirus – that of Arta – had previously been ceded to Greece in 1877.

[3] The village was originally known as Tsamanta, apparently a Slavic name. It has since becomes hellenised with the addition of a final 's', and this is the spelling used forthwith.

[4] Moskos, C., (1990), (G*reek Americans: Struggle and Success*, Transaction Publishers, London) provides a sociological, historical and diachronic description of Greek immigrants in America and elaborates on their social mobility towards becoming members of the middle class; Psomaides, H. J., and Scourby, A. (eds) (1982), (*The Greek American Community in Transition*, Pella Publishing Company, New York) contains a variety of essays written by a number of distinguished American and Greek scholars, covering identity, politics, religion, education, language, culture and traditions; Saloutos, T., (1956), (*They Remember America: The Story of the Repatriated Greek Americans*, Berkeley: University of California Press) gives a perceptive account of the life of Greek immigrants in America, and provides the first real insight into why many Greek immigrants decided to repatriate; Koken, P., Constant, T.N. and Canoutas, S.G., (1995), (A History of the Greeks in the Americas 1453-1938, Livonia, Michigan) give a diachronic account of the economic, social and cultural life of the first Greek immigrants in the United States; Hecker, M., and Fenton, H., (eds) (1978) (The *Greeks in America 1528-1977: a Chronology and Fact Book,* Oceana Publications, New York) provide a useful compilation of factual details regarding the life of these first Greek immigrants.

[5] 'The Greek Community in Chicago', *American Journal of Sociology*, November 10th 1909, in Hecker and Fenton, 1978.

One later study that does return to this theme is that of Choldin (1973), who examines the pervasiveness of kinship involvement in the migration of individuals to Chicago in the late 1950s and early 60s. Choldin shows that kinship networks were significantly involved in the migration process of different ethnic groups. Such networks not only provided financial support and information to prospective immigrants, but also assisted them in facing the problems of settlement and adjustment, by providing material help, facilitating social connections, and maintaining morale. However, as Choldin points out, kinship affiliation is double-edged sword, as migrants without its support find jobs more quickly and maintain higher morale than those who belong to kinship networks. This important assertion will be further discussed in the paper's conclusion, in the context of our Epirote migrants.

More recently, an insightful study by Takai (2001) systematically analyses the role of family and kin in the migration process of French Canadians to Lowell, Massachusetts, between 1900 and 1920. Takai observes that these migrants moved to the city not as individuals but as members of a family or kinship group. She paints a vivid picture of local networks directing migration to this specific locale. They were mostly informal, consisting of neighbours, friends and relatives who had lived and worked in the manufacturing centres of New England. Their presence apparently bypassed the formal recruiting agents who had previously been instrumental in controlling earlier immigrant flows. However, Takai concludes that the decision of French Canadians to migrate to Lowell was not made in 'desperation or in the delirium of American fever'; rather it was based on well-informed judgments, in order to optimise the well-being of their families (Takai, 2001: 390).

Inspired by the work of both Takai and Choldin, this paper aims to shed some light on the migration process of the first transatlantic migrants from the Epirote village of Tsamantas to the United States, between 1900 and 1925. A profile of these migrants – constructed by examining the crew and passenger manifests found in the archives of Ellis Island, the main reception point for immigrants to the United States – provides a clue not only to the geographical destination of the migrants (almost all of these migrants settled in Worcester, Massachusetts), but also to their social and economic background. Most importantly, it helps us to comprehend their motivation in deciding to emigrate, and the role played by family and kinship networks in the migration process. It is suggested that most of these young Greeks were involved in chain migration[6], and that kinship networks were instrumental in directing the process of migration and influencing their settlement and adjustment in the city. Chain migration is an important topic that has attracted too little interest among researchers, since it offers an insight into the motivation behind contemporary migration and the ways in which kinship networks are utilised in coping with the challenges that most immigrants face. Understanding this may have economic, social and political benefits for both home and host societies.

This paper is organised as follows: firstly, it discusses the meteoric rise of the industrial city of Worcester in the early 20th century as a magnet for successive waves of immigrants, including those from the mountainous region of Epirus; secondly, it builds a profile of the first immigrants from Tsamantas, derived from the ships' manifests available on-line in the Ellis Island archives; thirdly, it maps the migration process of these individuals and discusses the importance of family and kinship networks in chain migration; fourthly, it describes their social and economic life in Worcester in the early twentieth century; and finally, it evaluates the effect of kinship affiliation on chain migration and reflects on its relevance for contemporary migratory waves.

[6] See for instance Cox (1972: 81-5), in which he develops the 'chain migration' theory, whereby the motivation of a potential migrant is influenced by the role played by friends and relatives in conveying information on possible sites for relocation.

The Historical City of Worcester and its Greek Immigrants

As mentioned earlier, the main destination of the first emigrants from Tsamantas was the industrial city of Worcester, Massachusetts, located 45 miles west of Boston. No one knows for sure why they chose this city, although it had been a magnet for migrants from eastern and southern Europe throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It had become a major centre in the industrial revolution in North America, following the introduction of steam-power in local manufacturing, and the development of transport infrastructure such as the opening of the Blackstone Canal and the railways (Washburn, 1917: 31).

At the turn of 20th century, when the first migrants from Tsamantas arrived in Worcester, the city was experiencing phenomenal growth[7]. The huge demand for factory workers was 'luring immigrants from more than 25 different European countries', according to Southwick, one of the city's historians (1998: 42*)*. Worcester proudly boasted that it had not only the largest envelope-making factory and textile mills in the United States, but also the biggest wire-making factory in the world[8], producing thousands of miles of barbed wire destined for fencing in the mid-west. Moreover, every kind of machine used in the woollen and cotton mill industries was manufactured in the city (Rice, 1899). At the same time, its industrial base was expanding, and shoe and paper factories were springing up, providing job opportunities to migrants (Baker, 2004: 32). The new immigrants, continuously arriving on one of the dozens of trains pulling in daily at the busy Union Station, encountered a lively, but rather dirty and smoky, city, and had to endure its somewhat unsanitary conditions:

> *Black smoke belched from hundreds of factory smokestacks and thousands of house chimneys ... most of the streets were rutted and bumpy and trod by thousands of horses every day ... [but the Worcester Consolidated Street Railway] was fast extending the tracks for its new electric street cars north, south, east and west. For a nickel, people could travel from one corner of the city to the other (Southwick, 1998: 43-8).*

Industrial Worcester

Worcester's historians give a plausible explanation of the factors that contributed more than a century ago to the city's industrial growth and dynamism. Rozenzweig observes, in his seminal work on industrial Worcester, that the founders of its industry were a number of poor young men with engineering skills, who started moving to the city from the countryside of New England in middle of nineteenth century. They set up business in one of the empty factory buildings made available by property speculators Stephen Salisbury II and William T. Merrifield (1983: 13). The supply of affordable premises, in the form of plants and warehouses, tempted individuals with limited capital to embark on manufacturing. Washburn (1917: 299-300) claims that this availability of workspace was the main reason the city became a major, and diverse, manufacturing centre, with several hundred establishments that 'made Worcester uniformly prosperous, and created a thrifty and permanent class of working-people'. But at the turn of the 20th century the city was in fact neither uniformly prosperous nor endowed with a permanent resource of working people. Rozenzweig (1983: 15-16) points out that an industrial elite soon emerged, forming an intricate business web, in

[7] As Rozenzweig (1983: 14) notes, 'between 1880 and 1919 the average number of wage earners grew two and a half times and the average capitalization of each firm jumped almost seventeen times.'
[8] This was the Washburn and Moen Wire Manufacturing Company, which became the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1901. By 1899 it was Worcester's largest manufacturer, employing more than 3,000 workers, rising to 6,000 in 1919 (Rozenzweig 1983: 13).

the form of interlocking directorships in manufacturing, banking, insurance and real estate, and consisting mostly of graduates from the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, who soon became factory owners or top executives in the city's thriving steel and wire-making industry. He emphasises the supremacy of the Worcester elite (1983: 16):

> *These men did not agree on all major issues, nor did they rule every aspect of life in Worcester, but their overwhelming economic power, their close business and social ties, their civic generosity and corporate paternalism made them the pre-eminent force in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Worcester.*

In the early 1900s, Worcester's industrial elite started to mobilise against the city's workers, by creating local trade associations opposing trade union activity. They even kept a citywide blacklist to exclude trade union organisers. An atmosphere of repressive anti-unionism thus prevailed, and was supported by the city's public officials (Rozenzweig 1983: 24). As Southwick states, trade union organisers were faced by a 'solid wall of company opposition, enlightened paternalism and outright blackballing' (1998: 42)[9].

The new Epirote immigrants seeking employment in the city's factories were confronted not only by this powerful and despotic ruling class, but also by an established immigrant community divided along ethnic and religious lines. The diverse migrant population of Worcester was segregated in the East Side district of the city, in ethnic enclaves that developed for reasons of language, religion and trades. These enclaves were ruthlessly exploited by the city's industrialists, who had fostered their segregation. The local press willingly toed the line; the *Worcester Magazine* claimed that the city was an excellent place in which to locate a factory, as 'new nationalities do not affiliate, [and] concerted efforts for promoting strikes, labor union, and similar movements among the working class [have] become impossible' (Rozenzweig 1983: 24). Incredibly, even the local trade unions themselves were at times hostile to recent arrivals or 'foreigners'[10].

The failure of trade unions in Worcester to protect their members and embrace newcomers contributed to the creation of defensive immigrant communities with elaborate organisational structures: churches, clubs, fraternal associations, kinship networks and so forth, which served as alternatives to the trade unions and political parties. These communities offered immigrants the space in which to find respite from hard work, and gave them the opportunity to develop and preserve their own distinctive way of life, with values different from those prescribed by the dominant industrial elite (Rosenzweig, 1983: 27). Although Worcester's industry was eventually reorganised and consolidated, its industrial and business elite never ceded control to outside corporations. Even in the 1960s, when manufacturing in the city was rapidly declining, industries were still under local ownership and control (Rozenzweig, 1983: 14). By the end of the 20th century, most of the city's heavy industry was gone, a victim of outside ownership and changing markets. However, some of the old familiar manufacturing firms remain, and, together with the retailing and service industries, and research and education, continue still to attract new immigrants, though now mainly from Latin America and Asia, rather than Europe.

The first wave of Epirote migrants to Worcester

In 1848, the population of Worcester was around 16,000, most of whom were native-born Americans of English or Irish descent, employed in manual labour (Southwick, 1998: 38). It

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[9] On the other hand, Worcester did not experience the crippling strikes that hit other large Massachusetts cities, and in particular neighbouring Lowell, where a large Greek immigrant community had become established (Southwick, 1998: 42; Rozenzweig 1983: 22-3).

[10] See Rozenzweig (1983) for a detailed and perceptive discussion on the shortcomings of the labour movement in Worcester, pp. 16-26.

was the massive Irish influx in Worcester, following the 1845 potato famine, that led to the growth of the first distinct ethnic community. A second, but much smaller, ethnic group consisted of the French Canadians who came to work in the city's shoe factories and textiles mills. However, the Irishmen were the most important ethnic group in facilitating the industrial development of Worcester, and by 1850 most of the city's manual jobs were being performed by them (Rozenzweig (1983: 17).

The next wave of European migrants came mostly from Sweden, though also from Denmark and Norway. They started arriving in Worcester from 1880 onwards, most of them gaining employment in the city's steelworks. The Scandinavians were considered to be a desirable type of immigrant, having a reputation for being capable, industrious, law-abiding people. By contrast, the small contingent of around 400 Armenian immigrants that had settled in the city by 1888 had hardly any mechanical skills, having worked as farmer labourers in their own country (Washburn, 1917: 313). Anti-immigrant sentiment was rife in the city, and since the early days of the US independence the belief prevailed that certain immigrants (especially those from southeastern Europe) were 'inassimilable and potentially destructive to American society' (Markel and Stern, 1999: 1314). However, until the imposition of strict quotas in 1921 and 1924, Europeans were free to migrate to the United States, and the ethnic landscape of Worcester diversified further with the influx of large numbers of Jews, Italians, Poles and Lithuanians, and smaller groups of Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Finns, Syrians, Assyrians, Albanians and Greeks. By 1900 the city was ranked 29th in the list of largest urban areas, having a population of nearly 120,000 people, with thousands of immigrants arriving from nearly every country in Europe, as well as from neighbouring Canada (Southwick, 1998: 38; Rosenzweig, 1983: 29).

Migrant Data

This chapter is largely based on an analysis of longitudinal data derived from the crew and passenger ship manifests of the Ellis Island archives, available on-line. The manifests covered immigrant arrivals from 1900 to 1924, when the reception station at Ellis Island was closed down. Additional information regarding the first immigrants from Tsamantas was obtained from the village's small Folklore Museum. In particular, a commemorative bronze plaque of 1928, providing the names of over 70 migrants, was the starting point for searching the Ellis Island archives. They were all members of the St George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamantas, established in Worcester in 1908 (Figure 1). Unfortunately, no other immigrant records survive from this period, neither in Worcester nor in Tsamantas; all official documents and records, including the births, deaths and marriage registry of the village, were destroyed by fire when the Germans raided the village in April 1943. Supplementary information regarding family migration patterns were obtained from 2004 onwards through face-to-face interviews with individuals, in both Worcester and Tsamantas, whose relatives were pioneering immigrants. Furthermore, a useful insight into the life of these first Greek immigrants in Worcester was gained from two detailed articles that appeared in the Worcester Sunday Telegraph in the 1970s.

Figure 1: List of members of the St. George's Society and their contribution towards building a new school in Tsamantas (Source: Folklore Museum of Tsamantas)

From the Ellis Island archives, an extensive database was constructed, consisting of over 120 immigrants from Tsamantas who arrived in New York between 1901 and 1916, during the first wave of mass migration from Epirus to the United States. Although this database is not exhaustive (representing only those ships' manifests which have been scanned electronically and made available on-line), it provides information on approximately 80 percent of the 150 immigrants from Tsamantas reckoned to be working in the United States at the time[11]. The sample provides information not only about the name of each ship, port of embarkation, and dates of departure and arrival, but also regarding the name, age, gender, marital status, occupation, literacy, ethnicity, race, and place of residence of the immigrants. In addition, it gives the name and address of the closest relative at the place of origin, the state and city of the immigrant's final destination, whether he had a valid ticket for his destination, who paid for his passage, and how many dollars he had in his possession. Finally, it provides information on the immigrant's state of health, his individual characteristics and his place of birth.

The main characteristics of the immigrants from Tsamantas, as shown in Table 1, indicate that the vast majority were exactly the kind of people sought by the American labour market: they were young males (average 26.6 years old), literate and healthy, had sufficient cash to buy a ticket to reach their final destination ($23), and most importantly had families, or compatriots, who could support them. The data also shows that it took more than a decade for the first women and children from Tsamantas to begin to join their husbands and fathers[12]. Largely for this reason, it was common for migrants to return to Tsamantas every now and then, to visit their families, and for the bachelors to get married[13].

Migration did initially benefit Tsamantas, by alleviating the overpopulation problem. In 1913, the population of the village – according to the census undertaken by the Greek State during the first year of independence from the Ottoman rule – was its highest ever: 1,428 inhabitants, of whom 730 were men and 698 women. But eventually it led to the sorrowful decline that continues to the present day (see Figure 2). The 1928 census shows that the population had dropped to just 1,165 inhabitants, of whom only 422 were men, compared with 743 women. This imbalance in the demographical constitution of this mountainous

[11] In a letter of 1918 to the editor of the leading Greek-American daily *Atlantis*, which was published in New York, Nitsos – the well-known scholar residing in Tsamantas – mentioned the fact that at least 150 men from the village were working in factories in Worcester and elsewhere in the United States (Nitsos, 1926: 321).

[12] See Voultsos (1992) for a comprehensive analysis of the emigration of the first Greek women to the United States.

[13] Simollardes, A., 'Greek Life in Worcester', *Worcester Telegraph*, 8 July 1973.

community was due not only to male migration but also the traditional practice of itinerant labour. In the latest census of 2001, the population has reached its lowest ever level: just 123 inhabitants are registered, although in reality only around sixty (mostly elderly) people reside permanently in the village.

Examination of the sample data reveals the importance of friends and relatives in facilitating the migration process of individuals from Tsamantas to the city of Worcester. The vast majority of migrants were part of a chain migration[14] that followed a predictable pattern: one or two would-be migrants heard about the prospects offered by Worcester, and migrated there; they then fed back information about the city to friends and relatives at home in Tsamantas; a transatlantic migration flow between the two places was established; migrants travelled in the company of fellow villagers; and they were received in Worcester by other ex-villagers. The chain migration is most likely to have been initiated by the Kentros brothers, who came to the city at end of the 19th (or possibly the very beginning of the 20th) century, thus pioneering Epirote migration to New England. *George* and *Stavros Kentros* were prototypical immigrants who made the bold decisions to leave for America – an unprecedented step for local men from a peasant background.

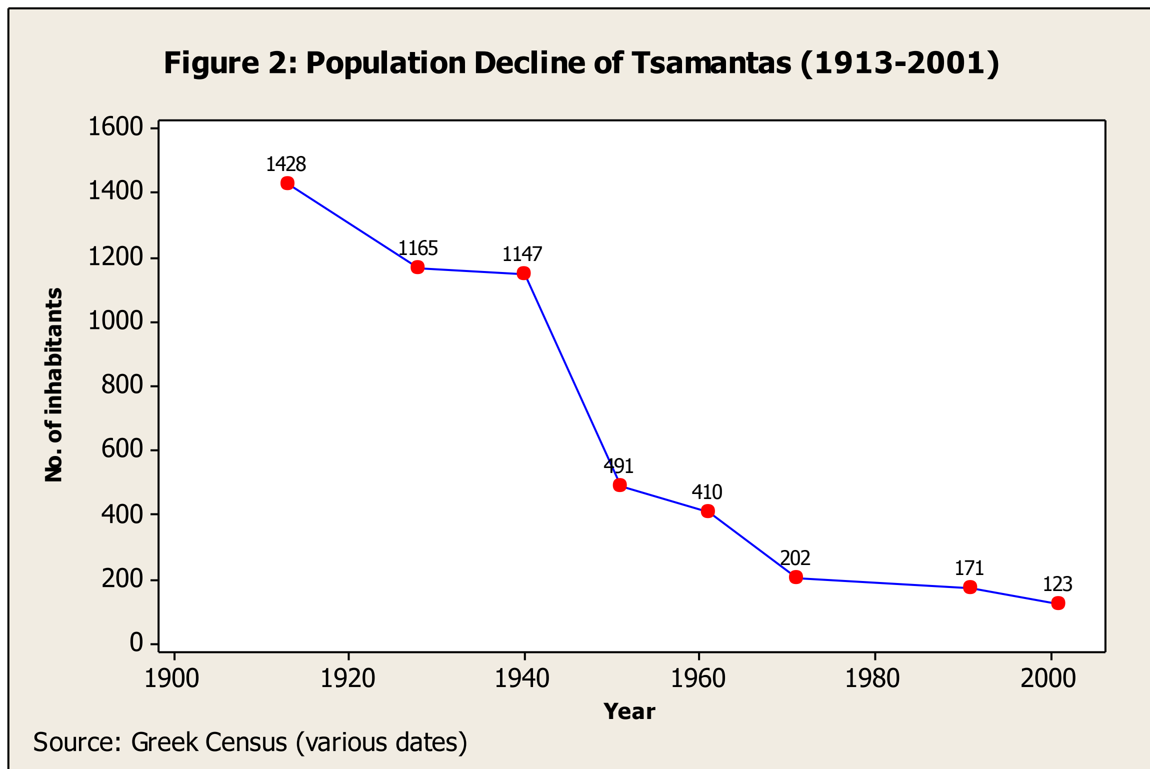
Table 1: Characteristics of immigrants from the village of Tsamantas arriving at New York (1901-1916)

	Male (%)	**Female (%)**	**Total (%)**
Average age of immigrants	26.7	22.3	26.6 (100)
Gender	120 (97.5)	3 (2.5)	123 (100)
Married	63 (51)	3	66 (54)
Single	57 (46)		57 (46)
Occupation*			
Unskilled (workers, farm labourers, etc)	84		84 (84)
Skilled (merchants, bakers, cooks, etc)	9		9 (9)
Professional (teachers, doctors, etc)	None		
Other (students, housewives)	4	3	7 (7)
Literacy* (i.e. ability to read and to write)	105	3	108 (93)
Average amount of money in their possession ($)*			$23
New immigrants*	79	3	81 (72)
Immigrants having previously visited the US	32		32 (28)
Immigrants joining a relative*	61	3	64 (60)
Immigrants joining a friend or compatriot*	42		42 (40)

Source: compiled by the author from a sample from the Ellis Island ship manifests archive

* incomplete or illegible data

[14] See for instance Cox, K.P., (1972), *Man, Location and Behavior: An Introduction to Human Geography*, New York: Wiley.



The Migration Process of Immigrants from Tsamantas – Chain Migration

Evangelos Kentros[15] recollects that his father George told him that he migrated to Worcester some time in late 1890s to meet his brother Stavros, who was already there. It has been possible to establish that Stavros Kentros arrived in the United States for first time in 1902. Having travelled back to Tsamantas in 1908, it was mentioned in the ship's manifest for his return journey to the United States that he was joining his brother George, who was by then also living in Worcester[16]. Evangelos told of his father's arduous trip to the city and his eventual repatriation to Tsamantas:

> *'... He left in secret, walking to the port of Sagiada, from where he took a boat to Corfu and then continued on his way to America ... but he spent 40 days on the road, going first to Marseilles and then on to Le Havre, where he stayed for 15 days, waiting for the boat. He went to Worcester to live and work with his brother Stavros, who was a fruit peddler, selling bananas. This was the main profession for people from Tsamantas living in Worcester ... Eventually both brothers returned to the village and got married. My father lived until he was 82 years old and died in 1953. He never went back to Worcester, but he was one of the pioneers of migration to the city...'*

Two more pioneers from the Kentros's extended family have also been identified. *Spryridon Kentros,* a 34-year-old married farmer, together with *Fotios Kentros*, a 25-year-old illiterate and single man, arrived in New York on 12 September 1901, from Piraeus, via Boulogne, on board the *S.S. Pennsylvania*. Their destination in Worcester, Massachusetts was the home of a friend whose name and address is unfortunately not fully legible. (It looks like *G. Bologimasis*, but this is an unlikely name for someone from Tsamantas.) They declared that they were Greek, rather than Turkish, nationals, even though the village of Tsamantas was at the time under Ottoman rule. Fotios Kentros reappears in a ship's manifest eleven years

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[15] Interview in Tsamantas, April 2006.

[16] A ship's manifest for 1902 reveals that a George Kentros travelled on board the *S.S. La Touraine* from Piraeus to New York via Le Havre, but it is not absolutely certain that this is our George Kentros.

later, travelling once again to Worcester, on 3 April 1912, this time from the port of Patras, via New York, on board the *S.S. Laura*. His entry in the manifest shows that he was now a baker, and was married, although he was still unable to read or write. (The entry, incidentally, confirms that he entered the United States for first time in 1901, and that he was now intending to join his friend and fellow villager *Vassilios Boukalis* at 24-26 Spring Street in Worcester.)

A recent interview with Spyros Kentros, a retired high-school lecturer from Athens, has shed more light on these two emigrants from Tsamantas, based on information passed to him by his late mother[17]. According to her, the men – who would become Spyros's father and grandfather, but who were distant cousins at the time they crossed the Atlantic – were the first two people from Tsamantas to settle in Worcester. They found employment with a baker, and eventually opened their own bakery together, which was successful and very profitable. Fotios then married one of Spyridon's daughters, possibly during the visit to Tsamantas in 1912, mentioned above. Spyros recalls that his father and grandfather were persuaded to emigrate to Worcester by a businessman from Patras[18], who had already opened a confectionery shop there. This businessman also lent them the money to buy their transatlantic tickets, and provided them with a recommendation letter and an address in Worcester, to meet the requirements of the immigration authorities in New York. Unfortunately, Spyros cannot recollect the man's name, as mentioned by his mother, but it is likely that he was the owner the premises at the address they were given.

Spyros's mother told him that his father and grandfather were so overwhelmed by the city of Worcester that they kept on passing the address they had been given, until eventually the Greek owners saw them and took them in. The noise and bustle of their new surroundings, and the lack of familiarity, completely bewildered them – so much so that, according to Spyros, his father's hair 'turned white overnight'. Indeed, as Nitsos (1926: 49-50) pointed out, '... the previous generation [in Tsamantas] had excellent health, and were tall and strong, while the [emigrants], despite their pockets being full of dollars, did not enjoy the same physical health and stature ... they were mostly feeble and short. Of course, this was to be expected ... they lived in damp and dirty basements ... and worked in unhealthy conditions ...'

Confirmation that the Kentros brothers and cousins did indeed establish the first link in the chain migration to Worcester comes from a third group of pioneering immigrants arriving in New York from Le Havre on board *S.S. La Bretagne* on 24 July 1904: three married farmers, *Antonios Len[n]is,* aged 25*, Nikolaos Sdrinis (or Strinis)*, aged 31, and *Vassilios Malamis*, aged 28. They were destined for the home of their friend George Kentros. Eventually, they themselves became the contacts for the next group of immigrants: six married men, *Spyridon Filis* (25), *Dem[etrios?] Goulias* (28), *George Stolakis* (28), *Nikolas Stavroulis* (25), *George Kyratsis* (25) and *Theodoros Ioannou* (21), all of whom arrived in New York from Patras on board *S.S. Neustria* on 21 May 1906. Soon after, on 24 May 2006, a smaller group of three men – *Christos Kentros* (a 19-year-old student), *Elias Photos* (a 32-year-old single labourer) and *Evangelos Tsoc(k)as*, a 25-year-old confectioner, who was married) – arrived in New York from Patras on board *S.S. Georgia.* Christos declared that he was going to join his brothers (presumably Stavros and George); Elias, being a friend of the Kentros brothers, was planning to live at the same address (no. 5 Brackett Court in Worcester); and Evangelos was heading for Chicago, giving the name and address of a friend already there – an unusual decision, as the vast majority of migrants from Tsamantas were destined for Worcester. Only one other migrant from our sample, *Marina Tsokas*, did the same, heading

[17] Interview,Tsamantas, summer of 2008

[18] Patras, the capital of the Peloponnese, and a thriving port since the success of the currant and raisin trade in the late 18th century, was an important trading centre for many of the itinerant labourers from Tsamantas.

for Chicago in April 1915 to join her husband *Nikolas* (presumably a relative of the above-mentioned Evangelos Tsokas).

