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THESIS

The Evolution of the U.S. Immigration Policy and its Impact on American Society (1820-2002)

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To my beloved mother, wife, and children.

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Abstract

Since its establishment, the United States has welcomed big numbers of immigrants from all parts of the globe. The U.S. immigration strategy evolved throughout the history of the country and fluctuated between liberal and obstructive. It has been responsible for the racial, ethnic, and cultural transformation of the society for more than four centuries. Besides measuring its impact on American society, which is the main focus of major researches on this subject, the goal of this work is to identify the foremost factors that molded the shaping of the U.S. immigration policy. This thesis applied qualitative and quantitative methods, and examined a wide range of primary sources, government and official documents, and recent books and articles of authors and researchers of great renown working on the issue. The results revealed that the economic developments of the country and society were the driving force that shaped the U.S. immigration policy, both liberal and restrictive. The thesis came to the conclusion that the economic factor determined the evolution of the immigration process in general and the immigration policy of the United States in particular.

استقبلت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية تاريخياً أعداداً كبيرة من المهاجرين من جميع أنحاء العالم. تطورت استراتيجية الهجرة الأمريكية عبر تاريخ البلاد وتفاوتت بين الليبرالية والعرقلة. كانت مسؤولة عن التحول العرقي والثقافي للمجتمع لأكثر من أربعة قرون. بالإضافة إلى قياس تأثيرها على المجتمع الأمريكي، وهو الهدف الرئيسي للبحوث حول هذا الموضوع، فإن الهدف من هذا العمل هو تحديد العوامل الرئيسية التي شكلت تطور سياسة الهجرة الأمريكية. طبقت هذه الأطروحة الأساليب الكمية والنوعية وفحصت مجموعة واسعة من المصادر الأولية والوثائق الحكومية والرسمية، بالإضافة إلى الكتب والمقالات الحديثة لكتاب وباحثين مشهورين يعملون في هذا الموضوع. كشفت النتائج أن التطورات الاقتصادية في البلاد وفي المجتمع كانت القوة الدافعة التي شكلت سياسة الهجرة الأمريكية، سواء الليبرالية أو التقييدية. توصلت الأطروحة إلى استنتاج مفاده أن العامل الاقتصادي هو الذي حدد تطور عملية الهجرة بشكل عام وسياسة الهجرة للولايات المتحدة بشكل خاص.

Résumé

Les États-Unis a toujours accueilli un grand nombre d'immigrants de toutes les régions du monde. La stratégie d'immigration américaine a évolué tout au long de l'histoire du pays et a fluctué entre libérale et obstructive. Elle est responsable de la transformation raciale, ethnique et culturelle de la société depuis plus de quatre siècles. Outre la mesure de son impact sur la société américaine, qui est le principal objectif des recherches majeures sur ce sujet, l'objectif de ce travail est d'identifier les principaux facteurs qui ont façonné l'élaboration de la politique d'immigration américaine. Cette thèse a appliqué des méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives et a examiné un large éventail de sources primaires, de documents gouvernementaux et officiels, ainsi que de livres et d'articles récents d'auteurs et de chercheurs de grande renommée travaillant sur la thématique. Les résultats ont révélé que les développements économiques du pays et de la société étaient la force motrice qui a façonné la politique d'immigration américaine, à la fois libérale et restrictive. La thèse est arrivée à la conclusion que le facteur économique a déterminé l'évolution du processus d'immigration en général et de la politique d'immigration des États-Unis en particulier.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

DV	Diversity Visa
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
JFK	John Fitzgerald Kennedy
LPC	Likely to become a public charge
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

Introduction

The United States is a land of immigrants; every American citizen shares the familiarity of being either an immigrant or an offspring of former immigrants. Throughout the history of the country, millions of people, coming from the four corners of the globe, left their home countries in search of better life conditions and chose America and settled on its lands. Thus, the country has always been dubbed the “haven for the oppressed” and the “refuge for the persecuted.” The immigrants came in different waves; it is perceived that there have been four big waves of mass immigration from colonial era to the current times. Amidst this time span, the United States witnessed a four-decade era of racial and discriminatory upsurge culminated in the adoption of notorious national origins quota system of the 1920s through which immigration levels dropped dramatically to very low levels. Mass immigration resumed after Congress issued the 1965 Immigration Act and the country was reacquainted with its historic policy favoring the admission of significant numbers of newcomers.

The fluctuation of immigrant numbers was the outcome of the immigration systems that the country has adopted since its establishment. The U.S. immigration policy could be divided into three major phases; the first phase was characterized by a liberal dogma through which huge numbers of foreign workers were enticed by the better life opportunities offered, and they were absorbed within American society. This policy was initiated in colonial times and lasted until the First World War by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. The impact of such policy on the ethnic composition of the U.S. society was so important that it did trigger nativist and xenophobic reactions which led to the adoption of a new immigration policy based on significant limitations on immigrant numbers admitted on a yearly base. Four decades later, a new policy marked the reopening door of migrant movements to the United States. The new immigration system allowed the admission of important numbers of newcomers from different source countries which reshaped the already diverse American society.

Usually, the focus of research on U.S. immigration policies is on their impact on a given society, but little is said about the role of the society on the shaping of such policies. This work will shed light on the factors that influenced the evolution of the U.S. immigration policy. The main focus will be on spotting the major factors that molded the changing patterns of immigration strategies vis-à-vis the admission of new immigrants. It is worthy to note that the work will examine the link between the important economic developments that accompanied the fluctuation of immigration throughout the history of the nation and the evolution of the U.S. immigration policy. To meet this end, this thesis will try to answer the following research questions: what factors contributed in molding the evolution of the U.S. immigration policy? And did the political decision making generate expected and planned society's and economy's directions? or was it the impact of the social and economic developments of the nation that pushed for and prompted the political agendas to shape and alter the U.S. immigration policy?