Apparently, the very first immigrants from Tsamantas were helped to settle in Worcester by fellow Greeks from liberated Greece. However, they soon established their own community, providing refuge and support for new immigrants. It is possible to determine the geographical location of this community from ships' manifests. The most common addresses in Worcester given by migrants from Tsamantas in the first two decades of 20th century were:

1. Spring Street (Nos. 14,16, 21, 24-26, and 28) (mentioned 52 times)
2. Mechanic Street (Nos. 21, 113, 153, and 135-164) (14 times)
3. No. 5 Brackett Court (mentioned 13 times)
4. No. 20 Arch Street (mentioned 5 times)

A close examination of various ships' manifests reveals that early migrants tended to travel in the company of fellow villagers – mostly quoted as 'friends', though they may well have been related to them[19]. As previously mentioned, their decision to leave Tsamantas was apparently made after the earlier migration of a fellow villager, suggesting that a type of kinship network was by now operative. Immigrants wrote to relatives and friends, describing Worcester's wealth, or told them in person on returning to Tsamantas. The majority of migrants travelled in groups. Some of these were small, consisting of only three or four men, and others considerably larger – for instance, twenty-two young men from the village arrived in New York from Patras on board *S.S. Patris* on 9 June 1910. Nineteen of these were new immigrants, while the other four were married men who had returned to Tsamantas on at least one occasion. One of these was *Bill (Vassilios) Malamis,* one of the pioneering immigrants identified earlier, and now a merchant. The gaps between successive waves of this chain migration were comparatively short – in most cases, only a couple of years – and thus the chain became firmly established. The result was the remarkable concentration of villagers from the mountainous village of Tsamantas in this one industrial American city.

However, not all migrant from Tsamantas headed for Worcester Massachusetts. There was also contingency of immigrants from Tsamantas in Detroit according to Michalis Noussis[20] who went and worked there for a few months in the early 1970s, as wells as in other parts of the USA. For instance, Michalis Noussis from Tsamantas[21], recollects that he father went to Portland Oregon in Pacific. He left for America, Michalis adds when Tsamantas was under the Ottoman rule (before 1912) and came back when he became Greek territory. He was doing various jobs in Portland. At the beginning he was working for the railways, laying trucks. Then he eventually got his own business. During the Second World War and the Greek civil war he remained in America. He came back in 1954, stayed for a year in Tsamantas and he left for America again. He came and stayed permanently in Tsamantas in 1961 and passed his last years there.

The Extent of the Immigrant Network

The data derived from the ships' documents – in which migrants from Tsamantas had to declare their relationship with the contact person with whom they were to meet on arrival in Worcester – provides some valuable information about the Tsamantas kinship network.

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[19] In remote mountainous communities such as Tsamantas, endogamy is common and villagers are often inter-related.
[20] Interview Tsamantas, April 2006.
[21] Interview Tsamantas, April 2006.

Table 2: Relationship with Contact Person in Worcester, MA, and with Family Members Left in Tsamantas		
	In Worcester Number (%) (N=106)	In Tsamantas Number (%) (N=91)
Immediate Family		
Husband	1 (1)	-
Wife	-	40 (44)
Father	2 (1)	29 (32)
Mother	-	19 (21)
Son	1 (1)	-
Brother	34 (32)	-
Extended Family		
Father-in-Law	-	1 (1)
Brother-in-Law	5 (5)	-
Uncle	6 (5)	-
Cousin	17 (16)	-
Other		
Friends (compatriots)	39 (37)	-
Friends (non-compatriots)	3 (2)	-
No relations left at home	-	2 (2)
Total	106 (100)	91 (100)

Source: Compiled by the author from a sample of ship manifests held in the archive of Ellis Island.

Evidence from our sample reveals that in 60 percent of cases this contact person was a close family member: mostly a brother, or a member of the extended family, such as a cousin, uncle or son-in-law. Another 39 percent were described as a ‘friend’, invariably a fellow villager. Just three immigrants declared their contact person to be a friend from outside Tsamantas. It is clear from this that the vast majority of migrants from Tsamantas who moved to Worcester in the first decades of the 20th century were not isolated individuals but part of an immediate or extended family, comprising of brothers, cousins, uncles and brothers-in-law, and other fellow villagers. In leaving behind the rest of their family – wives (often with children, if married), mothers and fathers – they created an active network connecting southeast Europe with North America. The transatlantic voyage to Worcester was seldom the result of an individual’s spontaneous decision to migrate, but rather was based on precise information and practical assistance provided by close family members or fellow villagers at their destination in industrial Worcester.

The kinship and strong sense of community that facilitated chain migration to Worcester was re-invigorated through successive waves of migrants who came to the city during the second part of the 20th century. Still today, family and kinship ties link many of the ethnic Greek inhabitants of Worcester and other American cities with the few remaining villagers of Tsamantas, and the same is true of those that later left for Melbourne in Australia.

From Ottoman Europe to New England: the Transatlantic Journey

As Saloutos rightly observes (1956: 5), it was primarily the ‘courageous and resourceful rather than helpless and hopeless members of rural society’ who decided to migrate. The reasons why the first courageous young men from Tsamantas left home to go to America are reasonably clear: the population of the village had increased substantially, and as a

result animal husbandry and the farming of its small and infertile mountainous terraces could no longer sustain the inhabitants; taxes imposed by the Ottoman authorities were a considerable burden; and the wider region of Epirus lacked the natural resources and industries that could have provided outside employment. Weary of poverty, and fearful of a new conflict breaking out between Turkey and Greece, the prospect of fruitful employment in the United States was an attractive option. However, it was never the intention of those who decided to migrate to remain permanently in the United States. Life back home might have been a struggle in some respects, but socially and culturally it was rich and rewarding.

We have already noted that George Kentros, one of the first migrants to Worcester, travelled on foot to the port town of Sagiada and crossed to Corfu, where he boarded a ferry, probably for Patras or Piraeus. Regular sailings connected these two ports with Marseilles, where Kentros most likely disembarked and took a train for Le Havre, one of the main ports for passage to America. In Epirus, as in all other Ottoman-ruled territories, migration was prohibited at this time. Although Ottoman officials often took bribes from would-be migrants, the authorities refused to issue passports, thereby encouraging a parallel economy of unscrupulous middlemen and agents for shipping companies, and others who were willing to defy the ban on migration and facilitate the passage of migrants in lieu of a hefty payment (Karpat, 1985: 187). On arrival at a port – Corfu, Patras, Piraeus, or others in the Mediterranean, such as Naples or Marseilles – migrants were given transatlantic tickets, and embarked for their chosen destination.

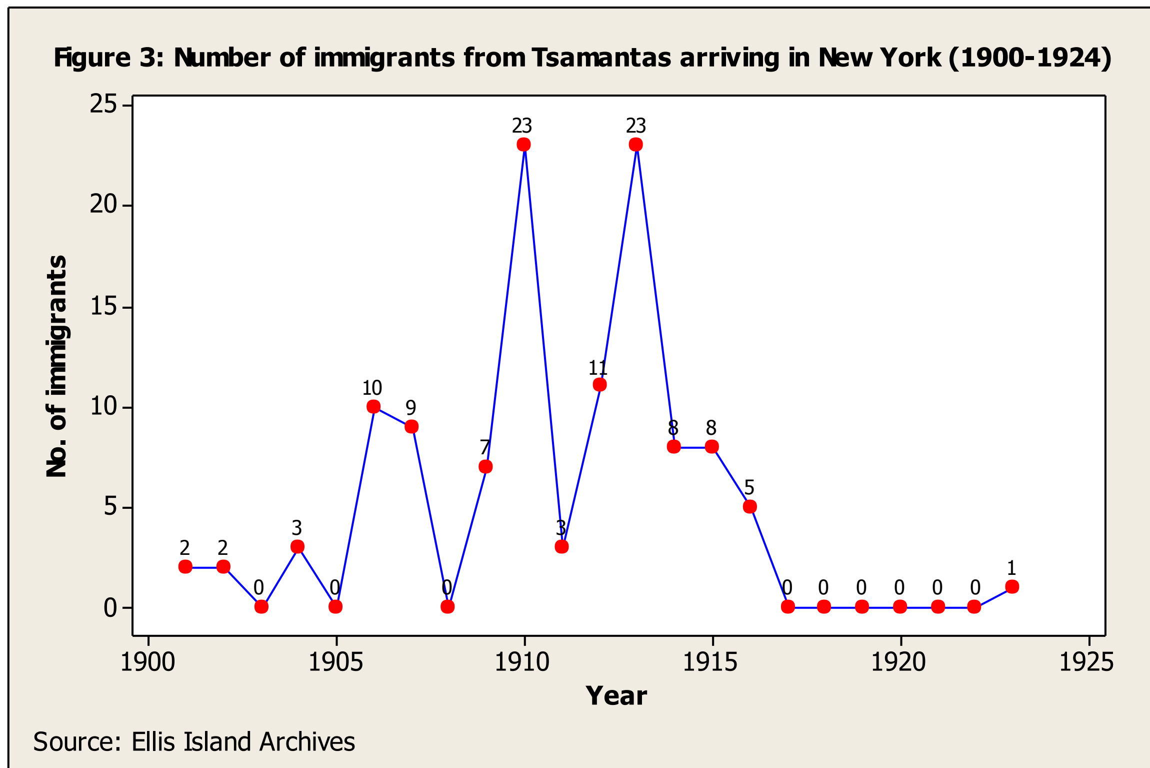
Direct passage from Greece to the United States was only established in 1904 (Voultsos, 1992: 20). As a consequence, *Spyridon* and *Photios Kentros* made their way to Piraeus and, listed now as Greek rather than Turkish nationals, went on to Boulogne, where they embarked on the *S.S. Pennsylvania*, bound for New York. Other pioneering migrants sailed via Naples, or even Liverpool. In 1906, for the first time, two groups of migrants from Tsamantas embarked at the Greek port of Patras for direct passage to New York, on the Austrian flag steamers (*S.S. Georgia and S.S. Giulia*).

By 1910 – when, according to our data, migration of young men from Ottoman-ruled Tsamantas to the United States intensified (see Figure 3)[22] – most emigrants from Epirus began their journey at Patras by joining a Greek steamship, such as the *S.S. Patris*, destined for New York. Such ships usually started from Piraeus and would have stopped to pick up passengers at Gytheon, Kalamata, Katakolon and Zante. Patras was the last port of call before departure for America, a voyage that lasted eighteen days (Kitroeff, 2004: 347-8; Voultsos, 1992: 20-21). In Patras, a small community of Tsamantas villagers already existed, and they would have been able to provide practical help and support to the migrants in the form of accommodation and food. These ex-villagers were mostly itinerant tinkers or bakers who had set up small shops in the commercial area of the city. The local ticket offices of Italian, French, Austrian and Greek steamship companies would have competed fiercely for the custom of these migrants, and newspaper advertisements extolled the virtues of their steamships.

Emigration had been facilitated by the development of transatlantic steamers (Keeling, 2002), but the reasons why individuals chose to emigrate in the first place were many and various, such as better economic prospects, greater personal freedom, a sense of adventure, and avoidance of persecution, the restrictive social environment, and exploitation, to name a few. However, researchers such as Castle and Miller (1993) point out that, in most cases, the main cause of migration was the poor socio-economic conditions prevailing in their country of origin, and this is certainly true for the men of Tsamantas, who were only

[22] Constantinou and Diamantides (1985: 367) note that 'migration occurred in surges, increasing at first, reaching a peak, and then declining because of depletion of the pool of potential immigrants. New and important occurrences replenish the pool and initiate a resurgence of emigration.'

too aware of the favourable conditions and economic opportunities in the States. Other motivational factors included the 1908 Ottoman law that Greeks must serve in the Turkish army (Moskos, 1990: 10), political upheavals at home – such as the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the consequent protracted dispute regarding the new Greek-Albanian border – and anxiety about possible future constraints on immigration by the United States.



The journey to America by ship during the first two decades of the 20th century was far from pleasant, though not so full of hardship and deprivation as some accounts suggest. Admittedly, most migrants from Tsamantas had to travel third class (steerage), in cramped conditions[23]. But the transatlantic steamers[24] were relatively new and their passage was generally safe. A more serious concern was the chance, albeit small, of being rejected by the American immigration authorities. The shipping companies had to time their arrival to the opening of new quotas for the ethnic groups they were transporting, but the quotas were often reached within just twenty-four hours[25].

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[23] The steamship ticket from Piraeus to New York cost £15 pounds or $73 first class, and roughly half that amount in steerage (Voultsos: 62). For a detailed account of the transatlantic journey see also Kitroeff (1999).

[24] For instance, the 4,390-ton steamship *Patris* could reach a speed of 14 knots and carry 1,420 passengers (60 first class, 60 second class and 1,300 third class). The *Patris* was built by the Northumberland Shipbuilding Company in England in 1909 for the National Greek Line, to serve the Piraeus-New York route. In 1920 she came under new ownership and was renamed the *Claude Chappe*, flying the French flag and serving the Marseilles-Far East passenger line. The Greek-owned *Athinai* was also built in England and served on the Piraeus-New York line before it was destroyed by fire in the North Atlantic in 1925 (Ellis Island on-line: www.ellisisland.org).

[25] On the 31st of July 1923, the *Times* of London reported that fifteen transatlantic steamers, with approximately 15,000 immigrants on board, were scheduled to arrive at New York after midnight, to coincide with the new quotas. Given that the Ellis Island Immigration Station could only accommodate 1,700 persons at a time, many passengers had to remain on board for as much as a week. According to New York port officials, the monthly congestion of immigrants was due to the commercial greed of the steamship companies (The *Times*, '*15,000 Seeking Entrance to New York*', 1 August 1923). Eventually, though, migration to the United States and elsewhere dramatically declined as a result of

Despite the obstructions to emigration that were imposed, at first by the Ottoman rulers, and later by the Greek State, which was fearful of losing its most productive workers and its potential pool of soldiers, the United States placed hardly any restrictions on immigration. However, as mentioned earlier, this came to an end with the imposition of strict quotas in 1921 and 1924, which closed the door to America for the next 40 years. The introduction of the *First Quota Law* of May 19th 1921, together with a number of additional laws that followed, made it difficult for migrants to enter the country. For each ethnic group already present in the United States, the law allowed a quota of just two percent of its numbers in 1880 to enter every year. It also tried also to exclude those who were illiterate, and allocated more generous quotas to the 'civilised' nations of Northern and Western Europe. The Catholic south and Orthodox south-eastern Europe were only allowed to send 20,000 immigrants per year, while the quota for non-Europeans was just 4,000 individuals.

The vast majority of the first migrants from Tsamantas to Worcester passed through the Ellis Island Immigration Station in New York. The red-brick building, which now houses the United States Immigration Museum, was opened in 1900 after fire destroyed the original wooden structure in 1897, and remained in operation until 1924. The Station had the capacity to undertake the inspection of 5,000 immigrants per day for their physical, mental and moral fitness, as well as their ability to read and write, and their economic standing. By 1907 the facility was receiving 10,000 immigrants per day, and by 1923 this figure had risen to 15,000. From the ships' manifests for 1900 to 1923, the period of our sample, it is clear that only a small percentage of migrants from Tsamantas (just three men, representing 2.5 percent of the total) were deported. One of these was apparently ill, as he was sent to hospital for treatment prior to repatriation. In practice, infectious diseases such as typhoid and cholera played only a minor role in the deportation of immigrants; much more commonly, evidence or suspicion of 'extreme poverty, criminal or immoral behavior, being a contract laborer, [or] subversive political beliefs'. The Public Health officials and physicians in the American ports were also concerned to identify 'ambiguous conditions and syndromes such as feeblemindedness, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, and poor physique' (Markel and Stern, 1999: 1316).

The social and economic life of immigrants from Tsamantas

When the pioneering Kentros brothers arrived in Worcester from Tsamantas to become fruit peddlers, they found a bustling industrial city in which a third of the population were immigrants. They were not the first ethnic Greeks immigrants in Worcester, having been preceded by a handful of individuals from the free Greek state, and specifically from the Peloponnese, who had arrived in the mid-1890s, bringing their families with them. However, as we have seen, it was the Kentros brothers who initiated the chain migration that resulted in the significant influx of at least 60 young men from the village of Tsamantas, who settled in Worcester during the period between 1906 and 1910. In 1910 it is reported that there were 413 foreign-born immigrants from Turkey's European territories residing in the city, most of whom came from Epirus. In the 1915 state census, the total Greek population amounted to 678, of which the vast majority (600) were males (Washburn, 1917: 313). This was the highest concentration of Epirote Greeks in any Central Massachusetts city[26].

The arrival of new immigrants in Worcester from southern and eastern Europe brought new labourers eager to work in its factories, but it also deepened the existing ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions of the city. Furthermore, a hierarchical division of labour began to emerge.

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the Great Depression, as well as the reluctance of British Dominions to receive further immigrants from Europe.

[26] Simollardes, A., 'Greek Life in Worcester', *Worcester Telegraph*, 8 July 1973.

The Swedes became the most likely to secure highly skilled jobs in the steel and wire factories, whilst the Irish and the newly arrived Lithuanians, Poles, Finns and Armenians were largely appointed to unskilled positions. Manual work was mostly undertaken by the considerable contingency of Italian immigrants, and the Jews tended to open small businesses (Rozenzweig, 1983: 17-8). The Greek Epirotes, however, were reluctant to work in the steel and wire mills which were the principal sources of employment. This may have been partly due to the discriminatory practices of the Worcester industrialists, but the fact that the immigrants had been accustomed to working either in fields back home, or on the roads as tinkers, was certainly a factor, as they found it hard to adapt to the discipline required in the production line of a factory – and so instead, like their Jewish neighbours, they began to start up their own businesses.

Some of the Tsamantas immigrants, like the Kentros brothers and *Markos Bitzas* (see Figure 4), bought bananas wholesale and became fruit peddlers. Others, such as Spyridon and Fotios Kentros, became bakers, or worked as dishwashers or cooks in restaurants. Unlike most of the other ethnic groups, who settled in self-contained units or voluntary ghettoes in various parts of the East End district of Worcester[27], the Greeks lived in small enclaves spread throughout this part of the city[28]. Such enclaves gave the first migrants from Tsamantas a shared basis of experience – similar life-styles, housing and jobs – but more importantly they provided a refuge and resource for those who were confronted with the unemployment, poverty, disease and accidents that accompanied life and work in rapidly industrialising Worcester (Rosenzweig, 1983: 31).

The afore-mentioned journal article by Abbott, 'The Greek Community in Chicago', published in 1909, leads us to conclude that the Tsamantas peddlers in Worcester were probably earning approximately $9-10 per week, of which they spent around $4 a week on rent, food, and the wages of a man who cooked and cleaned their shared accommodation. They were extremely thrifty and industrious, sending most of their earnings back to their families in the village. As Nitsos notes (1926: 321) in a letter of thanks from his home in Tsamantas to the Greek-American daily *Atlantis* in 1918, 'thousands of dollars' had been sent by migrant fellow villagers living in the Worcester, for the maintenance of their families back home. This saved many lives in Tsamantas during one of the most precarious periods of its history, when the First World War and the consequent famine and Spanish flu epidemic had catastrophic repercussions in south-eastern Europe.

By the 1920s increasing affluence in Worcester meant that some of the Tsamantas peddlers were able to amass sufficient profits to become owners of groceries stores or restaurants. Nitsos (1926: 49) mentions the Boukali brothers, Athanasios Kentros, Michael G. Alexis, Ioannis Zoulas, and the Kiratsis brothers as successful businessmen in Worcester at the time. Here is how a Greek-American living in Worcester in the 1970s describes this phenomenon:

> *'... the Greek immigrant would begin with a pushcart, then rent a store to sell fruits. Soon a soda fountain was added to sell hot chocolate in the winter, then sandwiches, hot dogs and hamburgers. Tables were added. The shop would evolve into a cafeteria, a lunchroom and, finally, a restaurant ...'*[29]

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[27] In the early twentieth century in Worcester, the middle or upper class tended to live in detached family homes in the West Side, whereas the East Side was generally inhabited by the working class (many of whom were immigrants), living in 'triple-decker' homes, a form of housing found mainly in Worcester (Rosenzweig, 1983: 31).

[28] Seymour, S., 'Our Greek Community', *Worcester Telegraph*, 25 March 1977.

[29] Seymour, S., 'Our Greek Community', *Worcester Telegraph*, 25 March 1977.

Figure 3: A Peddler from Tsamantas in Worcester, MA, c. 1910

Sources: Folklore Museum of Tsamantas

From the Ellis Island archive it is possible to identify the pioneering women migrants from Tsamantas. One of these was *Paraskevi Kentros*, a 25-year-old housewife, who accompanied her husband Athanasios to New York from Le Havre, on board *S.S. La Provence* on 6 April 1912[30]. From the ship's manifest it can be seen that Athanasios came to the United States for the first time in 1909. Athanasios married Paraskevi (known as Eva) before he left for America, and in order to earn money to buy his ticket he had to go to work as a baker in Constantinople[31]. Their destination was 54 Hanover Street, Worcester, where Athanasios's brother Dimitrios also resided. (It was common in both Worcester and Tsamantas for married brothers to share the same apartment.) By the time of the 1920 census survey, Eva and Athanasios are well established in Worcester, with a large family. The other female pioneering migrant was *Sophie Boukalis*, an 18-year-old housewife from Ioannina who followed her husband *Basel Boukalis* to Worcester on board *S.S. La Savoie*, from Le Havre to New York on 27 December 1913.

In addition to family life, the Greek Orthodox Church, mutual benefit associations and Greek cafes were the physical and spiritual centre of the Epirote community in Worcester. The immigrants from Tsamantas soon formed the largest and most active of the numerous village associations in the city: the St. George's Hellenic Benefit Society of Tsamantas (henceforth St. George's Society), which was established in 1908 by a group of 30-40 immigrants. The Society offered opportunities for socialising, and collected money for projects benefiting the village of Tsamantas. Another of its functions was to prepare those

[30] Again, it is unclear whether they are related to others with the name of Kentros originating from Tsamantas.

[31] Personal communication with Arthur Kentros of New York, grandson of Athanasios and Eva Kentros, October 2008.

individuals who were planning to return permanently to the village. The Society soon grew substantially, until it was one of the biggest fraternal societies in Worcester, with 350 members[32]. Unfortunately, no membership lists, minutes of meetings or any other documentation have survived. From a group photograph of the St. George's Society, dated 1926, it can be discerned that, at this time, the society boasted at least 70 members, of whom only four were women, although there were some children[33]. In a similar photograph, dated 1937, the Society appears to have grown to at least 130 members, including thirty women and thirty children. As Moskos observes (1990: 39), disagreements and personality conflicts were a chronic trait of such fraternal societies, which appeared and disappeared with remarkable frequency. Such was the case in 1915 for the St. George's Society. The new immigrants from Tsamantas had brought with them to Worcester the animosities of their village, reflecting their divided political affiliations between royalists and liberals, and this resulted in the dissolution of the Society[34].

In another letter to the *Atlantis*, in 1918, Nitsos (1926: 322) refers to the St. George's Society soon after its re-establishment, and mentions that its members raised the very considerable sum of 40,000 drachmas (approx. $8,000) for the construction of a new village school in Tsamantas. The Society continued its earlier philanthropic activities, and in 1928 a further $1,500 was sent to the village for the same project.

Ever since its creation in 1908 the St. George's Society has been active in maintaining links with Tsamantas. These links were strengthened in 1999 when both the Society and the village greatly benefited from the Bellos legacy. Stavros Bellos, one of the pre-World War II migrants to Worcester from Tsamantas, left most of his large estate of two million dollars to his native village, but also a substantial amount to the Society, of which he was a member, as well as the Greek-Orthodox Church of Worcester.

The migrants from Tsamantas were part of a somewhat disorganised Greek Orthodox community in Worcester, which in itself was part of the ethnocentric, larger Greek Orthodox Church in America. As a social and cultural force, the church had particular importance to religious Epirotes, and the Greek community in Worcester was visited from time to time – especially during Christmas and Easter – by priests from other American cities, who administered the holy communion and performed baptisms, weddings and funerals (which were held at the St. George's Syrian Orthodox Church on Wall Street, Worcester). Although the Greeks and Syrians initially shared the same church, their communities were distinct. They lived in harmony, but such harmony was the result of 'lack of contact rather than on mutual respect' (Rosenzweig, 1983: 29-30).

The Greek community was officially established on October 15th 1914, with the creation of a constitution. They soon made plans to build a church devoted to St. Spyridon, but in the meantime they used a hall at 69 Grafton Street for church services. According to a local (anonymous) church historian[35], the decision to give it the name of St. Spyridon was based on two specific reasons. Firstly, according to the old Julian calendar, St. Spyridon's Day coincided with Christmas Day, a public holiday in Worcester on which factories and stores were closed. The first Greek immigrants were fearful of losing paid working days, and so they named the church St. Spyridon and thereby forfeited the traditional Orthodox Christmas

[32] Simollardes, A., 'Greek Life in Worcester', *Worcester Telegraph*, 8 July 1973.
[33] This appears to be a photograph of a picnic sponsored by the Society. It was customary for money raised from such activities to finance local and home-based charities.
[34] Nitsos (1926: 331-2) included in his monograph on Tsamantas a letter he received from the dissolved St. George's Society, dated 16 December 1915, which enclosed a cheque for 1,180 drachmas (approx. $236), for distribution to needy causes in the village. This apparently constituted the remaining funds held by the Society. One of the signatories of the letter was Vassilios Milionis, mentioned earlier.
[35] The History of [the Greek Orthodox] Community [in Worcester, MA.], pamphlet ca. 1960.

holiday, which was celebrated in early January. Secondly, most of the Greek immigrants came from Epirus, and as the island of Corfu – of which St. Spyridon is the patron – lies just offshore from Epirus, they named the church St. Spyridon in his honour. At that time the island of Corfu was not only an important place of pilgrimage and trade for many Epirotes but also the embarkation point of many migrants destined for the United States.

In 1917 the Greek community in Worcester split into two communities, one of which took the name of St. Taxiarchai. Their church services were held in a building on Trumbull Street, which was shared with a bowling alley. One of the reasons for the split was the fact that the political conflict in Greece between royalists and liberals divided the Greeks in Worcester. Another factor, according to the same anonymous local historian, was the 'business competition among members of the community', especially those in the ice-cream and candy businesses[36].

The main preoccupation of the community was to build a church large enough to accommodate the increasing number of Greeks in Worcester – some 450-500 at this time. A novel fundraising activity was adopted: for every loaf of bread eaten, one cent was paid to the church, raising the significant sum of $250 to $300 per month. Members of the St. Spyridon church, including some from Tsamantas, tried to unite both communities and actively tried to find a site for a common church. They requested financial assistance from various factory owners with Greek employees, arguing that it would be beneficial for the Greek workers to have the spiritual comfort of a church. However, although two industrialists pledged five thousand dollars each, for various reasons the construction of the church never materialised.

It was not until 1924, in fact, that the church of St. Spyridon was erected in Orange Street at a cost of roughly $65,000, half of which was mortgaged. But then, for a second time, political upheaval in Greece brought disunity to the Greek community of Worcester, and a number of families left to form the community of 'The Assumption of the Virgin Mary'. This second split came to an end in 1928, when the two communities reunited into the community of St. Spyridon. In 1929, despite being in the midst of an economic crisis in the United States, the members of the community managed to pay back the mortgage on the church. An afternoon Greek school was also started, for the many children who had by now been brought from Greece. In 1940 the Hellenic Orthodox Association of Worcester was established, with the aim of raising money for a new church and school, since the existing facilities were deemed inadequate. Eventually the present lot on Elm, Russell and Cedar Streets was purchased, and the new and impressive St. Spyridon's church and adjoining community facilities were erected. The church was officially consecrated on April 13th 1952, and since then it has been the spiritual and social centre for Greek-Americans in the city.

As we have seen already, the complex interweaving of family, church, brotherhood association and neighbourhood shaped the lives of Epirote immigrants in Worcester. They became an inextricable part of the wider immigrant and working-class ethnic communities of Worcester, in spite of their tradition of separateness. However, during the post World War I era, the ethnic separatism and insularity of Greek immigrants in the United States started to diminish, as did their nationalistic ties with Greece (Hecker and Fenton, 1978: 28). And now a shift in the aspirations of some of the migrants from Tsamantas became apparent, when no longer wished to return to the village; instead they decided to bring their families over to Worcester, with the intention of residing permanently in the United States.

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[36] The History of [the Greek Orthodox] Community [in Worcester. Ma], pamphlet ca 1960s; see also Seymour, S., 'Our Greek Community', *Worcester Telegraph*, 25 March 1977.

Conclusion

The observations presented in this chapter on the process of chain migration and family kinships, which facilitated the emigration of early-twentieth-century Epirote Greeks to Worcester, Massachusetts, suggest that the decision by the pioneers from Tsamantas to emigrate was made neither in desperation nor for ideological reasons such as the fulfilment of the 'American dream'. Instead they were based on well-informed judgments and an intention to earn sufficient money to eventually return to their home village. And many of them did indeed return, including the fruit peddling Kentros brothers, as Evangelos Kentros reminiscences:

> *'…eventually they returned to Tsamantas and got married … they had a lot of money at that time. Their bank deposit was held in gold sovereigns. I recollect my mother saying that when they decided to go their separate ways they went to Corfu to close their joint account at the Ethniki Trapeza (National Bank) ... they came back with a load of gold sovereigns, not in a bag but in a sack ... It was a lot money! They converted the gold to Greek banknotes, but unfortunately all the money was lost during the Second World War ...'*

The pioneering migrants from Tsamantas were not victims of overpopulation or economic stagnation, but rather – as Takai (2001) also found in her study of French Canadian migrants in early-twentieth-century Lowell, Massachusetts – they were trying to optimize the well-being of their families and kinship group. The decision to migrate was an informed one, based on precise information, and practical assistance and monetary aid provided by relatives and fellow villagers.

The process of settling in Worcester and adjusting to a new life there was also facilitated by kinship. The vast majority of our migrants from Tsamantas headed for Worcester, where they usually joined a family member. Social ties were maintained with family members at home in the village. The church, the St. George's Society, and the wider Epirote and Greek community of Worcester also provided support, in the form of material assistance, and help in making new social connections. Cafes became an important focus in the lives of the male immigrants. The church was a social centre for women, as was the St. George's Society, which was one of the first to organise picnics at Lake Quinsigamond, the long, narrow body of water located about two and half miles east of downtown Worcester. However, the most valuable support of all came in the form of elementary language teaching and familiarisation with local customs and geography. The newly arrived immigrants were also helped in finding employment, which meant that they could contribute to the upkeep of ethnic institutions, such as the church, the school and the Society, by paying annual membership fees. The new community was so successful, indeed, that it could almost be said that the village of Tsamantas had been transposed from the slopes of Mount Mourgana to the industrial landscape of Worcester in Massachusetts[37]. Sadly, however, this eventually led to the economic decline and stagnation of this historic community.

However, as a number of researchers have noted, kinship affiliation and support is a complex phenomenon. Paradoxically, it has been shown that migrants without kinship affiliations often fare better than those embedded in their own ethnic community. They are more likely to find jobs quickly and they enjoy higher morale (Choldin, 1973). 'Social affiliation and support during the early months following migration do not contribute to the maintenance of high morale. The explanation again suggested', Choldin adds, 'is that continued attachments to persons from the community of origin may provide a frequent reminder to the migrant of what he left behind. The migrant must confront the new social

[37] Surprisingly, the 2000 census revealed that 2,431 residents of Worcester (comprising 1.4% of the population of the city) still identify as Greek rather than American.

situation alone, however, and may be forced to make a more rapid psychological adjustment' (1973: 175). Our finding reflect the opinion of one former migrant from Tsamantas, now a successfully established American businessman, who admitted that if he had stayed with his family and compatriots in Worcester, and not moved to New York, he would still be a factory worker like many others[38].

Our understanding of the motivation and kinship affiliation of chain migrants has economic, social and political ramifications for both the home and host societies. The constant influx of new immigrants to both Europe and the United States suggests that this issue is still of relevance today, and merits more research.

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Chapter 3
Hidden Histories and Silent Witnesses – What the Migrants Left Behind

Lynn Morrison, Conservationist at the Saffron Walden Museum, Essex, UK

Introduction

The Folk Life Museum in Tsamanta is housed in the ground floor of a school building dating from 1929 and nestles in a verdant wooded area by a rushing stream at the bottom of a valley. Solid and stone built, it has withstood eighty cold wet winters and scorching summers. Situated next to the church at the centre of this village, spread out over rugged hillsides and once very extensive, it is at the heart of the community. It is being extended and is used as a nursery as well as a meeting place and hosted the international conference organised by Dr Dimitrios Konstadakopulos in 2005.

The Museum collection was a labour of love for its founder, Mr Kostas Zoulas and subsequent caretakers, who carefully noted the provenance and use of all the objects collected from the local villagers. Inside this rural museum, the objects tell their own stories of what has been left behind by those with somewhere else to go, where life was easier. The migrants had struggled and travelled as itinerant tinkers and many finally moved away starting a hundred years ago with the journey to North America, and notably Worcester in the State of Massachusetts, making their new lives somewhere startlingly different, more industrial, more prosperous, with more opportunities for making a living for themselves and their families.

What the Migrants Left Behind – The Museum Collection

In the hall, as soon as you enter, are the iconic figures, the old black and white photographs which portray priests and school teachers. This tells us what the villagers prized and would like to celebrate – the Church and learning.

In further galleries ecclesiastical robes have been kept not just perhaps for the lovely silk or beautiful stitch work, but because they were worn by powerful priests at the rituals that united the community. The domestic sphere is celebrated with a humble collection of rough furniture such as low tables, blankets and rugs for sleeping, and everyday cooking tools. The visitor can imagine the simple stone cottages with the family huddled around the fire for warmth, waiting for the mother to prepare a simple meal. There may not have been shops nearby, and getting provisions in over the mountains using donkeys and later wheeled transport was hazardous and expensive.

Agriculture was vital as it literally put food on the table. What you grew was what you ate. Grain, fruit, and the produce of the sheep, cow and goat are in evidence just by the utensils left behind. Ploughs. rakes and field implements tell of work in the fields and the life of the shepherd on the nearby steep hills. These have been attacked by woodworm and other pests.

Crafts were undertaken as a matter of necessity –preparation of food, domestic items, and clothing and the loom was a matter of pride for the housewife. She spun and wove the clothing of wool and perhaps bought cotton prints and other fabrics from travelling merchants. The clothing that remains has been heavily attacked by moths and beetles. The cotton garments are few as they have probably been cut up and used again for children's clothing, cloths and rags. The woollen items are dark, rough in the extreme and would have

been uncomfortable next to the skin. These are often embellished with braid, ribbon and are skilfully woven such as the 'tagari' bags. Women took pride in making items that were beautiful as well as useful. The small size of the costumes denotes thin, wiry, mountain women – one glance at the terrain confirms that they must have been hard working and energetic just to survive in this environment. I found these costumes very touching, the endless mending of the rough homespun woollens, speaking eloquently of poverty and simplicity in the mountains.

The newspaper and photograph collection forms a rich archive of material on current events and preoccupations, particularly with the wider diaspora. It is at risk from light levels in the gallery.

Work Programmes

After the 2005 conference attempts were made to secure funding for future care of the collection which was desperately needed, both through funding programmes and working with universities seeking work placements for their conservation students, but there was no money for air fares let alone subsistence.
I was interested in doing some basic conservation work and found one volunteer. In May 2007 I went to Athens and flew up to Ioannina to meet Eleni Kallitsani, a Greek graduate of Cardiff University's conservation course who agreed to give her time and work with me in the museum. We travelled by bus and taxi to Tsamanta laden with provisions as the village has no shop or restaurant, and stayed in the family home of Dr Konstadakopulos. We were rather impressed by the fact that if you walk up the road for a mile or so you cross the border into Albania. You used to be shot if you did this the other way around but now Greece is full of legal and illegal Albanians, some of Greek descent with Greek names and relatives in Greece. We cut our own firewood to cope with the cool May nights, and chased the scorpions that emerge, and were given much *spanakopita* and kindness by the few locals that remain.

Documentation
During eight days we worked and got to know the collection. It was discovered that the careful notes of the founder regarding who donated what, and the provenance of all objects, was not based on unique numbers which were marked on the objects, but rather on a description. Thus the link between the stories their owners had told was becoming obscured by time and the history was becoming lost and documentation was difficult. Unless this is taken down orally in the next few years this information on these unique objects will be lost forever.

It is an essential next step that the previous caretakers are aided to fill in the gaps in documentation and remember what they can before it is too late.

Who is Responsible for the Museum?

The entity of the museum is clouded by uncertainty about who actually owns the collection and there is no Constitution or Trust or clear responsibility. So there is no possibility of expanding the collecting activity, interpretation of what is there, or change.

Work Carried out on the Collection
Eleni produced a record on the computer of all objects we treated but without being able to give things a number, we digitally photographed all objects to record them, examined them, and gave them surface cleaning and the most basic treatments. This survey with some statistical analysis shows certain trends regarding physical and chemical stability of the objects. It was obvious that the fluctuations in temperature and humidity, dust and insects,

were causing irreversible deterioration. The dust removal and corrosion treatments need repeating annually.

We found numerous insects had held sway, and as the doors and windows are open for ventilation this is not surprising. Injecting woodworm killer into flight holes is all well and good but the floor of the l920s building was infested and the worst thing was the lack of a damp proof course and subsequent damp in the building, resulting in condensation and falling plaster. Poor environmental conditions spell doom for the ephemera in particular, the embrittled old photographs and newspapers.

For eight days we worked very hard with the caretaker at the time, Alexandros Ballos, and taught him the elementals of collection care, basic cleaning and stabilisation techniques and how to look after the varied collection of wood, metal, and costume. The young man was receptive to his training but unfortunately due to local politics and the fact that he didn't receive his salary for a year, he left. There is none to carry out the work or use the materials we left behind, which is a lost opportunity.

The '100 Years in America' Conference of 2008

In September the descendants of those early migrants held a celebration of a hundred years in America with a conference in Brookline, Massachusetts and I was lucky enough to attend gave a paper on the work Eleni and I had done in 2007.

There is money in bequests which could be used to fund refurbishment of the building, rewiring, improving cases so the mothball smell is contained around the costume and doesn't escape through the glass doors left open into the museum space, and to pay a caretaker, but there is little accountability from the locals to their American benefactors. But where do we go from here to preserve the Museum collection?

The Future

The future is very uncertain especially as through this project I discovered that there is apparently NOT any such organisation as the UK's Association of Independent Museums or a local Museum Development Officer who might help this collection which has effectively been orphaned. Greek conservation students do not seem to go on voluntary, supervised, work placements, as they do in other countries, to carry out first aid on collections such as this and gain experience. There are plenty of funds for the big museums with archaeology, e.g. the new Acropolis Museum, but none at all for small museums like the one at Tsamanta which are bravely trying to keep the stories of grandparents and great grandparents alive.

In 2007, fires ravaged the countryside of Greece and wiped out more of its recent history. I think everyone can readily relate to the domestic items of their grandparents and the objects left behind by the migrants are a snapshot of what life was like in the remote mountains in the early 20th century. I think the Tsamanta museum is a case in point and deserves support. It could be useful in training any students or others who would care to form a work party and go and do some work to care for the collection. Otherwise the salary of a trained conservator is surely beyond the Museum, which has no budget.

The Museum in the Local Context of Epirus

The Museum reflects pride in the past of Tsamanta and a vanishing way of life. It is a good collection which could be added to over time. It is housed in a sturdy building which only needs a little work to counter the ravages of penetrating damp and woodworm to make it secure and sound so that the collection remains safe. An appeal will be made to the

American community to see if it can financially support the work of the museum. It should stay open and could act as a community centre and a tourist attraction with the nearby attractions of mountain scenery, the churches bejewelled with frescoes, the Civil War history, and other interesting villages in the area. Time and money are needed to update the display and to make it comprehensible to visitors, and especially in both the preservation and documentation of this important material which gives silent witness to the stories of the Tsamanta villagers in times gone by.

Visitors at the Museum of Tsamantas, September 2009.

Chapter 4

Greek Americans through the 2000 Census: A look at structural assimilation.

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By the time this paper comes to publication, the contents will be part of the history of Greek Americans since the 2010 Decennial Census will most likely already be taken and available to the public. Still, it is important that we study the 2000 Census so that we can have a snapshot of (history of) some of Greek Americans' demographics in relation to the population.

The aim of this paper is to examine some of the traditional indicators sociologists use to examine structural integration/assimilation with regards to Americans of Greek Ancestry. Milton Gordon (1964) pointed out that structural assimilation or integration can occur on primary and secondary group levels so that immigrant/ethnic group members' integration into secondary group relations would result in equality of access to power and privilege in major institutions. While the concept of assimilation has undergone some revisiting (see for example Clark, 2003; Rosaldo, 1985; Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999) Brubaker (2001) points out that the concept has once again "returned" in usage in countries such as the U.S., France and Germany. Some of the indicators for structural assimilation or integration are: income, employment status, occupation, education, home ownership, and language used at home (see for example, Alba and Nee, 2003; Clark and Patel, 2004; Kao and Tienda, 2001; Skop and Li, 2005). We will also look at patterns in marriage and household structures for persons of Greek Ancestry compared to the overall population (for issues of acculturation among Greek Americans, see Papajohn 1999; Scourby, 1984; Jusdanis, 1991. For issues of identity see Karpathakis and Roudometof, 2004.) We are going to see where persons of Greek descent stand in relation to the larger population in these variables on the national and regional levels, with a focus on the North East, and more specifically the states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts. These four Northeastern states were selected in keeping with the spirit of the conference for which this paper was originally intended and also because these are the four states in this region with the largest Greek American populations.

The Moskos-Georgakas (Georgakas, Moskos 1991) debate posits an either or situation in terms of Greek immigrants' and Greek Americans' assimilation patterns. According to Moskos, Greek American experiences in the U.S. is understood as "embourgeoisement", or entry into the successful middle classes through education and entrepreneurship. Georgakas points out that there is a large segment of Greek Americans who are working class and have been rendered invisible as Greek Americans are quick to celebrate their group's successes. The data in the 2000 Census are complex and contribute to both perspectives. Persons of Greek Ancestry are distributed throughout a diversity of occupational and industry categories, indicating structural integration. Overall, persons of Greek Ancestry are integrated into American institutions in advantaged positions in relation to the overall population. Greek Americans do score higher on the traditional socioeconomic status variables of income, education and occupation, and also homeownership, a very symbolic act; the median income for men and women of Greek Ancestry is higher than the national and regional median income levels for the overall population. At the same time, however, more than one fifth of persons of Greek Ancestry earned low to moderate income (up to $39,999) and Greek American women householders were, like women householders, in the overall population, more vulnerable to the risk of poverty. While ethnicity provides an advantage and buffer for Greek Americans on the traditional socioeconomic variables, the Census data also depict them as being integrated into regional and local markets and other

institutions, so that their experiences do vary regionally and locally. As such, one could make the argument that on the one hand, Greek Americans' ethnicity provides them with a buffer and advantage in the specific ways that they are integrated into the local/regional institutions. At the same time, gender is an important variable structuring their integration and experiences, with men having an advantaged position in comparison to women.

Table 1:Selected Social Characteristics: National, Regional, Population & GA

		U.S.	NE	MW	SOUTH	WEST
POP	NATIVE	88.9% (281,421,906)	86.5% (53,594,378)	94.5% (64,392,776)	91.4% (100,236,820)	81.4% (63,197,932)
	ENG ONLY	82.1	80.0	90.6	85.0	70.6
	NATURALIZED	4.5	6.3	2.2	3.2	7.2
GA	NATIVE	84.6% (1,153,295)	79.0 % (413,439)	86.5 % (261,752)	87.3 % (255,474)	89.6 % (222,630)
	ENG ONLY	67.1	57.3	69.4	71.9	76.9
	NATURALIZED	11.5	15.8	10.5	9.2	7.6

According to the 2000 Census 1,153,295 individuals were of Greek ancestry in the U.S. We do not know how many are single ancestry or multiple ancestry. As Table 1 shows, Greek Americans are found throughout the country, with the majority living in the Northeast (413,439). Of those of Greek Ancestry, 975,688 were American born in the year 2000, and 177,607 were foreign born. There are however, regional variations to these numbers. The Northeast region has the highest percentage of non-native born of Greek Ancestry while the percentage of native born of Greek Ancestry in the West surpasses the percentage of native born for the population as a whole—89.6% for those of Greek Ancestry compared to 81.4% for the overall population. This is a product of patterns of Greek immigrant settlements in that the post-65 immigrants were more likely to settle in the North East and Midwest regions while the earlier immigrant cohorts disbursed and settled throughout the country.

With regards to language, Greek Americans are less likely than the overall population to speak English only at home on the national level and all regions except the West, another indicator that the majority of Greek Americans in the West are descendants of the turn of early 20th century immigrants. The Northeast and Midwest, the two regions which attracted most of the recent immigrants, are the two regions with the lower rates of English only spoken at home.

Persons of Greek Ancestry exhibit higher naturalization rates than the overall population and have lower rates of native born. When we look at the native born and naturalization rates for the overall population and those of Greek Ancestry, we see that those of Greek Ancestry have higher rates of citizenship, over 96% on the national level, than the overall population which includes other more recent immigrant groups. To the extent that naturalization rates are a function of immigrant cohort and length of time in the United States, it is to be expected that the rates of naturalization will be higher among those of Greek Ancestry than the overall population.

Table 2: Selected Social Characteristics:
Conn, Mass, NJ, NY, Population & GA

		Conn	Mass	NJ	NY
POP	**NATIVE**	89.1 % (3,405,565)	87.8 % (6,349,097)	82.5 % (8,414,350)	79.6 % (18,976,457)
	ENG ONLY	81.7	81.3	74.5	72.0
	NATURALIZD	5.3	5.3	8.1	9.4
GA	**NATIVE**	82.1 % (27,603)	83.0 % (78,172)	78.0 %(61,510)	71.9 % (159,763)
	ENG ONLY	64.2	63.1	55.7	46.0
	NATURALIZED	13.6	11.6	17.5	21.1

Table 2 shows the distribution of persons of Greek Ancestry in the four Northeastern states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. New York has the lowest rate (71.9%) of American born persons of Greek Ancestry, with Massachusetts having the highest of 83%. In terms of language spoken at home, 46% of Greek Americans in New York use only English at home compared to 64.2% in Connecticut and 63.1% in Massachusetts. New York also has the highest naturalization rates since it attracted more of the post-65 immigrants than did the other states. Overall however, New York has the lowest citizenship rates with 93% compared to Connecticut's 95.7%.

Table 3: Families & Households:
National, Regional, Population & GA

	US		NE		MW		South		West	
	Pop	GA	Pop	GA	Pop	GA	Pop	GA	Pop	GA
Fam Houshlds	68.5 %	66.7 %	67.2 %	68.9 %	67.8 %	67.8 %	69.5 %	65.1 %	68.7 %	68.9 %
Fams w/ Child under 18	52.6	48.4	51.1	46.3	51.6	49.6	52.4	49.0	55.4	46.3
Male Housholdr	14.3	15.9	14.2	14.0	14.7	15.7	13.8	17.4	15.1	14.0
Female Housholdr	17.2	17.4	18.7	17.0	17.6	16.6	16.7	17.4	16.2	17.0
Child under 18	68.6	58.1	64.5	49.4	69.3	59.5	69.8	63.8	69.6	49.4
Total Households	105,539,122	444,032	20,294,648	154,681	24,748,799	96,882	38,034,872	103,265	22,460,803	89,204
Aver. Fam Size	3.14	3.08	3.14	3.15	3.09	3.12	3.08	3.0	3.29	3.0

Table 3 is on household structure. This is an important table because of the self- and other created myths in popular culture, namely that Greek Americans are more likely than

other Americans to live in families and of course in larger families. This table dispels that myth. On the national level, only 66.7% of Greek American households are family households compared to 68.5% for the general population. When we look at the regions, it is only in the Northeast that the rate of family households among Greek Americans exceeds the rate for the overall population by a full percentage point, while in the South region the rate of family households among Greek Americans is 4.4% lower than the general population. Similarly, the rates of female headed households are comparable between Greek Americans and the overall population on the national level, 17.2% and 17.4% respectively. Regionally, however, the rates vary among Greek Americans, following closely the regional rates. The Northeast and Midwest have lower female headed households among Greek Americans compared to the rest of the population.

The rates of families with children under 18 are lower for Greek American families than for families in the general population. This holds true on both the national and also all the regional levels, with slight regional variation. On the national level, 48.2% of Greek American families have children under 18, compared to 52.6% of the families in the general population; the greatest discrepancy is in the West, where 55.4% of families in the general population have children under 18, compared to 46.3% of Greek American families. Greek American families also have slightly smaller family sizes compared to the general population; this means that they have fewer children.

Table 4: Families & Households: Population & GA
Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York

	Connecticut		Massachusetts		New Jersey		New York	
	Pop	GA	Pop	GA	Pop	GA	Pop	GA
Family Households	68.0%	70.8%	64.9%	66.9%	70.7%	73.3%	66.2%	68.9%
Fams w/ Child under 18	32.8%	34.7%	31.2%	30.0%	34.1%	32.4%	32.3%	28.7%
Female Householder	11.7%	7.3%	11.5%	8.2%	12.2%	7.8%	14.3%	8.6%
Child under 18	6.8%	3.9%	6.5%	4.1%	6.2%	2.9%	8.0%	3.4%
Total Households	1,302,227	9,819	2,444,588	29,530	3,065,774	22,261	7,060,595	60,879
Average Fam Size	3.08	3.21	3.11	3.13	3.21	3.18	3.22	3.17

In table 4 on families and households for the four selected Northeastern states, we see that unlike the national level and other regions, a greater percentage of households tend to be family households for Greek Americans compared to the overall population. We also see that Greek American families are less likely to have a child under 18 than families in the overall population, with the exception of Connecticut. In terms of average family size, Greek American families have larger average family sizes than families in the overall population, except for those in New York.

The rate of female householders is lower among Greek American families compared to the overall population; the rates of these families having a child under the age of 18 is also significantly lower for Greek American compared to families in the overall population. To the extent that gender of the householder is an important determinant of family poverty rates, this is one of the reasons that rates of poverty are lower among Greek American families than families in the overall population.
Table 5 gives us information on marital status of persons of Greek Ancestry by gender. The information in this table is varied and complex, however, we do see certain patterns

emerging. In this table we see gender, ethnicity and region interacting to slightly alter the rates of never married, currently married, separated, widowed and divorced. Greek Americans appear to have higher rates of never married compared to the overall population; this could be a result of later ages at first marriage. At the same time, persons of Greek Ancestry are less likely than the overall population to be separated, widowed or divorced, except for women of Greek descent in the West, who are comparable to women in the overall population in that region. Greek American men are more likely to be never married, more likely to be married, and less likely to be separated/widowed or divorced than Greek American women. Greek American women are almost twice as likely as Greek American men to be separated, widowed or divorced. The reasons for these differences are probably due to what we know from studies on marriage/divorce and mortality. Men are more likely than women to remarry after a divorce, and they remarry much sooner than the women; men have higher mortality rates than women which means that more women than men will live a portion or longer portion of their lives as widows/widowers.

Table 5: Marital Status by Gender: National, Regional, Population & GA (In Percentage)

	U.S.		NE		MW		South		West	
Pop	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Never Married	30.3	24.1	32.2	26.7	29.9	23.9	28.4	22.5	31.9	24.8
Married	56.7	52.1	55.8	49.8	57.4	53.2	57.8	52.6	55.3	52.4
S/W/D	12.9	23.8	12.0	23.5	12.7	22.9	14.0	24.9	12.8	22.8
GA										
Never Married	32.9	27.6	34.0	28.7	33.6	28.1	30.3	25.1	33.2	27.7
Married	56.3	51.9	56.8	52.1	56.6	52.3	57.5	53.5	53.7	49.5
S/W/D	10.8	20.5	9.1	19.3	9.7	19.6	12.2	21.3	12.1	22.9

Regional variation is also important as we see that men and women, in both the overall population and of Greek Ancestry in the West, have the highest never married rates, lowest rates of married and highest rates of separated, widowed and divorced. While there are differences between persons of Greek Ancestry and the overall population in the different values of marital status, these differences are only slight and it is not clear whether they are statistically significant.

In Table 6 on marital status by gender in the four selected Northeastern states, we see that the three variables of ethnicity, gender and "region", in this case state, are important in structuring marital status. Ethnicity and gender interweave to create structures of marital experiences and statuses that are complex. With regards to ethnicity, Greek American men and women have higher never married and married rates compared to their counterparts in the overall population in all states.

Gender, however, interweaves with ethnicity to make for a more complex picture. While Greek American women have higher rates of never married and married compared to women in the overall population, they still have lower rates of these compared to both Greek American men and men in the overall population. Third, we also see rates of being married vary by state as rates for this value of marital status vary for both populations in each state.

We see similarly complex patterns emerging from the status values of separated/widowed/divorced. Greek American men and women are less likely to be separated or divorced than men and women in the overall population. Second, Greek American men are the least likely of all other groups to be separated, widowed or divorced. Women, whether Greek American or not, have higher rates of being separated or divorced at any given time. These rates also vary by state, so that rates for Greek Americans rise and fall according to the overall state numbers and patterns.

Table 6: Marital Status by Gender,
Selected N. East states, Population & Greek Ancestry

	Connecticut	Massachusetts	New Jersey	New York
Population				
Men				
Never married	30.0%	33.9%	31.1%	34.7%
Married	58.0%	54.7%	57.7%	53.3%
Separated	1.3%	1.6%	2.0%	2.7%
Widowed	2.7%	2.7%	2.9%	2.8%
Divorced	7.9%	7.0%	6.2%	6.5%
Women				
Never married	24.5%	28.5%	25.3%	29.0%
Married	52.3%	48.9%	51.8%	47.1%
Separated	1.8%	2.3%	2.7%	3.7%
Widowed	10.8%	10.8%	11.5%	11.2%
Divorced	10.5%	9.5	8.7	8.9
GA				
Men				
Never married	31.5	34.7	30.5	36.0
Married	59.7	56.2	60.8	55.3
Separated	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.6
Widowed	1.7	2.0	2.1	2.1
Divorced	6.4	6.0	5.6	5.1
Women				
Never married	26.5	31.1	26.1	29.2
Married	55.9	49.7	55.4	51.5
Separated	0.7	1.4	1.3	2.4
Widowed	9.0	9.2	10.3	10.0
Divorced	7.9	8.6	6.9	6.8

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 4 (SF 4)

From this table, one could make a number of arguments regarding the importance of ethnicity, gender and “region” in structuring marital status, however, these would be inconclusive without a statistical analysis that could help us answer the question of the relative significance of the variables of gender, ethnicity and “region”, i.e., in this case, state.

Table 7: Homeownership: National, Regional, Population, GA

	National	NE	MW	South	West
Population	66.2	62.4	70.2	68.4	61.5
GA	70.2	68.6	74.8	72.5	65.4

Table 7 is on homeownership rates among Greek Americans compared to the overall population. Greek Americans are more likely to be homeowners than the overall population; this holds on both the national as well as all four regional levels. The rates of homeownership, however, do vary regionally both among Greek Americans and the overall population; while Greek Americans in the Midwest are more likely than their counterparts in other regions of the country to be homeowners, it is in the West that they are the least likely to be homeowners. The Northeast, in the meantime, has the highest difference in homeownership between Greek Americans and the overall population, 6.2 percentage points.

Table 8: Homeownership: Conn, Mass, NJ, NY: Population & GA

	Conn	Mass	NJ	NY
Population	66.8	61.7	65.5	53.0
GA	74.7	70.5	74.6	62.1

On the state level, Greek Americans are more likely to be homeowners than the overall population. There is of course, state variation here, as Greek Americans in New York have the lowest homeownership rates, reflective of the similarly lowest homeownership rates of the general population of all four states; but even here, there is an almost 9 percentage point difference between Greek Americans and the overall population.

Table 9: Median Income 1999: National, Regional, Family, Individual*

Notes: *: Fulltime, year round workers ** Difference between GA & Population median Income

		U.S.	NE	MW	South	West
Populati-on	Family	$50,046	$54,820	$51,471	$45,664	$51,426
	NonFam-Houshold	25,705	26,591	25,119	23,541	29,677
	Male	38,349	41,627	39,222	35,469	40,101
	Female	28,135	31,191	27,257	26,202	30,539
GA	Family	63,240 (13,194)**	64,707 (9,884) **	62,572 (11,101)	61,613 (15,949)	63,803 (12,377)
	NonFam-Houshold	31,841 ($6,136)	31,477 ($4,886)	31,620 ($6,501)	30,969 ($7,428)	34,884 ($5,207)
	Male	47,048 (8,669)	47,693 (6,066)	46,460 (7,238)	45,066 (9,597)	49,561 (9,460)
	Female	33,407 (5,272)	35,682 (4,491)	31,375 (4,118)	31,369 (5,167)	35,756 (5,217)

Table 9, on Greek Americans' median income tells us two important points about Greek Americans' median income. On the one hand, Greek Americans' median income is higher than that of the general population on the national and regional levels, for all categories for which income is measured; on the other hand, Greek Americans' median income varies by region as does that of the overall population. Overall, it would appear that ethnicity provides some buffer and advantage in relation to the surrounding population, but members of the group are still vulnerable to the local or regional labor market conditions and pay scales; Greek Americans in other words, are integrated into the regional economies in advantaged positions. On the national level, Greek Americans' median family income is $13,194 higher than that of the general population. The greatest difference in family median income is

found in the South as Greek American families' median income is nearly $16,000 higher than that of the general population, although it is at the same time the lowest median income for Greek American families in regional comparisons.

Greek American non-family households also enjoy higher median income than the overall population nationally and in all regions of the country. The greatest discrepancy between Greek American non-family households' median income and the overall population is observed again in the South, which again is the lowest median income for both the overall population and for Greek American non-family households. With regards to individual income, males of Greek Ancestry far exceed the males in the general population in terms of median individual income, and even in the South, where the regional median income is the lowest for the country as a whole, men of Greek Ancestry outperform men in the general population including those in the West with the highest median income. Men of Greek Ancestry in the West out earn more on the national level by $11,212.

Women exhibit a more complicated picture. Women of Greek Ancestry earn higher median income than women in the general population on the national as well as all the regional levels, but earn considerably less than men of both Greek Ancestry and men in the general population. Ethnicity here provides a relative advantage for women but not enough so as to enable them to overcome the gender differences characteristic of the overall population as well.

Table 10: Median Income 1999: Conn, Mass,NJ, NY, Family, Individual*

Notes: *: Fulltime, year round workers ** Difference between GA & Population median Income

		Conn	Mass	NJ	NY
Population	Family	$65,521	$61,664	$65,370	$51,691
	Non-Fam Household	$30,873	$29,774	$31,298	$27,073
	Male	$45,787	$43,048	$46,368	$40,236
	Female	$33,318	$32,059	$33,081	$31,099
GA	Family	$75,089 (9,568)**	$68,587 (6,923)	$72,265 (6,895)	$63,392 (11,701)
	Non-Fam Household	$34,832	$32,137	$36,437	$32,728
	Male	$50,064 (4,277)	$45,506 (2,458)	$50,586 (4,218)	$47,080 (6,844)
	Female	$37,512 (4,194)	$33,801 (1,742)	$36,655 (3,574)	$36,719 (5,620)

On the state level in the Northeast, similar patterns emerge regarding median income for families, non-family households as well as men and women. The median income of Greek American families is higher in all four states, with the greatest difference between Greek American families' median income and median income of the families in the general population being in New York ($11,701); at the same time, New York is the state with the lowest of the median incomes among the four states among both Greek Americans and the general population. The pattern repeats itself for non-family households and men in that Greek American non-family households enjoy higher median income than non-family households in the general population in all states. Men of Greek Ancestry similarly enjoy higher median income than men in the general population in all four states, and again the difference is the greatest in New York; here, however, while New York has the lowest median income for men in the general population, it is the men of Greek Ancestry in

Massachusetts that have the lowest median income. Women's median income on the state levels exhibit similar patterns to those of the national and regional levels; women of Greek Ancestry earn higher median incomes than women in the overall population but lower than both the Greek American men and men in the general population. Even though New York has the lowest median income for the population as a whole, it is Greek Americans in Massachusetts who earn the lowest median income of Greek Americans in the four selected Northeastern states.

Table 11: Income Distribution & Families: National, Regional, Population & GA

		US	NE	MW	South	West
Pop	**Low Income- up to $34,999**	32.8%	29.5%	30.0%	37.1%	31.8%
	Moderate $35-59,999	27.2%	25.3%	42.7%	27.5%	26.2%
	Mid & Above $60,000+	39.9%	45.3%	40.8%	35.4%	42.1%
GA	**Low Income**	22.6%	22.9%	22.2%	23.8%	22.2%
	Moderate	24.1%	23.6%	24.8%	24.2%	23.9%
	Mid & above	53.2%	54.1%	53.0%	51.8%	53.7%

The Census also gives us information on Income Distribution and Families, as seen in Table 11, adopted from Census income categories. This information provides us with a somewhat more complex picture of Greek American families' distribution on the income curve. More than half of Greek American families earn middle income and above, compared to much lower rates for families in the overall population (53.2% compared to 39.9% for the national level.) The differences between persons of Greek ancestry and the overall population in income distribution are the greatest in the South where 51.8% of Greek American families earn at least middle income compared to 35.4% for families in the overall population, a difference of 16.4% points. When we look at low income families, nearly a quarter of Greek American families earn low income on the national as well as the regional levels, compared to a third of the general population (with the exception in the South, the poorest region of the country.) As such, the rate of Greek American families with low income is much lower, a full 10% point difference, than the rate among the general population. When we combine low and moderate income, nearly half of all Greek Americans earn low to moderate income while a little over half earn middle income and above. These small pieces of information would seem to confirm both Charles Moskos' embourgeoisement thesis regarding Greek Americans and also Dan Georgakas' point that the Greek American working class families and individuals have become invisible in the rush to celebrate the group's successes.

There is less regional variation in Table 11 than there was in the earlier tables examining median income rates. In Table 11 we see that the little variation notwithstanding, Greek American families share greater similarities amongst themselves than with the non-Greek American families in the overall population. Compared to the families in the general population, Greek American families are less likely to earn low income as well as moderate income and more likely to earn middle income and above.

Table 12: Income Distribution & Families:
Conn, Mass, NJ, NY, Population & GA

		Conn	Mass	NJ	NY
Pop	**Low Income-up to $34,999**	22.1%	24.6%	22.8%	33.0%
	Moderate $35-59,999	22.8%	23.7%	22.4%	24.2%
	Mid & Above $60,000+	55.0%	51.7%	54.7%	42.7%
GA	**Low Income**	16.9%	19.9%	18.4%	23.3%
	Moderate	25.1%	22.9%	22.2%	23.2%
	Mid & above	61.7%	57.3%	59.4%	53.5%

Similar patterns regarding income distribution is seen in the four selected states of the Northeast. The rates of Greek American families enjoying middle income and above are higher than those of families in the overall population while the rates of those with low income are lower than the families in the overall population. Again we see that Greek American families are more likely to be like other Greek American families in other states than the families in the general population. At the same time, however, the rates of low income are lower for these four states than the national and also regional levels, while the rates of families earning middle income and above are higher in these four states than on the national and also regional levels. There is in other words, an interactive effect of ethnicity and regional or local market variations which although important cannot be untangled through this particular data.

Table 13 is on Poverty and Families among the general population and Greek Americans. Clearly, the rates of poverty in families are lower for Greek American families than for the overall population, independent of the family structure; on the national level, 4.9% of Greek American families of all structures are in poverty compared to 9.2% of families in the overall population. The rates of poverty for Greek American families range from 4.2% in the Midwest to 5.3% in Northeast, compared to 7.2%-10.6% of families in the overall population. Rates of poverty among Greek American married couple families are 3.0% compared to 4.9% of their counterparts in the overall population on the national level; these rates vary regionally, with the highest rates for Greek American families of 3.7% being in the Northeast and the lowest, 2.2% in the Midwest while the highest 5.8% being the highest in the South and West to 3.4% in the Midwest. As such, we once again see variations among regions, for both Greek American families and families in the overall population.

The mean deficit income is also slightly lower for Greek Americans (averaging approximately $300 less on the national level) than the overall population which means that in a sense, poverty is slightly less deep for Greek American families compared to families in the overall population, although, lacking any statistical tests it is not possible to tell if this is statistically significant.

The pattern of higher rates of poverty among families with children seen in families in the overall population holds also for Greek American families. In other words, regardless of the

family structure, families with children are more likely to experience poverty than families without children, and especially pre-school aged children. The rates do vary by region, and we observe that there is not one region that we can talk about having the lowest and/or highest rates of poverty among all groups.

Table 13: Poverty Status of Families 1999: National, Regional Levels, Population & GA

		U.S.	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Population	Families	9.2%	8.4%	7.2%	10.6%	9.5%
	Child 18-	13.6%	12.8%	10.9%	15.4%	13.9%
	Child 5-	17.0%	15.6%	14.3%	18.9%	17.6%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,247	$7,534	$7,057	$7,186	$7,295
	Married Couple Families	4.9%	4.1%	3.4%	5.8%	5.8%
	Child 18-	6.6%	5.3%	4.3%	7.6%	8.3%
	Child 5-	8.5%	6.7%	5.8%	9.6%	11.0%
	Mean Income Deficit	$6,946	$7,241	$6,743	$6,713	$7,291
	Female head	26.5%	25.2%	24.2%	29.3%	24.9%
	Child 18-	34.3%	34.4%	31.7%	36.8%	32.1%
	Child 5-	46.4%	46.4%	45.0%	48.3%	44.2%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,562	$7,804	$7,312	$7,641	$7,395
GA	Families	4.9%	5.3%	4.2%	4.6%	5.2%
	Child 18-	6.5%	6.9%	5.8%	6.0%	7.4%
	Child 5-	7.5%	8.0%	6.8%	7.2%	8.1%
	Mean Income Deficit	$6,620	$6,891	$6,079	$6,599	$6,630
	Married Couple Families	3.0%	3.7%	2.2%	2.9%	2.9%
	Child 18-	3.2%	3.9%	2.3%	3.1%	3.1%
	Child 5-	3.6%	4.2%	2.6%	3.6%	3.6%
	Mean Income Deficit	$6,549	$6,787	$6,405	$6,337	$6,344
	Female head	16.2%	15.3%	16.3%	16.2%	17.7%
	Child 18-	23.7%	25.7%	24.3%	20.7%	23.6%
	Child 5-	36.5%	40.0%	36.9%	33.1%	34.8%
	Mean Income deficit	$6,722	$7,148	$5,893	$6,752	$6,879

Female headed families, whether Greek American or not, have significantly higher rates of poverty and while ethnicity does provide for some buffer for the female headed Greek American families, it does not completely over-ride the importance of gender. Female headed families, for both Greek Americans and the larger population, are three to four times more likely to be in poverty than married couple families in their respective populations. The rates of poverty among Greek American female headed families are more like those of other female headed families in the overall population than like other Greek American families.

Table 14: Poverty Status of Families 1999:Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Jersey, Population & GA

		Conn.	Mass.	New Jersey	New York
Population	Families	5.6%	6.7%	6.3%	11.5%
	Child 18-	8.6%	10.1%	9.2%	16.9%
	Child 5-	10.9%	12.2%	10.9%	20.2%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,281	$7,202	$7,627	$7,989
	Married Couple Families	2.3%	2.9%	3.0%	5.9%
	Child 18-	2.8%	3.5%	3.8%	7.9%
	Child 5-	3.4%	4.0%	4.7%	10.0%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,149	$7,066	$7,231	$7,717
	Female head	19.6%	22.1%	19.4%	29.2%
	Child 18-	26.6%	31.2%	27.4%	38.8%
	Child 5-	37.2%	45.4%	37.2%	49.8%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,381	$7,310	$7,932	$8,280
GA	Families	2.9%	4.5%	3.7%	6.2%
	Child 18-	4.7%	6.8%	4.8%	7.6%
	Child 5-	4.4%	7.3%	5.2%	8.3%
	Mean Income Deficit	$7,483	$6,686	$6,495	$7,229
	Married Couple Families	1.8%	2.7%	2.8%	4.8%
	Child 18-	2.6%	3.1%	3.1%	4.5%
	Child 5-	2.2%	3.0%	3.4%	5.3%
	Mean Income Deficit	$8,581	$6,174	$6,697	$7,167
	Female head	12.3%	16.0%	11.5%	13.6%
	Child 18-	21.3%	27.1%	21.4%	24.7%
	Child 5-	26.1%	42.8%	27.7%	38.3%
	Mean Income deficit	$6,540	$7,143	$6,343	$7,713

The table on poverty and families in the four Northeast states give us a complex picture in terms of rates of poverty among Greek American families as these compare to the rates of poverty among families in the overall population. First, there are lower rates of poverty among Greek American families, no matter which structure (married or female headed), compared to the overall population in all four states. The rates of poverty among families in the overall population vary from 5.6%, the lowest, in Connecticut, to 11.5%, the highest in New York. The rates of poverty among Greek American families also vary by state, ranging from 2.9% in Connecticut to 6.2% in New York. Part of the explanation for this could be the fact that New York has higher percentages of new immigrants and racial minority populations compared to Connecticut, these being the populations facing the greatest discrimination and problems integrating into the economy.

When we look at married couple families, we see that the rates of poverty are lower among Greek American families than among the general population. The rates of married couple families for the general population vary from 2.3%, the lowest in Connecticut, to 5.9%, the highest in New York. The rates of poverty among Greek American married couple families

follow a similar pattern, although at lower rates; they range from 1.8% in Connecticut to 4.8% in New York. The rates of poverty among these families with children under 18, follow similar patterns, with 4.7% the lowest for the general population in Connecticut to a high of 7.6% in New York, and 2.6% the lowest in Connecticut, to a high of 4.5% in New York for Greek Americans.

Rates of poverty of female headed families are five to seven times higher compared to married couple families, for both Greek Americans and the overall population. Female headed Greek American families do have lower poverty rates than female headed families in the overall population, but these are significantly higher than other Greek American families. The rates of poverty for female headed Greek American households jump to 11.5%, the lowest in New Jersey to 16.0% the highest in Massachusetts. Female headed families with children under 5 jump even higher to 26.1% of these families in Connecticut, to a staggering high of 42.8% in Massachusetts. These numbers are very similar to female headed families in the overall population of a low of 19.6% in Connecticut to a high of 29.2% in New York for all female headed families, and 37.2% of these families with children under 5 in Connecticut to 49.8% in New York and 45.4% in Massachusetts. Female headed Greek American families are more similar to other female headed families in the overall population, than they are with other structured Greek American families.

The table on education shows us that persons of Greek Ancestry score higher on levels of education than the overall population. This table once again reveals that there is an interaction between ethnicity, gender and region of the country. On the national level, 35.2% of persons of Greek Ancestry have at least a Bachelor's degree compared to 24.4% of the general population. At the same time, compared to the 48.2% of the general population with a High School education or less, the rate is 37% for Greek Americans. Greek Americans have higher rates of post-graduate degrees compared to the overall population. On the national level, 5.9% of the overall population has a Master's degree, compared to 8.7% of Greek Americans; in terms of professional degrees 2.0% of the overall population compared to 3.6% of Greek Americans; in terms of PhD's, again we see that 1.0% of the overall population compared to 1.6% of Greek Americans.

Although Greek Americans score higher on education than the overall population in all regions, there is nevertheless, some regional variation. Persons of Greek Ancestry living in the South score the highest in the Bachelor's category and above, in a region with the lowest rates of tertiary education degrees. Even in the Northeast where the most recent immigrants settled, we see that persons of Greek Ancestry outperform the general population in terms of education; first, there are lower rates of Greek Americans with a High School degree or less and higher rates of college and post-graduate degrees compared to the general population.

There is also variation along gender lines. On the national level, the percentage of Greek American women with a High School education or less is lower than both men and women in the overall population; with the exception of Master's and PhD degrees, Greek American women outperform men in the general population, and outperform women in the general population in all degrees. Here we see that both gender and ethnicity are important in structuring rates of education, but short of a statistical test, it is impossible to know the exact power/significance of each of these variables.

Table 15: Education by Gender: National, Regional, Population and GA

			H.S. or less		Assocs. & Some College		Bachelors		Master's		Professional		PhD	
U.S.	Population		48.2%		27.4%		15.5%		5.9%		2.0%		1.0%	
	Men	Wom	47.5	48.9	26.4	28.3	16.1	15.0	6.0	5.8	2.6	1.4	1.4	0.6
	GA		37.0%		27.7%		21.3%		8.7%		3.6%		1.6%	
	Men	Wom	34.9	29.1	27.2	28.4	22.1	20.6	8.7	8.7	4.9	2.4	2.3	0.9
Northeast	Population		49.1%		23.5%		16.4%		7.4%		2.4%		1.1%	
	Men	Wom	48.0	50.1	22.6	24	17.2	15.8	7.4	7.5	3.1	1.8	1.1	0.7
	GA		43.0%		22.7%		20.0%		9.2%		3.5%		1.5%	
	Men	Wom	41.6	44.5	22.3	23.2	20.8	19.3	8.6	9.7	4.5	2.5	2.1	0.9
Midwest	Population		48.9%		28.1%		15%		5.4%		1.7%		0.8%	
	Men	Wom	48.4	49.4	27.2	29.0	15.4	14.5	5.5	5.3	2.3	1.2	1.2	0.5
	GA		37.8%		28.6%		20.5%		8.1%		3.6%		1.3%	
	Men	Wom	34.9	40.8	29.0	28.2	21.0	20.1	7.9	8.2	5.2	2.0	2.0	0.6
South	Population		51.0%		26.4%		14.5%		5.3%		1.8%		0.9%	
	Men	Wom	50.4	51.3	25.5	27.5	15.1	14.0	5.4	5.3	2.4	1.3	1.3	0.5
	GA		32.8%		30.1%		22.6%		8.5%		4.0		1.8	
	Men	Wom	30.6	35.4	29.0	31.2	23.3	22.0	8.9	8.0	5.5	2.5	2.7	0.9
West	Population		42.2		31.5		17.0		6.0		2.1		1.1	
	Men	Wom	41.5	43.0	30.4	32.5	17.5	16.6	6.4	5.6	2.7	1.6	1.6	0.6
	GA		29.4		33.5		23.1		8.9		3.4		1.6	
	Men	Wom	27.3	31.6	33.3	32.6	24.4	21.9	9.5	8.4	4.3	2.5	2.3	0.9

The table on education in the four Northeastern states shows similar patterns as on the national level. The percentage of those with a high school degree or less is lower among persons of Greek Ancestry compared to the general population. This latter point is important because these are the states which attracted most of the recent immigrants. Persons of Greek Ancestry have higher rates of a college education, degree and also post-graduate degrees compared to the general population in these four states. To begin with, these four states have residents with rates of a college and post-graduate degrees which are higher than the national average(s), and persons of Greek Ancestry exceed even these higher percentages. Even in New York, the state with the lowest percentage of Greek Americans with a Bachelors degree, the percentage of Greek Americans with a bachelor's degree is higher than both the national percentage as well as New York's percentage. The percentages of Greek Americans with a Master's or professional degree or PhD similarly exceed those of the general population in all four states; for example, in New York and Connecticut, the states with the highest percentages of residents with Master's degrees (8.0% and 9.4% respectively,) we see that the percentage of persons of Greek Ancestry with these degrees is higher (9.5% and 11.1% respectively.)

We must also note, however, that education does vary by gender for both the general population and persons of Greek Ancestry. Although there are lower rates of a High School education or less among Greek American women, there are higher percentages for college and post-graduate degrees. Greek American women are more likely to have a college and a master's degree than both men and women in the general population. This changes slightly for the professional and PhD degrees, as the rates of these degrees are higher for Greek American women compared to women in the general population but lower compared to men.

Table 16: Education by Gender: Conn., Mass., N.J., N.Y.: Population & GA

		High school Or less		Some college & Assoc.'s		Bachelor's		Master's		Professional		PhD	
Conn.	Pop	44.4%		24.2%		18.2%		9.4		2.7%		1.2%	
	Men/Wom	43.8	45.1	22.7	25.3	19	17.4	9.3	9.4	3.4	2.0	1.8	0.8
	GA	40.0%		22.5%		20.4%		11.1%		4.6%		1.5%	
	Men/Wom	38.1	40.6	21.2	23.7	22.4	18.5	10.5	11.8	5.7	3.5	2.1	0.9
Mass.	Pop	42.5%		24.3%		19.5		9.4%		2.6%		1.7	
	Men/Wom	42.1	43.0	22.7	25.8	20.1	19.0	9.4	9.3	3.2	2.0	2.4	1.1
	GA	40.0%		23.4%		21.9%		9.6%		3.2%		1.9	
	Men/Wom	39.2	39.7	22.0	25.0	22.3	21.4	9.5	9.7	4.2	2.1	2.8	1.1
New Jersey	Pop	47.3%		22.9%		18.8%		7.3%		2.5%		1.2%	
	Men/Wom	45.1	49.1	22.3	24.4	19.5	18.2	8.0	6.8	3.3	1.8	1.7	0.7
	GA	43.4		21.5%		22.3%		8.2%		3.3%		1.3%	
	Men/Wom	42.2	44.7	20.2	22.6	21.7	22.8	9.0	7.4	4.6	2.0	2.2	0.5
New York	Pop	48.7%		24.0%		15.6%		8.0%		2.7%		1.1%	
	Men/Wom	47.8	49.5	23.5	24.4	16.4	14.9	7.4	8.5	3.5	2.0	1.5%	0.7
	GA	44.3%		22.4%		18.6%		9.5%		3.8%		1.8	
	Men/Wom	43.3	45.4	22.8	21.9	19.4	17.8	8.1	10.9	4.7	2.8	1.4	1.0

Table 17: Employment by Gender: National, Regional, Pop & GA

			US	NE	MW	South	West
Popula-tion	**Men**	**Empld**	68.7 %	65.6 %	68.7 %	64.5 %	65.2 %
		Unempl d	3.1	4.2	3.3	3.7	4.5
	Women	**Empld**	55.9	53.6	57.4	52.6	53.3
		Unempl d	2.2	3.3	2.9	3.4	3.7
GA	**Men**	**Empld**	70.5	68.7	72.5	70.9	71.2
		Unempl d	3.0	3.1	2.7	2.6	3.4
	Women	**Empld**	57.6	55.9	58.4	57.8	59.4
		Unempl d	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.6

The table on employment rates of persons of Greek Ancestry shows that Greek Americans are more likely to be employed compared to the general population. This holds on the national as well as all the regional levels, and for both genders. Ethnicity here appears to be a very significant variable. On the national level, the employment rate for men in the general population is 68.7% compared to 70.5% for men of Greek Ancestry; Greek American men and women in the Midwest and the West have the highest rates of employment compared to the general population. Greek American women have higher rates of employment compared to women in the overall population and with the exception of the Midwest, also have higher rates of unemployment; this tells us that women of Greek Ancestry are more active in the

labor force than women in the general population (unemployment rates are measured only for those individuals who are currently not employed but are seeking employment.)

There are also however, gender variations. Both Greek American men and men in the general population have higher employment and unemployment rates compared to women (both of Greek Ancestry and the overall population), which means that men are more active in the labor force than women. Men of Greek Ancestry have higher employment and lower unemployment rates compared to men in the general population.

Regional variation appears once again. Women of Greek Ancestry have higher rates of employment and unemployment in the West, and men of Greek Ancestry in the Midwest have the highest employment rates of all groups/regions.

Table 18: Employment by Gender:
Conn, Mass, NJ, NY, Population & GA

			Conn	Mass	NJ	NY
Popula-tion	**Men**	Employed	68.8%	69.0 %	67.3 %	62.6 %
		Unempld	4.0	3.4	4.1	4.8
	Women	Employed	57.3	57.8	54.0	51.2
		Unempld	3.0	2.6	3.4	3.9
GA	**Men**	Employed	75.1 %	69.3 %	71.3 %	66.5 %
		Unempld	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.3
	Women	Employed	62.1	58.7	57.8	52.6
		Unempld	1.7	2.3	2.2	2.1

The table on employment by gender in the four selected Northeastern states shows us that both men and women of Greek Ancestry have higher employment rates compared to their counterparts in the overall population. Given both the employment and unemployment rates, we can argue that persons of Greek Ancestry have higher rates of labor force participation compared to the overall population. Greek American men in Connecticut have the highest employment rate of all groups in the table, and Greek American women in Connecticut similarly have the highest employment rates of women in the table.

The table on occupation shows that persons of Greek Ancestry are found in the major occupational categories of Managerial/Professional, Sales & Office, Construction, Production and Transportation. Food preparation was also examined because of the role that this industry has played in Greek immigrants' economic integration in the U.S. The percentage of Greek Americans in Managerial and Professional occupations is 9.3 percentage points higher compared to the general population on the national level; this discrepancy is the greatest in the South where 44.8% of persons of Greek Ancestry are in these occupations compared to 32.4% of the general population, a 12.4 percentage point difference. At the same time, there appears to be a significantly lower participation among Greek Americans in the Construction, Production and Transportation occupations compared to the general population, on both the national and all the regional levels. At the same time, while the percentages are lower, Greek Americans are more likely than the overall population to be

employed in Food Preparation occupations; this is especially so in the Northeast, where we find the greatest number and also percentage of Greek immigrants.

Table 19: Occupation: National, Regional,Population,GA

		Managerial/ Professional	Food Preparation	Sales & Office	Constr/ Prod/ Trans
U.S.	Pop	33.6 %	4.8 %	26.7 %	24.0 %
	GA	42.9	6.8	27.3	15.7
NE	Pop	36.5	4.6	27.0	21.0
	GA	43.1	8.0	26.5	15.8
MW	Pop	32.1	5.0	26.3	26.6
	GA	39.8	6.8	27.7	18.4
South	Pop	32.4	4.7	26.7	25.5
	GA	44.8	6.4	27.1	14.4
West	Pop	34.8	5.0	26.8	21.7
	GA	44.1	5.1	28.6	14.1

Table 20: Occupation: Conn, Mass, NJ, NY, Population & GA

		Managerial/ Professional	**Food Preparation**	**Sales & Office**	**Constr/ Prod/ Trans**
Conn	**Pop**	39.1 %	4.1 %	26.5 %	20.0 %
	GA	48.6	8.6	23.7	12.1
Mass	**Pop**	41.1	4.5	25.9	18.8
	GA	43.5	8.0	27.1	14.6
NJ	**Pop**	38.0	3.9	28.5	19.8
	GA	42.4	8.3	28.4	15.0
NY	**Pop**	36.7	4.5	27.1	19.3
	GA	43.8	7.2	26.1	16.7

The occupation table for the four selected Northeastern states shows us Greek Americans' distribution in the same occupational sectors as the previous tables. Once again, we see that Greek Americans are more likely to be in managerial and professional occupations compared to the overall population, less likely to be in the Construction, Production and Transportation occupations and more likely to be in Food Preparation occupations. Persons of Greek Ancestry in Connecticut are much more likely to be in managerial or professional occupations compared to the general population, with a 9.5 percentage point difference. It appears that Food Preparation is still an important occupation among persons of Greek

ancestry in all four states since this group is much more likely to be employed in Food Preparation than the overall population.

Conclusion:

Greek immigrants and Greek Americans are structurally integrated into American institutions in advantaged positions. Greek American men score higher on all socioeconomic variables as well as variables used to indicate structural assimilation. Greek American women similarly score higher on these variables than women in the overall population but lower than the men in the overall population. There is also regional and state variation among both the overall population and persons of Greek Ancestry so that on the one hand, the Greek Americans' ethnicity provides them with a buffer and an advantage but gender and regional and local labor market and other institutions interweave and structure Greek Americans' experiences and integration into American society.

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Chapter 5

Immigrant Banking and the Sale of Shipping Tickets at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

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Introduction: ethnic banking past and present

To date, business history has focused a lot more on big business managerial corporations than on smaller entrepreneurial firms. Yet, in the case of major passenger shipping companies this big business only attained its scale as a result of the network of many smaller entrepreneurs supplying passengers to the shipping companies (Boyce, 1995, 3). As the competition for the North-Atlantic migrant transport market intensified throughout the 19th Century, the network of migrant agents spread on both sides of the Atlantic.

The growing influx of newcomers into the US strengthened the chain migration patterns, increasing the number of migrants crossing the Atlantic with the assistance of people who preceded them. The concentration of migrants in ethnic communities generated demands for specific products and services which created opportunities for uniquely qualified immigrant entrepreneurs to fill these (Massy, 2000, 39; Hoerder, 2002, 17). Of crucial importance for these entrepreneurs were basic banking services and the sale of ocean passage tickets; both prepaid tickets for friends and family to join or return tickets back home. The importance of the American market of prepaid and return tickets depended on the motives for departure and ethnic background. Jews for instance showed high percentages of prepaid tickets but much lower return rates than Italians, Hungarians or Greeks. At the turn of the century an estimated 30% of the European migrants travelled on prepaid tickets while the returns amounted to 30% of the total arrivals (Dillingham Commission Reports, 1911 vol. 3, p 359-363; Gould, 1979, 609). The ethnic diversity of these arrivals, and consequently of immigrant entrepreneurs, increased as the migration fever spread to Southern and Eastern Europe. Yet, as Delheim noted the role of ethnicity has received limited attention despite its influence on business activities and the formation of the American business community (Delheim, 2004, 229-231).

1. This influence was and still is omnipresent in the banking business. Ethnic ties played an important role for newcomers who often found in immigrant bankers emissaries '*to America within America*'. The phenomenon of immigrant banks has been largely overlooked by historians, as noted by Day; the first to present a systematic cross-ethnic analysis describing the general features of these financial institutions (Day, 2002, 77-78).[1] Migrants using short term deposits as part of their migration strategies represented a large segment of the saving banks' initial *clientèle* (Wadhwani, 2002, 43). But because migrant entrepreneurs were often kept from playing an active role in local banks managed by natives, they opened their own. Sharing the same background helped them considerably in earning the trust and goodwill of migrants (Bodnar, 1985, 131-132).
2.

Ethnic banking is still in vogue today. Some scholars have observed the growing phenomenon of ethnic banking; how on a micro level modern banks use culture and ethnicity for both client orientation and market differentiation. For instance, the Spanish-American community has become a very competitive market for banks in the US offering specialized

[1] For an overview on the sparse historiography about immigrant banks see: (Day, 2002, 65).

services in which ethnic ties provide a strategic advantage. Language is crucial (Heiss and Armstrong, 2007, 1-3). Yet what is true today was even more so a century ago. Immigrant banks mushroomed as transatlantic migration became less permanent and savings became the primary goal of the move (Hourwich, 1911, 632; Piore, 1979, 56; Wyman, 1993, 59). The private banks, of various scales, spread nationwide wherever migrant communities established themselves. Banking generally only represented a part of their commerce and often entrepreneurs in small towns rolled in the business rather accidentally through other activities. The lack of legislation regulating these 'unincorporated banks' prior to 1914 enhanced their rapid dissemination. In 1897, there were 2625 official immigrant savings banks spread over 146 American cities. New York City showed the highest concentration of these (Cinel, 1991, 31; Gerber, 2006, 237). To these, numerous unofficial ones must be added.

Language skills and specialized services, especially administrative ones, allowed immigrant bankers to tie certain ethnic *clientèle*. Especially the first generation migrants greatly depended on close and personal relations before entrusting their hard earned savings. As the market expanded, the American bankers tried to get their hands on the business by investing in the foreign departments of their banks to provide similar services, something American banks are rediscovering today. Indispensable facets of immigrant banking business consisted of money transfers or other means to send back remittances and the sale of ocean passage tickets. The former is still an important facet of ethnic banking, today the latter is not, at least not yet (Heiss and Armstrong, 2007, 10-11; Born, 1977, 176; Dillingham Commission Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 203-355).

Immigrant bankers represent a key link in the migration process, connecting the individual migrant to shipping companies and national authorities. They are the middlemen on, what Hoerder labelled the meso-level of mediating networks and interacting segments linking individuals to world-systems (Hoerder, 1996, 84). The management of local markets through a multi-ethnic migrant agent network constituted a challenging endeavour for maritime enterprise where, as Boyce underlined, social and cultural affiliation had always played an important role in generating mutual trust between principals and agents (Boyce, 2001, 4-5). Based on the Dillingham Reports and the archives of the Holland America Line (HAL), managing a service between Rotterdam and New York this article will sketch a profile of these bankers, discuss their services rendered and their advertisement strategies followed by the various pressures they suffered at the turn of the century.

The role of the 'American' Immigrant banker/Migrant agent in the migration process

Profile

Due to lack of first hand material from immigrant banks the research of Day has been constricted to the use of volume 37 of the Dillingham Reports.[2] To test these findings the reports of the Dillingham Commission are complemented with the archives of the Holland America Line (HAL). The well established Dutch shipping company formed part of the North Atlantic Passenger Conference, a cartel that pretty much controlled the market and tried to regulate the network of agents representing them.[3] As setting prices for ocean passage

[2] The Dillingham Commission, named after the senator heading the congressional committee investigating the issue of immigration, was established in 1907 and published an extensive 41-volume report in 1911.

[3] The HAL was founded in 1873 and initially attracted passengers from its home country, Germany and Switzerland. As the migration fever spread further east, the bulk of their customers came from Russia and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Together with the North German Lloyd, Hamburg America Line and Red Star Line, the HAL founded the Continental Conference to regulate the competition for the continental traffic in 1885. In subsequent years the conference developed and expanded to include an agreement pooling the traffic between the members and conclude parallel arrangements with the British and Mediterranean Lines to regulate the whole North Atlantic traffic in

depended largely on the control of the conference members over the migrant agents and while the latter depended largely on obtaining the agency for the passenger lines to establish themselves as immigrant entrepreneurs, this source provides new insights (Feys, 2008).

For this article, the sporadic reports on the migrant agent-network by the so-called travellers of the HAL are especially relevant. Shipping companies appointed these 'travellers' to promote the line among the agents. They also controlled whether migrant agents observed the conference rules imposed by the shipping companies and if the HAL received a fair share of their business. Travellers pressured the agents that failed to produce satisfying results to increase their bookings or to replace them by other agents. Their reports also served to evaluate the local market conditions and future business perspectives. Whenever possible, travellers also tried to encourage migration directly. For instance, when strikes broke out in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, Henry Schleissner travelled to the area to ensure bookings for the HAL. Or, when visiting the Dutch colonies in California, the HAL traveller tried to stimulate the residents to write home to convince people to follow in their footsteps.[4]

The reports of these travellers allow for refining the activities and profile of immigrant bankers as outlined by the Dillingham Commission. The Commission's conclusions were influenced by the economic crisis of 1907 and by the nativists' prejudices towards the new wave of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. The commission described immigrant-banks, which were predominantly located in new immigrant communities, as follows:

> "These banks bear little resemblance to regular banking institutions. They are without real capital have little or no legal responsibility, and for the most part are entirely without legal control. Immigrant bankers, as a rule, are also steamship-ticket agents, and usually conduct some other business as well. Consequently the "banks" are, for the most part, located in groceries, saloons, or other establishments which are natural gathering places for immigrants.
> Besides handling the savings of his patrons, the immigrant banker performs for them many necessary services. He writes their letters receives their mail and is their general adviser in what to them are important affairs. The ability and willingness of the banker to render such services naturally gives him an advantage over regular banking institutions, which would not, and, in fact, could not, attend to such matters. In this way immigrant banks and immigrant bankers are important factors in the life of the newer immigrants (Report of Dillingham Commission, 1911, vol. 37, 204)."

According to the Dillingham Commission, the predominant feature of the immigrant banking consisted of its interdependency with selling steamship tickets. Of the 116 banks the Commission investigated, 94% combined both. Migrants trusted their money with steamship-agents with the same ethnic background, representing well known lines rather than American banking institutions. They did this for safekeeping rather than investments, not expecting any interests on it. Because of this, trust steamship agents quickly accumulated capital and developed banking functions. The steamship agency was the most general antecedent of the immigrant bank. Providing banking services allowed most agents to quickly expand their business.[5]

1895. It grew out to twelve separate agreements between 30 lines which weathered some severe pressures to only fall apart with the outbreak of WWI (Murken, 1922).

[4] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 221-226, Letters November 26 1897, May 22 1902.

[5] For instance, in Youngstown Ohio, a leading iron and steel centre one of the five HAL agents in the city G. Hamory managed to rapidly increase his business by adding a savings department to his steamship ticket office. GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 72-77 Letter October 18 1906.

The Dillingham Commission described these representatives as, intelligent men possessing considerable influence in immigrant communities, that with their good command of English could provide essential services to newly arrived, illiterate immigrants. Involvement in the local church or ethnic societies of all sorts increased their prestige in the community.[6] Sharing ethnic ties with patrons was essential. Sometimes these ties needed to go as far back as the province of origin, yet most bankers' potential to draw clients depended on their language skills. Compatriots represented the easiest targets but the longer the banker stayed in business, the easier it became to break through ethnic barriers. The location of the office in official buildings for instance helped with this.[7] Also, the longer the immigrant remained in the US, the less importance one attached to ethnic ties.

Besides ocean passage sales and migrant banking the majority of these entrepreneurs also carried out some other type of related business. Out of a sample taken, banks combined one or more of the following; notaries office (40), real estate, rental, insurance and collecting agencies (27), saloon keepers (21), grocers, butchers, and fruit vendors (14), labor agencies (13), book, jewellery and foreign novelty stores (12); postal substations (11), general merchants (9), boarding bosses (8), wholesalers and importers (7), barbers (2), printers (2), pool-room keepers (2), furniture dealer (1) and one undertaker.

Eighty percent of these banks were not only privately, but also individually and locally, owned. Only a dozen New York banks had branches in the interior. Others rarely did, except in some cases, but always in the vicinity of the main office. The Commission underlined that the conference rules restricting the agents' sale of steamship tickets to the office he had been appointed to, limited the propagation of branch offices. The reason for the shipping cartel to impose such restriction was twofold; firstly because unrestricted competition between the agents created instability among the conference members leading to continuous price cuts, and secondly shipping companies wanted to limit their growth because of the strong influence these agents had on the market, and hence to prevent them from becoming too powerful.

The Commission classified the immigrant banks into three types. The first, a minority, consisted of state incorporated banks, highly organized and thoroughly responsible. Second, the majority investigated by the commission were steamship, labor and real estate agencies advertising banking services without legal authorization. A third predominant type consisted of grocers, saloon keepers, boarding bosses etc. for whom banking activities were incidental and conducted in a very irresponsible way. In some cases these classes overlapped somewhat (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 206-214, 222-226). What the Commission did not underline is that most banks of the second and third category were run as a family business. Sons, daughters and women played an important role assisting in, or even managing, the business.[8]

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[6] A young lawyer, Frank Burszynski owed his appointment as a HAL agent because of his presidency of several Polish societies and his recent election as member of the Polish Assembly of his district in Buffalo. A. Rusin thanked his appointment in Syracus,e being the brother of and living together with the priest of the Polish Roman Catholic Church. Rusin claimed that 5,000 Poles were connected to the church which assured him a good base to draw from. Sometimes the link was even more direct as the appointment of V. Alexand, a Russian priest of the local church in Ansonia illustrates. *Ibid*. Letter November 2 1906 February 9 1909.

[7] The HAL agents Westerhoff and Peolstra who controlled the Dutch business in Patterson, New Jersey reported that the opening of a branch office in the Post Office building of the city allowed them to establish contacts with Poles and Russians. Apparently, they sold twelve tickets to Poles, the beginning of promising prospects. *Ibid*. Letter July 29 1910.

[8] Agent Rainke of Frankford was hardly at home, leaving the business to his wife. After the death of Mr. Roth of Roth, Firestone & Co in Mckeesport, his sons and son-in-law took over the business. J. Klauck, the biggest agent in Buffalo, was assisted by his son and two daughters. In the same city, the daughter of F. Grosky managed the business, yet when she remarried and left her parents, sales

The variety of services offered

Ocean passage sales and banking services

The system of ocean passage sales, through a hierarchic network of agents emanating from ports to inland points with market potential, dates back to the eighteenth century (Wokeck, 1998). As transatlantic migration turned into a mass movement during the first half of the nineteenth century this network differentiated, solidified and extended. Some shipping brokers at ports supplying shipowners with goods, specialized in the migrant trade. To fill the ships the brokers relied on a network of agents and sub- agents at the port of embarkation and inland to contract passengers on commission. During the age of sail the market remained very fragmented. The ascendancy of steam shipping led to market concentration as the rising costs greatly reduced the number of shipowners. These shipowners soon formed cartels, known as shipping conferences which intensified the horizontal concentration. Vertical integration followed as shipping companies took more and more aspects of the business into own hands, however they remained dependent on the network of migrant agents for the bulk of their third and second class ticket sales. (Feys, 2008).

Migrant agents earned a commission on each ticket sold and generally represented various shipping lines in order to generate enough business to make it worthwhile. Before the conclusion of conference agreement including nearly all the lines carrying passengers on the North Atlantic midway the 1890s ,the agents managed to play out the rivalry among the companies to increase this commission which was officially set at $2 to $3, yet through underhand extra commissions, this was often doubled and could reach up to $10 during rate wars. They also obtained other advantages allowing them to speculate and totally disrupt the market of prepaid tickets. The North Atlantic Conference Agreement significantly reduced the abuses and the earnings of the agents on the sale of ocean passage tickets. Yet, for most of these agents the commission was only a side-earning. Much more important than the direct profits derived from the sale was the prestige acquired by obtaining the agency of the conference lines and clients it attracted for their other business activities – especially banking (Feys, 2008).[9]

The four main banking services offered were deposits, loans, money exchange and remittances. Other than savings banks, only a minority of the immigrant banks paid interests on deposits. Patrons deposited the money for safekeeping, until enough was accumulated for a remittance or the purchase of a steamship ticket. Deposits were even for shorter terms than in savings banks. Migrants rarely left their money for longer than a year, three months being the average while $100 appeared to be the limit of accumulation of savings money.

Because of the lack of control on these banks often their bookkeeping practices remained basic while they could dispose of the money entrusted to them as they wished. The migrant enjoyed very little protection against abuses. As proof of his deposit, he usually only received a receipt. Immigrant bankers reinvested the money in their own business; redeposited it at 2 to 4 percent interest, with regular banks or invested in real estate and

rapidly decreased. Mrs. De Booy assured that all the Dutch business of the surroundings of Kenosha went through the HAL. Mrs Dejaegher of Moline, a small industrial centre for Agricultural supplies, dealt with Belgians. Finally traveller C. Van de Stadt named Mrs. J. Chemma as the best HAL-agent of South Chicago. *Ibid.* Letters September 28 October 18, November 2 1906, July 24, 30 1907 and April 4 1908.

[9] Before the shipping conferences, lines appointed agents at free will. Afterwards new agents had to be approved by the conference members. Only with the conclusion of the North Atlantic Passenger Conference did the lines manage to put an end to the expansion of the agent-network. The HAL numbered 1,400 American agents in 1884; reaching 2,000 in 1893 but declining to 1,700 in 1906 despite covering a bigger geographical area. *Ibid.* November 25 1893 and December 10 1906; GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 564, min, 930 August 10 1905.

stock. Nevertheless, banks claimed that all deposits were subject to immediate withdrawal on demand. This was usually done only when returning to Europe. When moving somewhere else in the US, migrants often continued using the same bank through correspondence. Therefore, New York bankers located at the main port of arrival found themselves in a privileged position to bind the newcomers to their business. Many migrants settled in New York State or remained there temporarily to earn some extra funds before moving elsewhere which explains the much higher concentration of immigrant banks in that state than any other.[10]

These unofficial financial institutions also offered loans. The most common form consisted in advancing the money for steamship tickets, and in a few cases for a remittance home or food supplies. The banker required no security for the transaction, it being of personal and private nature. Only the biggest banks made loans against an interest of 5 to 7 percent, but these were exceptional (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 237-258). Although the conference rules impeded the agents to issue tickets before receiving the full amount for it, the combination of ocean passage sales with banking business of most agents made it very difficult for shipping companies to check this practice. That some agents even openly advertised the sale of tickets on instalments indicates this. Especially on the Jewish market which was mostly in the hands of the New York East-side agents the sale of tickets on instalments through peddlers at rates that generally exceeded the price fixed by the conference members was very common. Not only did this infringe the conference rules threatening the fragile stability of the agent-network, but it also harmed the reputation of the companies which were often confronted with stranded passengers at the port of embarkation because agents cancelled their tickets when the amount due by the purchaser had not been paid. Despite the efforts of the shipping lines hiring detectives to expose abusers, the practice persisted. Only the bank crash of 1907 seemed to have curtailed the practice to some extent. Most of the money exchange business occurred in New York. Prepaid passengers exchanged their money before continuing their journey inland, while return passengers did not convert their dollars to another currency before reaching the port of departure. The keen competition for the market in which some shipping companies also took part had greatly reduced the profit margins on the exchanges (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 237-258).

For deposits, exchanges, ticket sales and loans, immigrant banks acted autonomously, yet for transmitting money to Europe, the most important transaction of their business, they relied on other institutions. A number of large banking houses in New York City dominated the remittance business because of their extended network of foreign correspondents, through which they offered immigrant banks ready facilities for transmission to small European towns. This way the small bank did not need to maintain balances or clearing reserves abroad. They provided immigrant banks with printed money-order forms, allowing them to use their name and reputation, yet without taking any responsibility for their actions, seeing them as mere correspondents, not as agents. The system used for prepaids also applied to money orders, consisting of a stub to be retained by the immigrant bank as a record, an advice or direction slip to be returned to the banking house, an advice slip to be sent to the payee, and a receipt for the purchaser. To attract this business, New York banking houses and some steamship companies involved in foreign exchange, advertised in newspapers, employed solicitors and sent circulars. The estimate of the Dillingham Commission for 1907 indicates the importance of this business. Migrants remitted approximately 275 million dollars to Europe, half of which went through immigrant banks. This amount equals 20 % of the net annual growth in the individual deposits in all American

[10] In New York State a special commission estimated their number around 1,000. Not including bankers, such as grocers, shopkeepers, barbers etc., the Dillingham Commission counted 575 immigrant banks in Illinois, 410 in Pennsylvania, 175 in Massachusetts, 150 in Ohio, 80 in New Jersey, 60 in Wisconsin, 65 in Connecticut, and approximately 50 in other states (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 213).

banks and trust companies combined for that same year. Banks involved earned a commission of anywhere between one to three percent (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 260-284; Wadhwani, 2002, 48).

The Dillingham Commission did not mention the names of their subjects of study but specified that an Italian shipping company also engaged in the money transfer market. Already during the 1890s some shipping lines launched themselves in the money transfer market. Less for financial gain, they used the market to counter the competition of migrant brokers, and as a marketing strategy to contact potential clients and to anticipate laws prohibiting the sale of prepaid tickets. Some migrants still preferred to transfer money rather than sending a prepaid ticket. By offering that possibility the lines hoped to influence their route along with doing the transfer. It may be a mere coincidence; however it is worthwhile to note that the average remittance in 1907 amounted to $35.18, approximately the equivalent amount of a steamship ticket.[11] The HAL also experimented with transfers during the 1890s yet quickly abandoned the project. The Vienna office of the company pushed re-entering that business in 1908 and 1914 as a means to increase the third-class business, yet New York strongly objected:

> "Opening a money transfer department would never become sufficiently important to compensate all the trouble and responsibility attached to it. We can't merely advise agents that we will accept money for transmission to addresses on the other side, but in view of the care, accuracy and promptness that the business requires we would have to establish a full-fledged money department. HAPAG some years ago maintained a money sending department for a time, but did away with it due to unsatisfactory results. The RSL still maintains such department more as a part of the IMM traveller cheques and money order branch, than as a typical RSL institution. The RSL have their money order business in the hands of most of their agents, and handle enough business to pay two experienced clerks employed constantly at the department. There is positively no financial profit in it, as the competition with other money order firms and the post offices, forces the exchange rate to the lowest level, while on the other hand, they run the additional risks if an agents remains in default or fails to lose the money not only for the outstanding tickets but also of the money orders. Yet, RSL does believe that it helps the business in a general way and the Antwerp offices cherishes the idea that it allows them to collect addresses, giving the opportunity to get in touch with them and secure whatever cash business, connected with it, but the sale of prepaids does not seem to profit from that. In regards to draw up a database with interesting addresses we could obtain this by having the purser collect these from all eastbound passengers whereto they are returning in Europe. But if you want us to experiment to increase the cash business on your side, more than willing to do so."[12]

This fragment illustrates the far-reaching connections between shipping and banking worlds. Despite the fierce competition of important New York banking houses, J.P Morgan's shipping merger, the International Mercantile Marine Co (IMM) managed to maintain its position on the money transfer market and this was to the great consternation of the American Express Company.[13] Not all lines agreed on the profitability and advantages of the system. That the IMM persisted sits well with the business philosophy of financers, who pursued vertical integration through direct marketing.

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[11] The average per nationality amounted to 28.5 dollars for Italians, Greeks 37, Hungarians 30, Hebrew 33, Poles 36, Croats 42 and Bulgarians 68 (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 277).

[12] GAR, HAL, 318.03 Passage Department, 168, Letter, April 2 1914.

[13] When made official in 1902, the enormity of Morgan's shipping combine came to light; it was valued at $170,000,000; it included American, Red Star, White Star, Atlantic Transport, Leyland and Dominion Line, and had concluded a profit sharing agreements with NGL, HAPAG and HAL.

Other services rendered

The variety of parallel business activities of immigrant bankers mentioned earlier reflects the number of extra services rendered to newcomers and explains why they attracted immigrants. Directly or indirectly immigrants often secured work through these banks on which they could rely for credit, when they were in-between jobs. Especially Greeks and Italians known for their '*padrone'* system combined immigrant banking with labor agencies, much more than Slavs and Jews (Day, 2002, 72). Many unskilled migrants filled seasonal occupations and needed to survive bleak periods. The agents were also an important link with the fatherland by managing the correspondence of their patrons. As legal advisers and notaries they assisted them in settling disputes and irregularities, both at home and in the US. He obtained all sorts of legal documents such as birth, death, marriage or leave of absences for military service certificates, settled wage, heritage and property issues, etc. For instance, when travelling through Pennsylvania, Henry Schleissner reported that agents frantically helped their patrons to obtain their naturalization papers before the more restrictive State laws went into effect.[14] Through shipping companies and the network of migrant agents on both sides of the Atlantic, the information on immigration and naturalization regulations quickly spread, allowing migrants to be very responsive to these.[15] Furthermore, these mediators often carried a line of novelty products from the home country which strongly appealed to the newcomers. Through the services, they developed a paternalistic attitude which was especially pronounced among boarding bosses (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 206-214, 222-226).

The newly arrived, working in industrial communities, usually relied on the 'boarding boss' system for accommodation. This group household offered washing, cooking and lodging for $2 to $3 a month. Willing to be crowded into a room, which only served for sleeping purposes, allowed them to reduce the cost per capita. Moreover, by buying food and preparing it in groups immigrants kept monthly living expenses below $15. The Commission analyzed the average annual wage of more than 22,000 immigrants, eighteen years of age or older, which amounted to $455 (Lauck, 1912, 207).[16] An unskilled newcomer, right off the boat earned less than this average of $38 a month, yet by denying himself many comforts thrifty migrants managed to save relatively quickly (Hourwich, 1911, 632-633). A Croatian boarding boss testified to the Commission that his boarders deposited $10 to $20 a month with him. A Bulgarian banker even mentions $30 (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 242, 316). As Eva Morawska showed at the turn of the century Southern and Eastern laborers managed to save 60 to 70 percent of their monthly earnings (Morawska, 1991, 280). In short, the migrant bankers tried to answer all the possible needs of migrants. The profits derived from these triggered a keen competition which resulted in various marketing strategies to attract and bind patrons

[14] GAR, HAL, 318.04 Passage Department, 72-77, Letter September 28, 1906.

[15] The responsiveness to migrant regulation and impact on chain migration patterns has been underlined by G. Jasso and M. Rosenzweig for later periods (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1987, 1212-1244).

[16] Lauck was a member of the Dillingham Commission. The collection of German migrant letters shows that boarding houses offered good housing alternatives for migrants seeking opportunities outside their family network throughout the nineteenth century. Prices for board and lodging are sparse but they do not indicate great fluctuations. In 1855, Martin Weitz paid 9 dollars for a German boarding house in Rockville, Ct. Matthias Dorgathen mentions 14 to 15 dollars in mine districts in 1881 (Kamphoefner, et. al., 1991, 344, 428). Abbott's estimates of unskilled laborers' daily wages in 1905 fluctuated between 1,37$ and 1,57$ in 1890 (Abbott. 1905, 358).

Advertisements

Advertising campaigns of all sorts of the Holland America Line mainly focused on promoting the cabin class passage.[17] These advertisements added prestige to the line, which indirectly positively influenced third-class bookings. Same goes for securing delegations attending transatlantic conferences and the organization of excursions on board of HAL-ships; like the Knights Templar or Magyar excursion; the Young Men's Christian Association conference in Basel; the Americanists conference in New York, etc.[18] These excursions and conferences received attention in the press giving the company extra publicity and contributed in building a reputation among certain target groups. Schleissner reported that the daily articles on the Magyar excursion published by Mr Kohany, HAL-agent and editor of the *Szabadsag*, some of which were taken over by the Austrian-Hungarian press in Europe, greatly contributed to the increase in popularity of the line among the Hungarian community.[19]

The company only promoted steerage passage explicitly on rare occasions for limited time periods and specific market segments, usually linked to ethnic groups. For instance, to counter the attacks of the insubordinate migrant agent Frank Zotti targeting the South Austrian market, HAL advertised in the American foreign language newspapers reaching the ethnic groups from this region. Or when new shipping companies tried to penetrate the market, such as the Russian Volunteer targeting Russian Jews in particular, HAL placed ads in the four biggest New York Hebrew dailies. Furthermore, the conference agreements between the lines regulated the ads in the foreign language press to neutralize excessive campaigns caused by competition. The members handed a list of the papers they advertised to the secretary. Any line could freely advertise in any of these papers. If they wanted to enlarge the list, the secretary needed to be informed. When one company published in a certain paper, others usually followed – especially if the owner also acted as migrant agent for the lines. This way of creating goodwill with agents to favor bookings for a certain line was a hidden form of extra commission which the conference agreements tried neutralize. In 1908, it was decided that; "*no lines should advertise in any publication of any sort published directly or indirectly by agents*."[20] The rules also stipulated that papers attacking a line would lose support from all the members.

Generally migrant brokers and agents took responsibility for advertising their business, including the sales of passage tickets and the steamship lines they represented. Steamship lines provided the agents with handbooks, illustrated publications, pocket books, agenda's, show-cards, posters, steel plates, pamphlets, guides, almanacs, time and rate sheets, etc. Up to 1907, HAL directors still printed most of these materials in various languages in Rotterdam, despite the repeated requests of the New York head-agent to give him *carte blanche* on these matters. If migrant agents advertised through means other than the materials provided such as newspaper ads, they did this at their own cost. Most agents did and also printed their own booklets, rate sheets etc. Conference rules stipulated that agents

[17] Same goes for other companies. M. Merck, director of the HAPAG (1896-1919) recalled in his memoirs that Ballin attached enormous importance to advertising. He established a 'literary department' led by K. Thiess and K. Himer who constantly provided the German and foreign press with praising articles about the company. According to Merck you couldn't open a German newspaper without bumping into HAPAG somewhere before WWI. They also designed brochures. The rest of advertising material, ranging from rate sheets, posters, pamphlets etc, were looked after by a separate printing office. Hamburg Staatsarchiv, HAPAG, 622-1, Erinnerungen Merck.

[18] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 72-77 and 221-226, Letters, November 2 1897; January 14 1898; April 24 1902; May 15 1906.

[19] *Ibid.* Letter ,October 26 1906.

[20] GAR, HAL, 318.03, Passage Department, 49-58, Letter, April 4 1912.

could not make any comparisons between the lines in their ads. Also, when advertising, all the names of the lines represented needed to be included (Stevens, 1914, 125).[21]
The fact that many agents also published their own newspaper, did not escape the attention of the Dillingham Commission. They strongly opposed the combination of banks, employment and steamship agencies with foreign language press, accusing the banks of using the newspapers to delay the Americanization process in order to protect their source of income. According to the Commission, the advertisements aimed at stimulating migration by underlining favorable labor conditions and offering to advance the money for the ocean passage. One ad required only $3 of an advance payment. Agents also sent mailing packages of printed matter to their regular and prospective customers containing the following: a general paternalist circular offering free advice in all matters to gain confidence of countrymen, a second circular explaining how to transfer money back home through the bank, a third including a money-forwarding rate list, an address book to fill out the names and addresses of countrymen living in his locality, transmission slips for deposits and withdrawals, post-office money-order application blanks, business cards, a steamship-ticket poster, a sailing list, return addressed cards and envelopes.[22] Their offices were decorated with numerous posters of steamship lines, even if they did not represent them, to attract the clients for other businesses (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 228-231).

This way of advertising through correspondence helps in explaining how 95 percent of the bookings occurred through Chicago, Boston and New York. With this form of direct marketing, keeping address lists of former and potential clients was of capital importance for migrant agents. The Hungarian agents Lengyel, Kraus & Company which only obtained the agency of the conference lines for a brief moment had a list of at least 10,000 such clients. We can only guess as to how big the lists of well-established conference agents were. Spreading little address books was one way of enlarging the list, but surely newspapers acquired through subscription also greatly helped. The importance is illustrated by the reluctance of HAL to appoint the Olin Brothers as conference agents in their fight against the Uranium Line, a Rotterdam based company which was trying to muscle its way into the market. The agents were cousins of the conference agent, A. Mandel, who gave them training in banking and passage business. Yet, they left on the first possible opportunity with his address lists through which they artificially accumulated business to the detriment of Mandel. HAL decided to stay loyal to Mandel, who had given the line on average $50,000 worth of business annually, over a decade. Along with the use of peddlers and runners, sending circulars based on a meticulously well-kept database of potential clients represented the two most important ways for migrant agents to attract customers.[23]

The increasing pressures on immigrant banks

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[21] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 564, min. 598, October 4 1900 and GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 72-77, Letter, December 7, 10 1906.

[22] HAL started doing this directly on a large scale for their cabin business in January 1907. Besides newspaper ads, the Dutch Line sent 12,000 special individual circulars which included the first cabin rates and sailings to selected physicians, college professors, art teachers, school teachers and principals receiving good incomes, artists, selected dress makers, milliners, and wealthy subordinates in Connecticut, New Jersey and New York States. Furthermore, approximately 10,000 circulars in German addressed to selected German tradesmen covering greater New York and Jersey towns were sent, enclosing second cabin pamphlets with rates and sailings. In addition, they distributed 5,000 ones in Chicago, 7,500 in Boston, 2,500 in San Francisco and 5,000 in St. Louis and Kansas. In the meantime, they had also started printing their own 'Holland America Line Monthly' for the same purposes with apparent success. GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 72-77, Letter, December 13 1906.

[23] *Ibid.* Letter, June 15 1911. An investigation into the runners and peddlers in New York State estimated their number at *probably* 5,000 to 6,000 and *at least* 3, 000 (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 228).

The elaboration of foreign departments of commercial banks and trusts

Before the rise of immigrant banks, migrants turned to American saving banks and contributed to their rapid growth during the nineteenth century. Research showed that fifty percent of the new accounts at the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society were opened by foreign-born, who at the same time represented a much smaller proportion of the city population. But, the financial institution did not fully value these new clients, at first, especially because of the way they used their accounts. Migrants opened accounts for short term target accumulation as part of their migration strategy, either moving elsewhere in the US or returning home. For the increasingly mobile migrant community, these accounts met their liquidity needs. Migrants used to undertake more transactions and closed their account more rapidly than natives. Among the various ethnicities, new migrants from eastern and southern Europe built up their balances and closed their account more quickly than the old-stock migrants.

With a few exceptions, savings institutions were generally hostile to short-term saving depositors. Partly due to legal constraints, these banks reinvested in long term placements. Short term migrant-deposit accounts, which could be demanded on short notice, threatened the stability of the institutions. The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society's attempts to change migrants' use of their accounts proved unsuccessful. As it was also necessary to undertake a lot of paperwork in return for small earnings, savings banks made no special efforts to attract migrants and often were unwelcoming and unaccommodating. They did little to invest in language skills and did not provide special assistance which migrants required (Dillingham Reports, vol 37, 1911, 215-216; Alter et al, 1994, 735-767; Wadhwani, 2002, 46-62). Therefore, migrants predominantly turned to the immigrant banks which were much more accessible, familiar and offered assistance with most of their basic needs.

As immigrant banks thrived, American financial institutions started to regret this negligence. As the reports of the HAL travellers confirm, a growing number of American trusts, commercial and savings banks started targeting migrants at the turn of the century. They opened foreign departments staffed by managers and clerks from the targeted ethnic clienteles. The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society, for instance, started off by hiring a clerk assisting migrants with their money transfers overseas. By 1916, it ran a foreign department with clerks able to assist migrants in fifteen different languages. It adapted their investment policies on a more short term basis to meet with the demands of this market (Day, 2002, 70; DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 316; Wadhwani, 2002, 60-61).

Their efforts concentrated in big cities and industrial centres, whereas in rural areas immigrant banks retained their position. For example, in Newcastle where the tin plate industry employed 8,000 men at an average wage of $1.9 a day, the Lawrence Savings & Trust Company acted as HAL agents. As the factories still needed more workers, the foreign department asked for extra copies of the HAL third-class pamphlet, which they found very useful to increase their sales.[24] Yet, the sales of ocean passage did not only attract the lower class of immigrant laborers, but also the booming travelling public of Americans and 'old-stock' migrants. The names of the steamship-agents in Cincinnati illustrate both the growing importance of bigger banks in the business and that ethnic identification remained important for well established migrant communities. Traveller C. Van de Stadt labelled it as a 'German City' where steamship business was entirely in the hands of the banks' foreign offices. The First National Bank, German National Bank, Western German Bank, Atlas National Bank and Brightson German Bank strongly competed for the cabin-class passengers, even organizing their own excursions.[25]

[24] *Ibid.* Letter, October 18 1906.
[25] *Ibid.* Letter, October 26 1906, June 5 1909.

The Dillingham Commission also documented this evolution pointing to Pittsburgh where national and state banks had absorbed the immigrant bank's business in less than a decade. Their foreign departments were primarily directed to the sale of steamship tickets and handling of remittances. Their aggressive marketing strategies included advertising in foreign newspapers; sending broadcast circulars, pamphlets; all printed in different languages; the employment of solicitors travelling the country; and the opening of branch offices. All these measures contributed to their rapid ascendancy (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 219-220).

Traveller Nyland stated that First National Bank in Pittsburgh had a foreign department with a working force of about 40 people. It quickly positioned itself as the most important factor for steamship business in that city, controlling sixty percent of the first-class business.[26] This illustrates how serious American banks became about acquiring the business. It explains why some banks' foreign departments, like the Provident Savings Bank and Trust Company founded in 1902 developed into one of the largest American travelling agencies still operating as a subsidiary of the bank in the 1970s and selling trips worldwide up to this date (Born, 1977, 178).

Yet, national banks' dependency on the goodwill of the steamship companies to obtain their agencies put them in a weak position. As the manager of the foreign department of a leading banking house declared at the Dillingham Commission:

> "The steamship and immigrant banking business are almost inseparable. As a matter of fact, the sale of foreign exchange follows upon the establishment of a steamship agency and rarely comes before. In view of this important relation it would appear that the steamship companies are entirely too free in the manner in which they establish agencies. A public suggestion to that effect might be a healthy one (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 318)."

Being part of their vertical integration strategy, the companies experimented with opening an increasing number of own offices while reducing the number of agents. Therefore, most applicants even prestigious ones, such as the American Express Company, were refused the agency of the conference lines. The company had managed to obtain the concession to do all the money transfers from Ellis Island ,yet it is likely that JP Morgan used the IMM to obstruct the further ascendancy of a rival. Subsequently, American Express lobbied in Albany to convince New York State representatives of withdrawing the right of steamship companies to draw money orders, drafts and sign out traveller-cheques.[27] If they were unable to get their hands on the ocean passage sales, then it would prevent the lines of getting theirs on banking business. Yet the efforts remained unsuccessful and authorities could not be convinced to interfere with the shipping line's freedom to appoint agents.

More successful were the lobby campaigns of American banks with foreign departments urging for strict regulations of immigrant banks to enable them to move in the market more rapidly.

Legislation

What really stands out regarding the legislation regulating American ocean passage sales and immigrant banking is the lack thereof. European countries directly involved in the first wave of mass migration had passed laws to control the expansion and activities of the agent-network by the time steamship companies took over the migrant transport market from

[26] GAR, HAL, 318.03 Passage Department, 97, Letter, February 21 1913.

[27] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 564, min 615, March 9 1901; 72-77, Letter, July 1 1908 and GAR, HAL, 318.03, Passage Department, 48-59, Letters, September 19, October 18 1912 and March 7 1913.

sailing ships. As the migration fever spread, other European countries soon followed suit imposing nationality and residency restrictions, the need to obtain concessions from authorities which were reviewed annually and required high security bonds. Generally speaking, the European laws regarding migrant transport were as much a means to protect migrants from abuses as a means to direct migrants to national ports and companies using the flow to stimulate the merchant marine (Feys, 2008).

Surprisingly American authorities failed to do so. The predominantly foreign shipping companies involved preferred to leave sleeping dogs lie and take matters in their own hands. After the conclusion of the North Atlantic Passenger Conference, the lines started to impose bonds on their New York agents, a practice which later extended to other states. When American banks started to take an interest in the immigrant clientele, did some states start to give the matter some consideration, yet it was the panic of 1907/8 that exposed the weaknesses of the system of immigrant banking and the need for legislation. Escaping any legal supervision, most immigrant banks started out without much capital and maintained little reserve. Without restrictions on how to reinvest the money, a lot of bankers found themselves unable to meet the liquidity demands of the great number of people jointly withdrawing their deposits. A lot of the bankers did not hold out and many others absconded; while no laws existed which prevented them from doing this. The panic demonstrated that the speculative banks' assets fell largely short of their liabilities. The New York head-agent of HAL, Adrian Gips reported that, especially the Jewish banks on the Eastside and in Brooklyn crashed, some of which he did not expect to. As the Line had developed the habit of holding their agents under bond and only handing out books of five or ten steamship tickets at a time, they were covered for losses.[28]

The immigrants, on the contrary, had no protection. The Commission underlined that most of the immigrant banks were honestly conducted and pointed to the fact the better managed ones continued to lend out money during the panic, while American Banks no longer could. Yet, the lack of any legal base to support the whole system made it impossible for the migrant to pin down the responsibility on someone in case of abuses while the situation of 1907/08 and subsequent failures showed the urgent need to regulate the business, according to the Dillingham Commission (DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 248, 305-314).

In many states, laws regulating private banking existed, although nearly all lacked the means to implement them. Only New Jersey (1907), Massachusetts (1905), New York (1907) and Ohio (1908) passed laws specifically for immigrant banking.[29] They proved effective in the first two states, but not so in the last two which failed to include measures for supervision. In general, they stipulated that if steamships or labor agents still wanted to combine their business with banking they needed to obtain a certificate from the authorities and file a bond up to $20,000. The bond needed to be executed by two sureties, owners of real estate. The four states set fines for people doing banking business in violation of these laws. Out of fear of harming the American private banking interests, authorities were reluctant to pass a more restrictive and effective system.

The crisis of this time eventually convinced the last sceptical group, the New Yorkers, to follow the Dillingham Commission's advice. It recommended: (1) to collect a fee for licenses only to be issued after a control of the banking books and proof of property ownership of certain value, (2) a guarantee in cash to be deposited with the State, (3) frequent

[28] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 72-77 and 221-226, Letters, September 10 1897; March 10 1908.

[29] Surprisingly the Commission forgot to mention Connecticut. The State passed a law requiring agents handling money orders to place a bond of $10,000. It forced some agents like Herman Baurer of Union City both out of the money order and steamship ticket business. *Ibid.* Letter, February 9 1908.

examination of the books and (4) requiring the maintenance a certain percentage of the money received in reserve. With the amendment of the statute of Private Banking on May 23 1910 only banks meeting these requirements could label themselves as such. Simultaneously, the state amended the Wells laws of 1907, regulating ticket agents requiring licenses to sell ‘transportation tickets or orders for transportation to or from foreign countries’. This license needed to be obtained annually from the comptroller, upon proof of good moral character, for a fee $25. A surety bond of $1,000 to $2,000 needed to be filed. When found guilty of fraud, misrepresentation or failing to account for any moneys paid in connection with the sale of tickets, or orders for transportation by steamship, the comptroller could revoke the license. People doing such business without a license were guilty of a misdemeanour. Pennsylvania soon followed suit (Day, 2002, 75; DC Reports, 1911, vol. 37, 317-333, 349-357).[30]

Seventy five years after impositions regulating migrant agents and brokers began being introduced in Europe, American authorities undertook a similar initiative. The need to regulate the banking business, which had developed around the sales of ocean passage, led to the passage of these laws. Steamship companies welcomed the authorities’ support, increasing the supervision on their sales without using these to give competitive advantages to national lines.[31] Why it took so long for a country, which even during the 1840s pressured European governments to prevent abuses on the sales of steamship and American railroad tickets, to effectively regulate ticket sales at home is remarkable. The abuses were not really affecting nationals and the lack of pressure from the predominantly foreign business interests involved certainly played a role; yet further research is needed to explain the lacunae.

The imposition of bonds made it harder for smaller agents to remain in the business, driving it into arms of the bigger concerns. But, sometimes these laws backfired against the American Financial institutions. After the passing of new laws in Pennsylvania, the First National Bank was forced to close its doors because of a misinterpretation of the valuation for securities, assets and reserves. To their great surprise the steamship lines saw their market leader in this region disappear. Yet, most of the outstanding business was already covered and they immediately appointed Mr. Rovensky, manager of the steamship department in the failed bank, who with his chief assistant W. Frank and W. McCormick had at once entered into a partnership under the name The National Steamship Agency of Pittsburgh. They swiftly moved up in the market by continuing the passenger business of their former employer and taking care of all bookings made by the First National Bank. The laws affected the agents – but not the shipping companies – and strengthened their position.

Joint Ticket Offices

To put an end to the numerous abuses, midway through the 1890s, the shipping companies had tried to cut out the middlemen by restricting the sale of ocean passage tickets in New York to the offices of the shipping companies. The drastic measure of vertical integration glamorously failed yet it underscored the desire of the lines to concentrate the business. To do so, they continued opening new company offices in the biggest cities and key transit points on both sides of the Atlantic during the following decades.[32] As the collaboration between the companies improved, an increasing number of lines decided to rationalize by merging their offices to reduce the costs. When opening new offices at key locations companies partly recouped the extra costs by increasing the direct bookings for steerage and cabin passengers. If established in cities where a general agent managed the business,

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[30] *Ibid.* Letters, December 6 and 12 1911 and NYT “Immigrants’ Savings” May 26 1910.
[31] *Ibid.* Letter, August 30 1907.
[32] For example, in Amsterdam, Leipzig, Paris, Vienna in Europe, and Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Minneapolis, San Francisco and New Orleans in the US.

the company took over his tasks which consisted in coordinating the agent-network in the area in exchange for $1 commission on each ticket sold in the area. Such agents were the only ones who were bound by exclusivity of sales.[33] Smaller companies, such as HAL, trailed the bigger companies in doing this. Yet, the opening of new offices of rival lines created opportunities to hire the former general agents of competitors who were forced to take a step down. Often having a wider network of sub-agents than the general agents of HAL, and keen to retain as much business as possible, these new general agents proved to be an asset to HAL. In Boston, for instance, they hired F. Houghton & Company a general agent for the New England states. The former general agents of the Red Star Line and White Star Line were relegated to regular agents, when the IMM decided to have only one representative for both the RSL and American Line in the area. He received the same financial responsibilities as Thomas Cook & Son (San Francisco) and Bartlett Catrow (Philadelphia). He received $2 per cabin and $1 per steerage passenger booked in his area. HAL transferred an annual contribution of $500 for advertisements, telegram, postage and other expenses.

However, not all general passenger agents received the same conditions. The foreign department of the International Bank in Saint Louis received 2.5 percent commission on first-class tickets, $1.5 on second-cabin and one $1 on third-class. HAL gave them $100 for expenses. The Dutch Line, however, mistrusted the bank and looked for a substitute. Van den Toorn suggested appointing R. Bain, the general agent of the WSL and representative of Thomas Cook. The business of the WSL was not in conflict with that of HAL and the collaboration with a first-class steamship line would add to the company's prestige. At a meeting in New York, Van den Toorn reached an agreement with Bruce Ismay, the manager of the line who welcomed the opportunity to reduce the costs of the office adding up to $8,000 a year. Cook covered $1,000, HAL $1,500 and WSL the rest – including the general passenger agent's commission. The Dutch Line budgeted $350 for advertising expenses. Van den Toorn hoped to appoint many WSL sub-agents for HAL in the region including Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. Frequent visits of HAL-travelers were planned to stimulate the agents in these states. Moreover, the collaboration offered the opportunity to start business in the unexploited Indian territory and Oklahoma, which showed promising perspectives. Many Germans lived in the Southwest, although they had not drawn much business from the area. Van den Toorn believed that the agreement could be a stepping stone to a more intense collaboration similar to the one existing between RSL and American Line honoring each other's tickets. The agreement was valid for a year and could be ended with three months notice.[34]

With the joint general agency both firms extended their collaboration, which had started a decade earlier, when the Dutch line started buying the old steamers from the British line for their service. HAL opted to follow the WSL policy focussing its efforts on service rather than speed.[35] In the meantime, HAL had allowed their own ships to be built by Harland & Wolf, the same shipbuilders as the WSL vessels. Nevertheless, the good relations between the two lines remained.[36] The fact that Genken Wierdsma, son of the HAL director and later New

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[33] HAL appointed two agents for Western states, one for the Pacific and the New England territories, and another one for Southern states.

[34] GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 221-226, Letters, April 1, November 25 1898.

[35] In 1888, they started operating with the purchase of the *Baltic* and the *Republic* followed by the *Arabic* steamships. From1895 onwards, as the reputation of the Line started to grow, the company started building their own ships. It was believed, that if they wanted to continue their growth they could not be seen of becoming the line, which polishes up the scrap boats of its rivals. GAR, HAL, 318.02, General Directors, 265, Correspondence Wierdsma, Letter, October 14 1888 and GAR, HAL, 318.02, General Correspondence, 112-121, Letters, October 5 1888, October 29 1889, September 10 1895.

[36] As Van den Toorn put in 1898: "with our new fleet we no longer lag behind the other lines so even during slumps we could now manage to remain competitive". GAR, HAL, 318.14, Wentholt archief , A 12, 1-2, annual report 1898.

York head-agent, did an apprenticeship at the British company in Liverpool, under Ismay, underlines this.[37] The joint agency proved to be successful and they extended the practice to the northwestern territories. However, to gain a solid footing in the territories west of Chicago, Van den Toorn appointed a traveller, Van der Stadt to cover Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado and Kansas. He considered to be very important that for the next few years the territory would be continuously visited in order to appoint the right kind of agents and to encourage them to book for HAL. Frequent visits to Bain were also necessary to put some pressure on him; otherwise most of his bookings went to the WSL.[38]

The IMM took the rationalization of the business administration a step further. The members of the cartel made an agreement on the interchangeability of the cabin-class tickets, giving the demanding tourists more flexibility to organize their trip.[39] These could be exchanged at the growing number of joint offices which opened on both sides of the Atlantic. Instead of hiring general agents working on commission, the cartel encouraged the practice of appointing salaried managers to run the offices. P. Wright pressured HAL to join, although Wierdsma was reluctant to take him on. Giving up the offices in New York and Chicago was out of the question, but even in other places, such as Boston the head-agent felt inclined to work with their own agents. Through these three offices, the company secured 95% of their bookings.[40] The Dutch line agreed for a trial period in St Louis, Minneapolis, San Francisco and New Orleans where the companies divided the costs of exploitation according to the business received through the joint offices.[41] Joint advertisements in leading newspapers in these regions also represented an effective strategy to cut costs and quickly spread to other places such as Buffalo and Baltimore. All parties to the agreement could pull out without notice.

Although this allowed them to also save on commission, Wierdsma doubted as to whether it was worth the risk of losing a big part of the business to the RSL or other joint office members. Especially in New England, from where they drew a lot more business than the RSL, they feared losing bookings. When the initial results, except for those in Minnesota, proved relatively satisfying, HAL agreed to concede for Boston as well. As part of a compromise they retained F. Houghton as their general agent, but he moved to the IMM buildings where Maynard & Child managed the business for the cartel no longer on commission, but instead on a salary basis. Both could book for all the lines. Montreal and Toronto, which had initially remained under the management of a separate general agent, soon followed suit. As the business expanded further west, the lines opened another joint

[37] GAR, HAL, 318.02, General Correspondence, Letter, April 28 1891.
[38] *Ibid.* Letter, June 3 1901 and GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 221-226, Letters, February 2 and April 19, 1901.
[39] Members to the agreement committed to exchange cabin tickets for all their steamers without extra payment as long as the price of the ticket was not lower than the minimum cabin rate of relevant steamer. GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 221-226, Letter, February 20, April 17 1903.
[40] As HAL depended largely on Russian passengers – many of whom remained in New York – these percentages are likely to have been higher in comparison to steamship lines tapping from other ethnic markets spread throughout the country. Nevertheless, for all the steamship companies alike, American ocean passage sales concentrated in New York and Chicago throughout that period.
[41] The territory was divided as follows: Toronto, the Province of Ontario; Montreal, the rest of Canada; *San Francisco*, Oregon, California, Nevada and the southern part of Idaho; St Louis, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Indian territory and territory of Arizona, Oklahoma and New Mexico; Minneapolis, North and South Dakota, Washington, Minnesota, Montana, the northern part of Wisconsin and Idaho, upper peninsular of Michigan; Chicago, all the territory reporting to Minneapolis plus, southern part of Wisconsin, states of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and parts of Michigan and Indiana; Boston included the maritime provinces, New Brunswick, Prince Edwards Islands, Nova Scotia and parts of New England still to be determined. GAR, HAL, 318.04, Passage Department, 221-226 Letter, February 17 1902.

office in Winnipeg.[42] IMM pressured HAL to move in their Chicago office, despite the fact that New York head-agent made it clear of having no intentions whatsoever to give up the control over their Chicago and New York offices through which they did the bulk of the bookings.

The percentage of the other outside offices remained low, though as noted by Wierdsma small things can add up to big differences. When IMM suggested opening a new joint office in Pittsburgh, HAL politely declined any interest. After the initial stage of encouraging results, the enthusiasm for the joint offices rapidly ran sour as the bookings decreased. By 1913, HAL withdrew from the Minneapolis and Boston joint offices opening their own and appointed David Brattstrom & Company as general agent in Seattle for the states of Idaho, Washington and Oregon.[43]

The joint offices proved effective in reducing the costs of exploitation, but the number of bookings ebbed which increased the mistrust of the Dutch line of IMM of using the joint agencies to gradually take over their market share. The apprehension in getting a fair representation for the line at those offices always prevailed. Morgan clearly attempted to introduce the same business structures – that proved successful for railroads and steel enterprises – into steam shipping. Instead of working with commission-based general agents he appointed salaried 'managers', such as Maynard & Child in Boston, to supervise a subdivision of the business. So far HAL and the German lines, with which IMM made separate agreements, could never be convinced to fully centralize the administration for the American market and even less so on the European continent. Even the lines forming part of IMM merger remained a federation of the autonomous lines. Contrary to railroads the gains from administrative coordination were far less significant in shipping (Chandler, 1977, 189-192). The horizontal combination of the shipping companies increased over the years and allowed them to improve the control over the agents, but it never reached the point to favor radical vertical integration and cut off the various layers of middlemen from the ocean passage trade.

Conclusion: Immigrant Bankers/Migrant Agents as Essential Guides in the Transatlantic Migration Process

The last two decades migration historians have successfully uncovered the social networks which shape migration flows. Chain migration has become an indispensable concept for any researcher working on the topic. Yet what seems to have escaped the attention of migration historians is that the commercial opportunities created by the transatlantic migrant movement brought to live an extensive business network which sustained and reinforced the total influx. Both networks are interconnected yet the true impact of the commercial networks remains unclear due to the lack of studies on steam shipping companies transporting the migrants or on migrant agents selling the ocean passage. This chapter underlines the importance of the latter in the US as key actors in connecting these networks. Apart from ocean passage sales and financial services such as money transfers, money exchanges, safeguarding earnings and giving credit immigrant bankers became, as Day put it: "*in a larger sense the economic and social gatekeepers of the American dream, whether that dream was bringing over family and friends from the old country, buying a property, getting a job, saving money or simply finding a place to live. They were central actors in the social networks that coordinated the process of immigrant relocation*" (Day, 2002, 67). The many

[42] *Ibid.*, 72-77, Letter, January 27, February 20, March 24, December 8 1903, December 8 1904, December 12, 15 1905; December 7, 14 1906; December 16 1907; December 18 1908; August 20 1910; January 14 1911 GAR, HAL, 318.02, General Correspondence, 112-121, Letter January 4, 1904 March 14 1911.

[43] GAR, HAL, 318.03, Passage Department, 49-58, Letters, December 6 1912 and February 21 1913 GAR, HAL, 318.02, General Correspondence, 112-121, March 14 1911; April 4, 10, June 6 1913.

business opportunities created by mass migration allowed established entrepreneurs to prosper from the relocation of co-ethnics. The sale of ocean passage tickets and basic banking operations played a central role in this ‘migrant business market’. The fact that American financial institutions initially showed little interest in attracting the migrant clientele because of their short term target accumulation, favored the development of an unofficial banking network based on ethnic ties. They escaped the supervision of state authorities, who only started to take interest in the matter because of the crisis of 1907 and the increasing interests of American banks to take over what they realized to be a lucrative market. The sale of ocean passage tickets was an essential element to penetrate this market and as a consequence an intense struggle for the acquisition of the steamship companies agencies broke out.

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Chapter 6

The Main European Migration Trade towards American North Atlantic Coast in the Nineteenth Century

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Abstract
This paper aims at examining the history of migration in the United States and consequently the changes that are currently taking place in its social and cultural landscape. Immigration has been a central element in the making of the United States because most immigrant communities have tried to maintain their way of life, historical background, and their social and cultural inheritance. All these factors constitute the *melting pot* which is usually applied to describe American social plurality. We are going to focus on the role that European immigrants had played in the formation of the United States. We will explore their social and political influence and the main effects of this transatlantic migration as a source of cultural diversity in American society. This work is interested in studying the impact of European immigrants on the social, political, economic and cultural development of the main cities in the Northeast coast of the United States. We will try to analyse and evaluate the significance of this migration as one of the main factors responsible for the shaping of the United State's society in the 19th century.

This study will offer an approach to the role that Irish immigrants had played in the formation of United States during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th and it will analyse the impact of this transatlantic migratory movement on the social, political, economic and cultural development of the most important American cities and towns in the North Atlantic coast.

Introduction

The Irish have been emigrating since the pre-Christian era. Although significant numbers left from Ulster and Munster to British Colonies in North America during the 17th and 18th centuries, and other throughout the island left and settled on the European continent, mass emigration only developed after the Irish risings of the late 18th century and the Napoleonic Wars. Peace came in 1815, but there was no stopping the forces released during the war. Although the economy was virtually stagnant, population continued to leap ahead.

By 1815, with a fall in agricultural prices and a rapidly rising of population, many families were unable to obtain possession of a farm or make a living from the land, and sought new prospects else-where. At that time, Ireland was fighting against an unemployment problem on a gigantic scale. Emigration, both to Great Britain and to North America, developed steadily but the effect was barely visible. The earlier emigrations, after 1815, had been caused by poor economic conditions after the Napoleonic Wars, and had been encouraged by cheap sailings. There was a large amount of trade between America and Britain, but the ships returning to America were often almost empty. Emigrants were a profitable way to fill these ships. Better routes to Canada were being opened up as well, and English shipowners began to get in on the traffic. By 1831, it was possible to go from Newry (County Down) to Liverpool and then to New York for only three pounds. The competition among ports and among ferry companies kept prices low. Between 1815 and the start of the Famine, almost 1,5 million Irish people had already left Ireland, mainly going to England, the United States, Canada and Australia. The main difference between this earlier emigration and the Famine-driven flood was that those who had left by choice, seeking a better life, were mainly the young and strong, 70% of them aged between 16 and 34 years old. By contrast, the millions who fled from the Famine contained large numbers of the very old and the very young, and

were often weakened by fever and want before they even started. In those days, the journey to such countries as the United States was exhausting and full of hardship, even if the conditions were good, and they had to be fit for it.

The Main Irish Emigration Trade

Over two-thirds of the Irish people were dependent on agriculture for a livelihood in 1841, but the condition of the other third was far from enviable. Irish business was also severely hit by the policy of monetary deflation pursued by the authorities. The survival of a vast impoverish population depended on the recurring fruitfulness of the potato and on that alone[1]. This product is perishable and cannot be held in store to relieve scarcity like grain. In such circumstances, if anything was to happen to the potato harvest, disaster would occur on a scale which Ireland would be unable to control and for which the British government was unprepared. The disaster came more sudden and complete than anyone could have imagined.

In June 1845, reports began to come from Europe that a new *blight* had been noticed in Belgium. It is not known for certain where it came from, but it had been in America since 1843, and may have been imported with guano (fertiliser) from South America. It spread into France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and England, and caused huge crop failures, in which thousands of people died. In these countries people were less dependent on the potato as a food, and a severe drought in Europe in 1846 helped to kill the blight there completely, so the effects were less catastrophic than in Ireland.

In 1845, news came that a disease was attacking the crop in the South of England. It was potato *blight*. This is actually a fungus growth and not a disease of the potato itself, and in consequence none of the suggested remedies were appropriate. By 1846, there was a second failure, and this time was complete. The prospect of an appalling disaster caused no modification in the government's plans. Relief was to be limited to public works. The idea was to force the Irish landlords to bear the cost.

The situation in Ireland had reached its worst by February 1847. To begin with, an act was passed providing for the establishment of kitchens and the free distribution of soup in 1847. The government finally gave up hope of the relief works, and brought in the *Act for the Temporary Relief of Destitute Persons in Ireland*, also called the *Soup Kitchen Act*. Its main aim was to establish temporary feeding facilities instead of relief works. They were only to last until September, when it was hoped the new harvest would relieve the situation a bit. The second part of the act would then come into force, starting the Outdoor Relief system.

In January 1848, the decision was taken. It was necessary to abandon public works and extend direct relief. Government relief measures were augmented by voluntary effort[2]. Fund-

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[1] Litton, H. (1994) (*The Irish Famine*, Dublin: Wolfhound Press, p. 15) describes the important role of the potato in Ireland: ‘The potato, introduced in Ireland about 1590, could grow in the poorest conditions, with very little labour. The seed potatoes only needed to be laid on spade-dug beds, called ‘lazy-beds’, and covered with earth. This was very important because labourers had to give most of their time to the farmers they worked for, and had very little time for their own crops. Planted in April/May, the early potato crop would come into season in late August, and the potatoes would be stored in pits until the following May. The summer was therefore a time of some hardship, because families had to buy expensive oatmeal to eat until the new potato crop came in. If they could not afford oatmeal, they would travel the roads begging, to buy food for the ‘summer hunger’. This easily-grown, vitamin-packed food assisted the enormous growth of population which took place in the early nineteen century.’

[2] The Relief Commissioners began to discuss ideas for relief works, employing men to do such jobs as building public roads or drainage schemes or improving harbours. There was plenty of need for such improvements, but in the end the money provided went almost entirely to road-building, which

raising groups were formed in Ireland, Britain, America and elsewhere. These groups provided the resources for feeding many of the worst sufferers, especially in Cork. Starving people crowded into the towns and flooded to the public works which the government was proposing to close. A fever epidemic now spread like fire through the country. What people called *famine fever* was in fact two separate diseases, typhus and relapsing fever[3].

People everywhere were now seized by a panic to get out of Ireland. Emigration was limited to the spring and summer, so that the effect of the partial failure of the potato crop in 1845 did little to increase the numbers that year. However, in July and August of 1846, when universal failure brought a new dramatic situation, an increase in autumn emigration was registered. The poor *cotties* went first, and then in the early weeks of 1847 the small farmers began to forsake the country in droves. Six thousand emigrants sailed from Liverpool alone in January. The demand was so great for passages that direct sailings began to leave from Ireland. The situation of the *cotties'* emigration is described in the following words:

> Over the next ten years, 750,000 Irish died and another two million left their homeland for Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Freighters, which carried American and Canadian timber to Europe, offered fares as low as $17 to $20 between Liverpool and Boston, fares subsidised by English landlords eager to be rid of the starving peasants (Martin, 1997: 386).

Emigration from Ireland had become common for some time, and there now began some *assisted emigration*, whereby landlords gave their tenants enough money for the passage to the United States or Canada. Some landlords even hired ships to transport them[4]. One-quarter of a million people left Ireland in 1847 (about 5,000 of them land-lord assisted) and 200,000 or more every year for the next five years. Only 3 or 4% of emigrants overall were helped by landlords, but others got aid from charities, or had been sent money by family members who had gone already.

By the time this massive shift of population had begun to die down, almost two million people had left the island of Ireland forever. At first, the landlords who helped people to go were praised for their efforts, but by 1848 there was a change of tone. Priests, politicians and newspapers began to attack this enforced exile, accusing Britain of trying to annihilate the Irish population.

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was easiest to organise. Some of the works schemes were funded by the treasury, through the local county administrations. This funding was supposed to be later repaid in full by each county. Other relief schemes were run by the Board of Works, which had been established in 1831 to look after roads, bridges and fisheries.

[3] Previous famines in Ireland had been accompanied by fever, and this famine was no exception. Typhus fever was transmitted by lice, a fact which was not confirmed for another sixty years, It affected the blood circulation, making the patient's face swell up and darken, and was called 'black fever'. The symptoms included raging temperature and delirium, with a rash, vomiting and occasionally gangrene. One of the worst features of the fever was the smell, 'an almost intolerable stench'. Relapsing fever, causing vomiting, was also carried by lice. The patient would relapse six days or so after the first onset, and this could be repeated three or four times. It was often accompanied by jaundice, and so was called 'yellow fever' in Irish.

[4] As each landlord was responsible for paying the rates of every tenant who paid less than 4 pounds in yearly rent, those whose land was crowded with poor tenants were now facing huge bills. They couldn't collect rent, let alone rates, from the wretches on their states. The only way to collect enough money was to clear the poor from their small plots, and to relet the land in bigger lots, to people with more money. They started the evictions. Between 1849 and 1854, 49,000 families were dispossessed. Not all the landlords who evicted tenants threw them on the side of the road, some help them to migrate to America, beginning some 'assisted emigration' (Litton, 1994: 99).

The ferries were often overcrowded, as passengers made a last-minute rush to get on board. It took at least a month to cross the Atlantic Ocean until 1850, when streamers were introduced. Travellers were given a basic minimum of food and water but had to provide anything themselves. The packed holds were a fertile ground for typhus. The worst death rate among emigrants occurred in 1847, when the notorious *coffin ships* travelled to North America. Most of them sailed from small Irish ports (Moody & Martin, 2001: 225). The Irish had particularly horrible experiences in these *coffin ships*[5] at the time of the famine, 'when they could not afford to be choosy' (Brogan, 1986: 406). Steiner describes clearly the fear of the emigrants as they prepared themselves for entry to the new country. The fear of the immigration agents, the medical, and of the unknown, 'Yes, those are heavy hours and long, on that day when the ship is circled by the welcoming gulls, and the fire-ship is passed, while the clans rattle and the baggage is piled on the deck' (1906: 54-55).

Of over 100,000 emigrants making this trip, one-sixth died on board ship or soon after landing. Possibly about 5% of the Famine emigrants died. The normal death rate, however, was about 2%. Ships' officers described the appalling conditions:

> ...friendless emigrants stowed away like bales of cotton, and packed like slaves in a slave ship; confined in a place that, during storm time, must be closed against both light and air, who can do no cooking, nor warm so much as a cup of water…Passengers were cut off from the most indispensable conveniences of a civilised dwelling (Litton, 2006:105).

In 1847, 40,000, about 2% of those who set out from Ireland died along the way. The U. S. Commissioner for Emigration wrote: 'If crosses and tombs could be erected on water, the whole route of the emigrant vessels from Europe to America would long since have assumed the appearance of a crowded cemetery' (Cited in Martin, 1997: 386). The crossing was supposed to last no more than six weeks, but it might take more than three months, and the appalling living conditions, scarcely changed from the days of the *Mayflower* as it is described in the following words: 'In the early eighties, every steamship had compartments for storage passengers, in which hundreds of men were huddled together in berths…' (Roberts, 1920: 2-3).

Mass emigration was a natural resort, at first to America, then, to different countries. Between 1846 and 1856, over one million people left Ireland. Emigration continued to drain the country. It was estimated that there were 5 million people in Ireland in 1800. By 1821 there were said to be over 6.5 million, and in 1841 there were over 8 million. Once the Famine had tightened its grip, it was not just the poor who emigrated. Merchants and tradesmen, watching the economy collapse, were being crippled by heavy taxation. Large numbers of the entrepreneurial class began to leave as well.

About four million inhabitants left Ireland between 1851 and 1910, and at least one-fifth of them went to Britain. Thousands of Irish flooded into Liverpool, and three-quarters of those who sailed across the Atlantic left from this port. In 1847, the population of this port was about a quarter a million. In June, it was reckoned that 300,000 destitute Irish people had landed in the town. A very high proportion of them, of course, soon sailed for North America,

[5] An example of the notorious *coffin ships* was the *Elizabeth and Sarah,* which sailed from County Mayo in July 1946, heading for Canada. She carried 276 passengers, instead of the 212 listed, and had only 8,700 gallons of water for the voyage, instead of the 12,532 gallons she should have had. Each passenger was entitled to be given 7 lbs of provisions each week, but none was ever distributed. The 276 passengers shared 32 berths, and there was no sanitary facility of any kind. The voyage took eight weeks, because the captain took the wrong course, and by the time the ship broke down and was towed into the St. Lawrence river in September, 42 people had died (Litton, 1994: 106-107).

but as residue of the most poverty-stricken inevitably remained. More than 100,000 emigrants sailed for Canada in 1847. This was the most economical way to the United States at that time being by this indirect route, of whom it is estimated that at least a fifth perished of privation and disease (Cunliffe, 2004: 202-205).

The large-scale departure of native Irish to settle in another country has decreased, particularly at the end of 19th and early 20th centuries. The most common destination of emigrants has varied from Canada before the Great Famine; North America, Australia, and South Africa after the famine until World War I and Great Britain thereafter. Unusually, an equal proportion of men and women emigrated from Ireland.

The Irish Immigrants in the United States

The story of the American people is the story of immigrants. The United States has welcomed more immigrants than any other country in the world. Between 1700 and 1760 the colonial population increased from 250,000 to 1.6 million by 1775. 'People multiply faster here than in Europe,' noted one foreign visitor at mid-century. 'As soon as a person is old enough he may marry without any fear of poverty, because a newly married man can, without difficulty, get a spot of ground where he may comfortably subsist with his wife and children.' (Martin, 1997: pp. 90-91).

In the 18th century, American natural population increased due to the great amount of immigrants. Among European groups, Scots-Irish and Germans predominated. In a series of waves between 1725 and 1775 over 100,000 Scots-Irish descended upon North America. Philadelphia was their main port of entry. They then moved out into the backcountry where they squatted on open land and earned reputations as blood-thirsty Indian fighters. In time, the Scots-Irish took the Great Wagon Road through the Shenandoah Valley and started filling in the southern backcountry.

Between 1840 and 1860, the United States received its largest wave of immigrants to date. In Europe, famine, poor crops, rising populations and political unrest caused an estimated five million people to leave their homelands each year. This was a period of massive Irish Catholic immigration. The Irish in the United States settled in north-eastern cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. By the 1850's, the Irish comprised half the population of New York and Boston. Poverty faced most Irish immigrants to settle in their port of origin. Irish communities also flourished in Charleston and New Orleans, while uncounted numbers of Ulster Irish settled in the Appalachian hinterlands of these southern cities. Eventually the Irish fanned out across the entire United States digging the canals and laying the railroad tracks that allowed Americans to extend their way across the continent.

The Irish were not welcome emigrants. Apart from their poverty and the fever they often carried, they had no suitable skills or trades, and most of them were so weakened they were not fit for work of any kind, even the unskilled agricultural labour they had been used to. They tended to drift to the slums of the large cities, supporting themselves by unskilled labour. In the United States, the Irish tended to congregate in 'Irish quarters', and they stayed in the cities, only about 10% moved on to rural areas. Often they drank, to cover the despair and loneliness of unsuccessful emigration, and fighting was frequent.

Most immigrants were young, male, single, Catholic, and largely of peasant background. When married couples migrated, the husband sometimes went ahead to set up, and with the wife and children following later, sometimes a considerable length of time afterwards. However, many single Irish women migrated to the United States throughout the century, and the proportion of women migrants in general increased as overseas settlements became more established. There was also a flow of single female emigrants for whom employment

and marriage prospects appeared better than at home. Female migrants at least knew where they were going, and why (Diner, 1990:188).

When the newly arriving Irish women immigrants looked for work, they found only the lowest jobs available to them. Irish women, like Irish men, also had low-paying unskilled jobs. There were two main types of work available for Irish women: domestic servants or factory workers. Domestic work was secure, dependable and was not seasonable. However, the work was tiring and strenuous. It was not unusual for one maid to cook, clean and care for children 16 hours a day or more. Men were hired for low-paying, physically demanding and dangerous work. Wages for unskilled jobs during the 1840's were under 75 cents a day for 10-12 hours of work (Watts, 1988: 43). Men built canals, railroads, streets, houses and sewer systems. Many others worked on the docks or canals.

Many Irish women found jobs as workers in New England textile mills. Lowell was one of the nation's leading textile-manufacturing centres, but the original paternalism of the Boston associates had, by the mid 1840's, turned into crass commercialism and social neglect[6]. As more and more Irish women arrived in Lowell, crowded slums began to replace the once beautifully kept, company-owned boarding houses. Women immigrants were viewed not as the objects of a special stewardship that emphasized moral and intellectual improvement, but as commodities whose services could be bought and sold. In 1845, Irish women constituted only 8% of the workforce in the Lowell mills; by 1860 they made up 50% (Tindall & Shi, 2007: 323).

In New England the large number of Irish workers, accustomed to harsh treatment and willing to work for what natives considered low wages, spelled the end of the "Lowell girls". These words were written in June 1844 by Susan, a Lowell mill girl. She explained her daily life:

> You wish to know… of our hours of labour. We go in at 5 o'clock; at seven we come out to breakfast; at half past-seven we return to our work, and stay until half-past twelve. At one… we return to our work, and stay until seven at night. Then the evening is all our own, which is more than some labouring girls can say, who think nothing is more tedious than a factory life (Martin, 1997: 396).

Usually, in a process known as chain migration, they were responding to information about opportunities relayed to them in letters by family or friends already overseas, or in conversation with those who had been there and returned. For many, such sources determined not only whether to go, but also where and when. Irish emigration to the United States was encouraged by remittances of money. The size of the remittances sent back home was notable, between 1848 and 1870 over sixteen million pounds arrived in Ireland from the United States. The first adventures helped to pay the expenses of their successors.

A major feature of Irish-American was the extent to which the emigrant's descendants, often with little real knowledge or awareness of Ireland, inherited their beliefs and asserted their own Irish-American identity. The treatment of the emigrants upon arriving in the USA influenced their views significantly. The 1840's and 1850's witnessed a major surge in nativist groups in the USA, and deep-seated anti-Irish prejudices were a major factor in encouraging the emigrants to think of themselves as a distinct and separate group. So, this discrimination had an important consequence: it encouraged Irish immigrants to become actively involved in politics. With a strong sense of ethnic identity, high rates of literacy, and impressive organisational talents, Irish politicians played an important role in the

[6] 'In 1836, Lowell [Massachusetts] boasted twenty mills with 6,000 workers; 85% of Lowell's labour force consisted of single women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine' (Maier et al., 2003: 394).

development of modern American urban politics. The immigrants also posed a palpable political threat. Concentrated in the large cities of the eastern seaboard, Irish immigrants voted as blocs and quickly built up strong political organisations As O'Connor rightly observes (1995: 25), 'it was precisely the recollection of those 'miserable conditions' back home in Ireland that helped shape the political choices of the newcomers at a time when political parties were just beginning to emerge on the American scene.' They were changing times throughout the young republic.

Irish Protagonists of the American Culture

Almost from the beginning of their history in the newly independent United States, the Irish were prominent in national affairs. In 1828, Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), the son of Ulster immigrants, was the first Irish American to win election to the presidency. New Yorker, Alfred Smith, (1873-1944) was the first Irish Catholic elected to that state's governorship and in 1828, a hundred years after Jackson's election, Smith was the first Irish Catholic to run for president.

John F. Kennedy, who was president of the United States during the early 60's, was the grandson of an Irish immigrant. Kennedy once said that the United States was a society of immigrants, each of whom had begun life anew, on equal footing. This was the secret of America: a nation of people with the fresh memory of old traditions who dare to explore new frontiers.

Irish Americans, both Catholic and Protestant, were even more successful in local politics, especially in big cities. Mayor and Governor James M. Curley of Boston (1874-1958) and Mayor Richard J. Daly of Chicago (1902-1976), for example, were beneficiaries of the urban political machines run by the Irish throughout the country.

The Irish brought with them a literate knowledge of English, substantial experience of electoral politics, a spontaneous clannishness and a useful strain of Catholicism. They had long looked up to their priest as leaders and the habit continued in America, the more so as the priests still had political objectives, especially the fostering of a system of parish schools where good Irish children could study. Since there were always more children than Catholic schools for them it was frequently necessary to do battle with public authorities to try to modify the public schools' curricula. So priests and bosses were anxious to organise and sustain a solid Catholic-Irish voting bloc, and work together. The Irish very soon came to dominate the city organizations.

The Irish in America also achieved distinction in fields outside politics. Automobile manufacturer Henry Ford (1863-1947), the son of immigrants from Cork, revolutionized how the world travelled. Prelates such as the Ulster-born archbishop of New York John Hughes (1797-1864) shaped the American Catholic church and oversaw the construction of New York's landmark St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue.

Women were as important as men in fostering Irish-American mobility. Although many Irish women in America took entry level jobs in domestic service and factory work, others opened shops and became successful entrepreneurs in their adopted neighbourhoods. Irish nuns like Kilkenny-native Mother Theresa Comerford (1821-1881) founded schools, hospitals, and other pioneering social welfare institutions long before the government provided such services to its citizens. By the mid 1850's, Kate Kennedy (1827-1890) was teaching in San Francisco's public schools, setting a precedent for the thousands of other daughters of Irish America. By the end of the century, Irish-American women formed the single largest ethnic group teaching in the public school of Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Providence. Irish American women were also pioneers in the American labour union movement. Margaret Haley of Chicago (1861-1939) helped found the Chicago Teacher's

Federation, the nation's first teacher's union. Cork-native Mary Harris (Mother) Jones (1830-1930) led labour strikes throughout the country and fought for child labour laws.

By the turn of the century, a number of Irish women had joined their Yankee counterparts in demanding suffrage, much to the disgust of husbands and clerics, who believed that such women had become self-centred and imitative of the Yankee-protestant women with whom they associated. One of the most relevant was Margaret Lillian Foley (1875-1957), a native of Dorchester, who attended public schools, worked in a hat factory, and eventually became active in the trade union movement. She was an effective public speaker, telling audiences that women could become a major force for improving factory conditions and cleaning up government. “Maggie” Foley worked strenuously in Massachusetts for women’s voting rights and then went west to Nevada, where she continued the struggle. In Nevada, women received the right to vote in 1914. Despite the great opposition in the different States of the Union, in 1920, it was finally ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote. Only at this time the state legislatures finally relent and permit women to vote for the mayor and the members of the different city councils (O’Connor, 1995: 172-173).

The Irish also shaped American entertainment, and early in the 19th century minstrel shows introduced United States audiences to Irish dancing, music, and drama. In the early 20th century, Irish-American song and dance men such as George M. Cohan produced widely popular musicals with strong Irish themes on the Vaudeville and Broadway stages. Irish America also influenced Hollywood. John Ford, the son of immigrants from Galway, directed some of his era's most memorable films, many with Irish subjects and the singer Bing Crosby left indelible songs.

The careers of Nobel prize-winning playwright Eugene O'Neill, novelists F. Scott Fitzgerald and John O'Hara, artist Georgia O'Keeffe, and Supreme Court judge Sandra Day O'Connor further attest to the importance of the diaspora to United States arts and law.

By the 20th century the Irish-Americans had become a significant lobby, and played an important role in United States political life. Their support was courted by the main political parties, most notably the Democratic Party, and their Anglophobia helped to dictate the national reaction to international events.

Conclusions

The Irish have migrated to the North American coasts from the 17th century but it was the Great Famine that had destroyed the Irish economy and started a massive shift of population. These millions of Irish emigrants were a great source of life and energy for the United State’s society where it was need unskilled workers to build the new country. They suffered a horrible experience during their travel, as Maier (2003: 430) writes ‘the massive Irish emigration to America was an act of survival, although in some years as many as 20% died in passage or shortly after they arrived in the new land.’

It took a long time for the Famine emigrants to overcome their disadvantages and to begin to make a positive contribution to the American country they had reached. Step by step, the Irish-Americans developed their own social, cultural, and religious life, and slowly became involved in politics. Anti-Catholicism was another major influence in preventing the assimilation of many emigrants into American society, and reinforced the idea of national difference, but they fought very hard and they got the recognition from the rest of Americans who discriminated them when they arrived there.

In short, not everything was melted in the American pot. But a lot was, and the process happened remarkably swiftly. Already the beginning of the twentieth century, the Irish

immigrants had become sufficiently integrated into American society to form a powerful ethnic block and the presidential candidates courted them at election time.

Today, the small island of Ireland has a population of about 4 million, yet over 40 million Americans claim Irish descent. For many Irish, there could be no staying in Ireland, and their energies went to the building of the United States or other new lands across the seas. The Irish descendants are a powerful group in America and they played a very important role in the shaping of the United State's life and culture.

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Chapter 7

Going West! Leaving 19th Century Rural Northern New England: Diaspora from the Town of Industry, Maine

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Movement of people is a major theme in characterizing place. How a locale changes over time is greatly influenced by what groups in-migrate and which ones out-migrate. Northern New England's image is, in part, a reflection of who is coming and who is going; English pushing north from southern New England in the 1700's, French-Canadians moving south during the late 1800's, Yankees heading west to the farming frontier and migration to milltowns of Massachusetts in the 19th century.[1] I focus on 19th century out-migration from Industry, a small rural Maine town. This case study is representative of the process that resulted in depopulation of much of the region's agrarian countryside. Out-migration contributed to the image of northern New England as a harsh place, both physically and economically.

Historians, geographers, economists, sociologists and others have studied migration in the context of push and pull factors, barriers and communication networks.[2] Push factors are negative features associated with where one is living; few chances for economic improvement, political oppression, uncomfortable climate, etc. Pull factors are attractions such as free land, jobs, freedom from unpopular politics or religious doctrines. Barriers to migration may include insufficient money to reach another place, age or lack of information about opportunities.

Out-migration from rural northern New England fits the classic chain migration model. When a few people become aware of pull factors relative to local push factors and relocate, they influence friends and relatives to follow. Considerations include inexpensive or free land, wage jobs, and gold strikes. These look pretty attractive to many subsistence farm families. On the other hand, the possibility for greater profits in cities or in the rural West also convince successful farmers and businessmen to relocate. They had the advantage of some money to reinvest at their new home.

Information about opportunities was readily available through both government and private sources. New western land and city jobs were advertised. By the mid-1800's, transportation and finance systems were in place to ease many of the barriers of reaching the frontier or urban centers.[3] Frontier development that encouraged social, economic and political values of the source areas attracted more immigrants, whereas, regions that had unfamiliar value systems or policies offensive to potential immigrants were avoided. New Englanders tended to steer clear of the slave holding South.

Migration studies have tended to focus on the immigration (where people came from) or on studies of national or regional out-migration.[4] In a limited number of studies, equal concern has been placed on both source and destination.[5] My paper addresses nineteenth century out-migration from rural Maine using genealogical notes compiled by William Hatch. I document movement beyond New England.[6] Where did they go? Who went? When did they leave? Why did they go?

Industry, Maine, in southeast Franklin County is representative of the small rural towns that grew rapidly during the early settlement period, lost population for a hundred years and began to experience growth again in the late 1900's (Table 1). Industry is located in the extreme northwest corner of the Kennebec Purchase and the area was subject to land

claims and title litigation into the 1820's.[7] Because of its relative remoteness from the closest port, Hallowell, and uncertainty concerning property rights, the town was not settled until the 1790's.

In addition to problems with land title, marginal agricultural potential made Industry less desirable than nearby acreage along the Sandy River where productive floodplain farms could be found. By 1792, only two settlers had arrived in the hilly, rock strewn, thin soiled township. During the next ten years, more people moved to the community and by 1802, the year before

Year	Population	Number Change	Percent Change
1802	170		
1810	562	392	230.6
1820	778	216	38.4
1830	902	124	15.9
1840	1,036	134	14.9
1850	1,041	5	.5
1860	827	-214	- 20.6
1870	726	-101	- 12.2
1880	715	- 11	- 1.5
1890	545	-170	- 23.8
1900	553	- 8	- 1.5
1910	465	- 88	- 15.9
1920	431	- 34	- 7.3
1930	342	- 89	- 20.6
1940	307	- 35	- 10.2
1950	315	8	2.6
1960	262	- 53	- 16.8
1970	347	85	32.4
1980	563	216	62.2
1990	685	122	21.7
2000	790	105	15.3

Table 1 Population of Industry, Maine (Inc. 1803). Source: U.S. Census.

incorporation as a town, the population stood at 170. Most of the immigrants came from eastern Massachusetts with a large portion arriving from Martha's Vineyard.[8] During the American Revolution, Martha's Vineyard had suffered greatly and after the fighting large numbers of people left the island to seek better opportunities on the northern frontier. Maine was still part of Massachusetts and both government officials and private land speculators were encouraging settlement in the region. Land on the western frontier (Ohio Valley) was more remote and still faced an Indian threat. Maine could be reached in a few days by sailing vessel.

After landing at Hallowell, it was a 3-day overland trip with household belongings on a cart to the Sandy River/Industry region. Hundreds made this journey between 1788 and 1820. The Vinelanders and others cleared land for agriculture, build saw and grist mills and engaged in subsistence farming. Timber was about the only product that could be sold for cash. Except for high-grade pine, most species of trees could not yield a profit because of the difficulty of getting wood to urban or coastal markets. Floating logs down rivers was the only practical way to move them and Industry had no large river.

The first few decades after a town's initial settlement were usually a time of rapid growth. Clearing land of trees and rocks, fence building, house and barn construction, road and bridge work, erecting public buildings and the general activities of creating a built environment demanded much labor. Small frontier populations resulted in labor scarcity and when it could be found, high wages had to be paid. Farmers and their families did most of the on-farm work and lumber cutting. Working on roads could, in part, pay taxes and helping build a church was good for saving a soul. Wage labor was not common.

Farmer/lumberman families needed the services of other people to make their communities whole. Sawmill and gristmill owners were joined by brewers, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, shoemakers, tanners, casket makers, hatters and other craftsmen.[9] The frontier had a small group of professionals: schoolteachers, ministers, country doctors and in a few larger places, lawyers.

Within 37 years of incorporation, 1840, Industry was near its population peak and gained only 5 residents during the 1840's. Many of the initial settlers were still alive and much of the population growth was a function of the large number of children they produced. Maine continued to attract immigrants and enjoyed double digit growth each decade until 1850. Some of these new arrivals still looked for farms and would find their way to establish settlements such as Industry while others pushed on to more remote locations or tried their luck in one of the seaports, service centers or developing manufacturing communities. The north woods attracted young men willing to fell trees and drive logs to mills or ports. Small rural farm towns reached their high-water mark just as large waterpower sites were being harnessed for manufacturing and demand for Maine goods, especially wood products, increased.

In addition to growing opportunities for economic gain within the state, western land was becoming more attractive. Suppression of native people, improved transportation and inexpensive farmland made moving west seem attractive to those who wanted to continue in agriculture. Even the dream of a goldmine danced in the head of some Mainers after 1849.

The pioneers who had cleared the land and developed the community were elderly by the 1850's and although some had left to take urban jobs or headed west, many would live out their years on the rocky hillsides of Industry. Their remains populate the scattered cemeteries. A visit to one of the old burial grounds will tell you much about where they came from and where they lived and died. Sons and daughters sometimes stayed and earned a living from the land but many left for millwork or the West.

In addition to these presumed opportunities for advancement, war caused population shifts. Maine contributed a large number of federal troops and suffered the highest percentage of men killed of all the northern states. Industry furnished 61 soldiers to the Union out of a town population of 827.[10] Death from battle and sickness took its toll and some that survived the war chose to not return to Industry. Of those that did return, many stayed for only a brief time before leaving, sometimes with their young bride from town.

I traced 181 residents listed by Hatch who departed Industry for destinations beyond New England between 1805 and the 1880's. Hatch appears to have had detailed knowledge of the comings and goings of his hometown and includes such information in his nearly 900 page doorstop sized book on the first 100 years of Industry. His listings and comments about individuals, families, marriages, divorces and kinship provide an excellent base for understanding social structure. Whenever possible, he notes when residents arrived in Industry, where they came from, their occupation, and if they left town, when and where they went. This is far more information than is available from the U.S. Census. I crossed checked Hatch's out-migrants from Industry with U.S. Manuscript Census entries for the years 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840 and 1850. Also included is a special 1837 town census that

was needed to determine how much money Industry should receive as its share of funds being dispersed from the closure of the United States Bank.[11] Numbers of names that match Hatch and census records are: 1810=2; 1820=1; 1830=3; 1837=13; 1840=7; and 1850=15. Only 21 different individuals noted by Hatch also appear in the census records. Many names were missed because they were not heads of households. Few women were heads and children were not listed by name. The census, except for 1837, was a decennial event. Some people would move into and out of the town between census years. Children who reached maturity following one census year and moved on before the next were never recorded by name in the manuscript census. Other people were likely missed by the census taker. The 1837 census and Hatch's numbers had a higher correlation compared to 1830 and 1840. Money for the town was at stake and community leaders likely pushed for as large a number as possible because population determined the size of the town's award from the national bank. Hatch is a more comprehensive data source than government records.

State - Number		Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Percent of Total Migrants
Calif.	(31)	25	80.1	6	19.9	17.1
Ill.	(28)	17	60.7	11	39.3	15.5
Ind.	(5)	4	80.0	1	20.0	2.8
Iowa	(24)	14	58.3	10	41.7	13.3
Kan.	(9)	5	55.5	4	44.5	5.0
Mich.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Minn.	(6)	6	60.0	4	40.0	5.5
Mo.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Miss.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Neb.	(4)	4	100.0	0	0.0	2.2
N.J.	(1)	0	0.0	1	100.0	.6
N.Y.	(9)	9	81.8	2	18.2	6.1
N.C.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	1.1
N.D.	(2)	2	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Ohio	(5)	2	60.0	3	60.0	2.8
OR.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
PA.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
SC.	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
S.D.	(5)	1	20.0	4	80.0	2.8
Texas	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Utah	(1)	1	100.0	0	0.0	.6
Wis.	(26)	18	69.2	8	30.8	14.4
Went west	(7)	6	85.7	1	14.3	3.9
Other	(4)	4	100.0	0	0.0	2.2
Total	(181)	126	69.6	55	30.4	100.7 Rounded

Table 2 Migrants From Industry, Maine. Source: Compiled by author from William Hatch, *History of the Town of Industry, Maine*, (Farmington, Maine: Knowlton, McLeary Co., 1893).

An examination of the 181 out-migrants reveals 70 percent were males and 30 percent females (Table 2). The primary destination regions were the West Lakes (49 percent), Far West (18 percent) and Great Plains (11.5 percent). These three areas received 80 percent

of the migrants. The slave states were avoided and much of the East Lakes had been settled by the time that significant numbers of Industry residents were ready to relocate (Table 3; Figure 1).

Clusters (6-10 individuals) of Industry residents developed in five western counties, three in the West Lakes and one each in the Great Plains and Far West. In some cases, a single family
accounted for most of a cluster. The Shaws, engaged primarily in lumbering and saw-milling, headed for Eau Claire, Wisconsin (Table 4). They are a classic example of Mainers taking their timber industry skills west to the forestry frontier. The Luce family contributed migrants to the gold fields of Placer County, California. Bremer County, Iowa is more typical of clusters. Several families are represented with farming being the most mentioned occupation (Table 5).

Distribution	People		Percent	
West Lakes	88	141	48.6	77.9
Far West	33		18.2	
Great Plains	20		11.5	
Northeast	13		7.2	
East Lakes	11		6.1	
South	5		2.8	
Other	11		6.1	
Total	181		100.5	

Table 3 Migrant's Destination By Region.

Most migrants were male. The majority of females appear to be part of family moves to the West Lakes and Great Plains area, whereas, men dominated in relocating to the Far West, Gold Rush Guys (Table 6). I was able to determine age at migration of 16 individuals, a small sample, and found that half went west before their 30th birthday (Table 7). Most of those that migrated were born after 1829, which indicates that many were likely the children of Industry's early settles rather than the settlers themselves (Table 8). Some of these individuals went as children as part of families. Young adults sometimes with their own small babies are most prone to try their luck in new places. Of the 19 that could be linked to a specific year of migration, most relocated during the 1850-1879 period (Table 9). This was 30 years of rapid population growth in the West and Industry did its share.

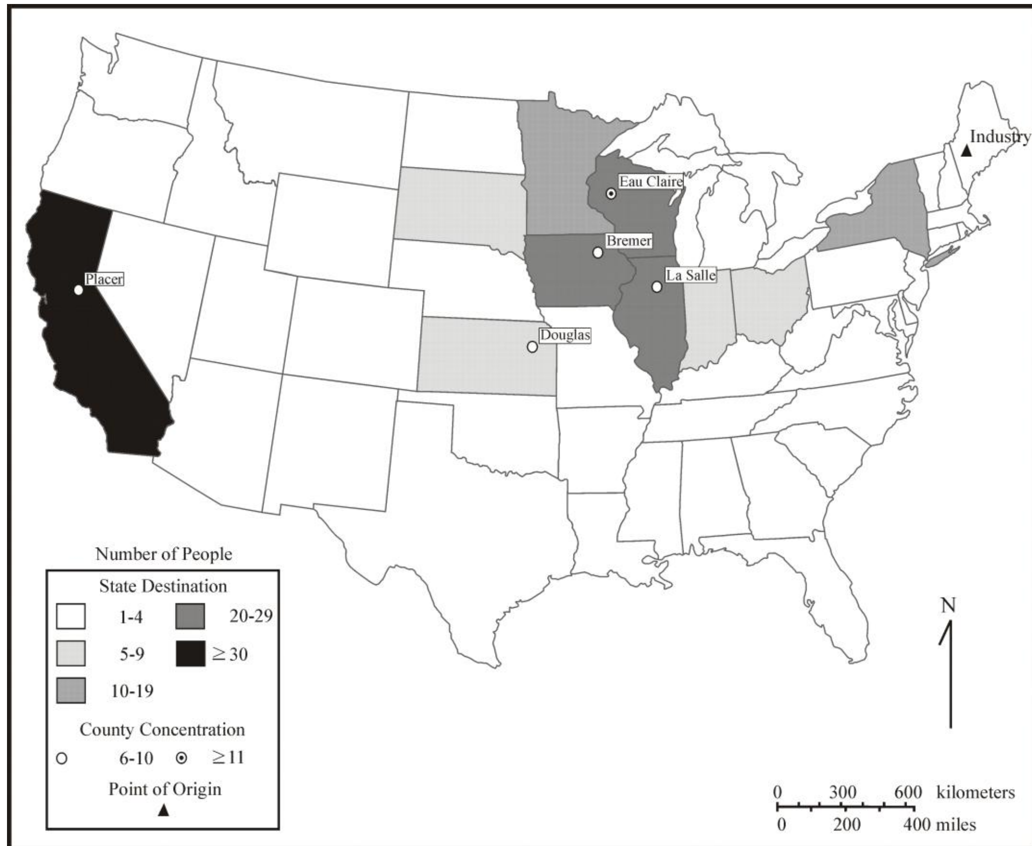

Figure 1 Migration From Industry, Maine to Other States (excluding New England), 1805-1880's.

People usually migrated to places where opportunities were perceived to be better. I was able to determine the occupation of 66 immigrants (Table 10). Farming was the most frequently mentioned endeavor. Construction, business and teaching were also important occupations. Building would be a significant frontier activity. Most of the teachers were women. Businesses included retails and wholesale operations, land speculation and assorted enterprises. The majority of professionals were lawyers and physicians. Many individuals listed more than one occupation. Certain families appear to have been more inclined to migrant than others. The Shaw family moved but stuck together. Industry's Allen family had its own diaspora around the world during the 1800's (Table 11). Thirteen of the family left Industry for many different places:
California=2; Iowa=4; and Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, South Dakota, Madagascar and Mexico each=1. They were a globe trotting crowd!

Gender	Family	Year Of Birth	Year of Death	Year Of Migration	Age of Migration	Age of Death	Occupation
Female	Shaw	1845	1880	——	——	35	——
Male	Shaw	1825	——	——	——	——	Lumbering
Female	Shaw	1827	1880	——	——	53	——
Male	Shaw	1838	——	1864	26	——	Lumbering
Female	Shaw	1848	1872	——	——	24	Teacher
Female	Shaw	1862	——	——	——	——	——
Male	Shaw	1813	1881	——	——	68	Sawmill Owner
Male	Shaw	1819	1885	——	——	66	——
Male	Shaw	1831	——	——	——	——	Machinist
Male	Shaw	1848	1892	——	——	44	Machinist
Female	Willis	1800	1888	——	——	88	——
Male	Hayes	1857	——	——	——	——	Doctor
Female	Butler	1848	——	——	——	——	——
Male	Hayes	1837	——	——	——	——	Farmer
Male	Look	1835	1860	——	——	25	——

Table 4 Eau Claire (Eau Claire County), Wisconsin-Sample Cluster and Shaw-Sample Family.

Gender	Family	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Year of Migration	Age at Migration	Age at Death	Occupation
Female	Allen	1829	1888	—	—	59	—
Female	Willis	1855	—	—	—	—	—
Male	Willis	1818	—	1867	49	—	—
Male	Norton	1842	—	—	—	—	—
Female	Smith	—	1886	—	—	—	—
Male	Cornforth	1861	—	—	—	—	Farmer
Male	Cornforth	1853	—	—	—	—	Farmer
Male	Cornforth	1822	—	—	—	—	Farmer

Table 5 Waverly (Bremer County), Iowa - Sample Cluster

	West Lakes Number-Percent		Great Plains Number-Percent		Far West Number-Percent		Total Number-Percent	
Male	55	39.0	12	8.5	27	19.1	94	66.7
Female	33	23.4	8	5.7	6	4.3	47	33.3
Total	88	62.4	20	14.2	33	23.4	141	100

Table 6 Migration by Gender.

	West Lakes	Great Plains	Far West	Total
$\leq$29	4	1	3	8
$\geq$30	5	2	1	8
Total	9	3	4	16

Table 7 Age at Migration (n = 16)

	West Lakes	Great Plains	Far West	Total
$\leq$1829	41	5	10	56
1830 - 1849	25	6	15	46
$\geq$1850	11	9	5	25
Total	77	20	30	127

Table 8 Migration by Birth Decade, (n = 127).

	West Lakes	Great Plains	Far West	Total
<1850	2	0	0	2
1850 - 1879	7	2	4	13
≥1880	2	2	0	4
Total	11	4	4	19

Table 9 Migration by Decade, (n = 19).

	West Lakes	Great Plains	Far West	Other	Total	Percent
Farming	11	1	5	3	20	27.8
Construction	6	0	3	2	11	15.3
Business	4	3	1	2	10	13.9
Teaching	6	0	3	0	9	12.5
Professional	7	1	0	1	9	12.5
Manufacturing	3	0	1	1	5	6.9
Lumbering	5	0	0	0	5	6.9
Other	0	0	0	3	3	4.2
Total	42	5	13	12	72	100.0

Note: 66 people in count had 72 occupations listed. Some had more than one occupation.

Table 10 Occupation after Migration.

Destination	Gender	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Year of Migration	Age at Migration	Age at Death	Occupation
California	M	1849	—	—	—	—	—
California	M	1836	—	—	—	—	—
Aplington, Iowa	F	1840	1868	—	—	28	—
Aplington, Iowa	F	1832	1886	1859	27	54	Teacher
Cherokee, Iowa	F	1836	—	—	—	—	—
Waverly, Iowa	F	1829	1888	—	—	59	—
Lake Huron, MI	M	1827	1861	1861	34	34	—
Eliot, Miss.	M	1792	1831	—	—	39	Missionary
Hackensack, NJ	F	1852	1877	—	—	25	—
New York, NY	M	1823	1856	—	—	33	Business
Ashton, SD	F	1840	—	1892	52	—	—
Madagasca, Coast of	M	1814	1836	—	—	22	Whaler
Mataroros, Mexico	M	1823	1846	—	—	23	—

Table 11 Allen - Sample Family.

This pattern of decision making and out-migration has contributed to shaping the image of northern New England. Chain migration to the West is part of the process that created the image of Maine's rural landscape as one with abandoned cellar holes, stone walls throughout the woods and neglected cemeteries on discontinued dirt roads. The outsiders view of this region is often one of rustic charm where their ancestors came from.
Sanborn, Iowa was, in-part, developed by members of Industry's Daggett and Norton families; some of their descendents still live there.[12] Visitors to Sanborn from rural Maine who know about Industry are welcomed with much warmth.[13] Emotional ties to the source region are still evident.

Industry, Maine was caught up in the pressure of local, regional, national and global forces of the 19th century. Its population rose and fell in response to these pressures. Local people reacted in ways that they thought would be beneficial to them. Decisions were based on their understanding of local conditions and information they could obtain about other places. Those who had resources and a desire to relocate moved away while others remained. Out-migrants shaped two places while those who stayed, shaped only one.

Notes

1 William Allen, “Journal of William Allen” in William Hatch, *A History of the Town of Industry, Maine* (Farmington, Maine: Knowlton, McLeary Co., 1893) pp. 72-89 and Dorothy Poole, *A New Vineyard* (Edgartown Mass.: Dukes County Historical Society, 1976) document in detail the migration flow from Martha’s Vineyard, Massachusetts to Maine’s Sandy River Valley. James Allen, “Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants to Southern Maine” *Geographical Review* 62 (1972) p. 377, maps the origin of the French speaking communities in Waterville and Brunswick. Clarence Day’s two volumes, *A History of Maine Agriculture: 1604-1860* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1954) and *Farming in Maine: 1860-1940* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1954) are recommended reading to understand challenges Maine farmers faced. Out-migration seemed like a good option to many. Robert LeBlanc, *Location of Manufacturing in New England in the 19th Century* (Hanover, N.H.: Geography Publications at Dartmouth, 1969) is an excellent overview of the many opportunities for mill jobs in growing industrial centers.

2 Colin Pooley and Ian Whyte, eds., *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A social History of Migration* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 1991).

3 Carville Earle, ”Regional Economic Development West of the Appalachians, 1815-1860” in Robert Michell and Paul Groves, eds. *North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987) pp.172-197. John Hudson, “Migration to an American Frontier” in David Ward, ed. *Geographic Perspectives on America’s Past* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1979) pp.93-114.

4 Hudson.

5 Curtis Roseman, “Channelization of Migration Flows From the Rural South to the Industrial Midwest, *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers* 3 (1971) pp. 140-146.

6 William Hatch, *A History of the Town of Industry, Maine* (Farmington, Maine: Knowlton, McLeary Co., 1893).

7 Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

8 Janet Brackett, “Our New Habitation in the Woods: An Account of the Migration from Martha’s Vineyard to the Sandy River Valley” (Portland, Maine: University of Southern Maine. Unpublished thesis 1999). Allen. Hatch.

9 Rolla Tryon, *Household Manufacturers in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1917) pp. 190-191.

10 Hatch, p. 325.

11 Ibid., p. 279.

12 History Book Committee. *Sanborn, Iowa: 125 Years …Past and Present* (Fort Dodge, Iowa: Land O’ Lakes Printing, 2003).

13 Fay Schall, Sanborn Historical Society. Interview with Author, Sanborn, Iowa, Sept. 24, 2004.