The work suggests that the immigration policy of the United States has been shaped by the developments that occurred in the country, notably economic, and which influenced the decision making with regards to the issue of immigration. The adoption of new immigration policies came as a response to such transformation, and the policies which were adopted were not initiated to generate a planned change. Therefore, the economic factors played the major role in the shaping of the U.S. immigration policy as the latter was molded to suit the economic needs of the nation.

Many historians and researchers have tackled the subject of immigration to the United States like Allan Jones Maldwyn, Richard Alba and Victor Nee, Philipp Ager and Worm Hansen Casper, George Borjas, Reynolds Farley, Dale McLemore, Steven Koven and Frank Goetzke, Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, Philip Eric Wolgin, and Wesley Greear. In their works, they tackled the immigration process of people from different countries, the different phases of the immigration policy, and the impact of such policy on the United States and American society. In fact, this work focuses on the evolution of the U.S. immigration system and the contribution lies in investigating the drivers that shaped and molded the making of such policies. The subject is dealt with from a different perspective as the emphasis is on the role of the society's developments

on the political decision making with regard to immigration. The purpose of the thesis is to reach new inferences with respect to the evolution of the U.S. immigration policy.

In this regard, this work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter entitled “Colonial Immigration and Immigration Policy from 1607 to Independence” provides an overview of the immigration policies adopted by the American colonies in colonial times. It explains the motives that pushed for the establishment of the Thirteen Colonies which, later, impacted on their strategies with regard to the admission of the new settlers and immigrants. The latter are studied to give a historical background of the first wave of immigrants which constituted the bedrock of the American society.

The second chapter titled “Post-Independence Immigrants: Who Came and Why They Came? (1790-1920)” constitutes a broad analysis of the post-independence immigrant waves. The light is shed on the rise of mass migration from Northern and Western Europe, the old countries of immigration, in addition to the migrants’ push factors that drove millions of people to leave their home countries and join the United States. The second part tackles the rise of immigration from Eastern and Southern European countries; the new immigrants’ motivations as well as the reasons behind the shift in the source countries will be the scope of inquiry with the purpose of explaining such transformation in the patterns of immigration to the country.

The next chapter, labeled “The Door Closes: the Shift of U.S. Immigration Policy from Liberal to Restrictive 1820-1965,” provides an extensive examination of the immigration policies adopted in the nineteenth century and until 1965. The period witnessed a shift in the U.S strategy from a liberal policy, which characterized the post-independence period until the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, to a restrictive one adopted in the early years of 1920s and which set numerical limitations on the admission of newcomers. The factors behind such a transformation are investigated in the goal of providing an explication to the change of the U.S. immigration dogma.

The final chapter entitled “New Immigration and Immigration Policy 1965-2002” tackles the third phase of the U.S. immigration policy. It starts with the analysis of the first steps that led to the repeal of the 1920s restrictive measures. Then, it examines and scrutinizes the new policy which was initiated by the 1965 legislation and

reinforced by the Immigration Act of 1990. The purpose of the chapter lies in the attempt to decrypt the real factors that impacted on the shaping of the new immigration system. The last part examines the effects of the U.S. immigration policy on the country and the society.

The mixed methods approach is applied in this work with the purpose of finding answers to the research questions on the basis of evidence and reasoning. In addition to the qualitative method through which data is collected, analyzed, and interpreted, the quantitative method is adopted in the goal of measuring the impact of immigration on the U.S. society and economy through the interpretation of numerical statistics gathered on the subject. This work relies on a set of primary sources and official documents, notably acts, government reports, charters, presidents' speeches, and authentic papers. In addition, it explores a number of books and articles of renowned authors and researchers for the sole objective of providing an authentic research work in the subject of immigration policy.

Chapter One: Colonial Immigration and Immigration Policy up to Independence

1.1. Introduction

Millions of immigrants from different parts of the globe have chosen the United States of America as their country of destination. They have brought with them different ethnic, racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious experiences. In the colonial period, the English, founders of the Thirteen Colonies that became later the United States, established themselves as the host group and imposed their cultural heritage and political institutions on the newcomers who arrived in big numbers. The English settlers had preferences in admitting new arrivals to their colonies; some colonies set a number of standards that the new immigrants had to conform to, other colonies welcomed a wide range of diverse immigrants. The colonial immigration policy was marked by the spirit of encouraging immigration to the New World, but at the same time putting few restrictive measures in the attempt of favoring one group over the others.

The first chapter deals with the colonial immigration policy and how it impacted on the society. It starts with the establishment of the thirteen American colonies along the Eastern seashore. The strategies that the colonies adopted to encourage or discourage immigration are examined to try to understand the colonial policy towards British and other European immigrants, and thus figure out what shaped that policy. The economic importance for both the colonies and the immigrants is discussed through analyzing the push and pull factors of the major immigrant groups in the goal of investigating the role of the economy in modeling the colonial policy vis-à-vis immigration.

1.2. Historical Background (before 1607)

America is “a nation of immigrants”¹ as described by the former U.S. President John Kennedy in his book of the same title. Immigration has marked the history of the American people from the Natives to the recent waves of immigrants. All Americans have had the same experience of being either immigrants or offspring of immigrants. Even the Native Indians are considered as immigrants by some scholars who claim that the native inhabitants of the Americas came from Asia some thousands of years ago, but there is no clear evidence about that. Their origins and time of arrival in the Americas is still under investigation. They are called the Indians though there is no indication that they came from the East Indies. The name goes back to the rediscovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus who attempted to find a new way to the Indies in 1492. When his trip ended in a small island in the Caribbean, he thought that he succeeded to reach the East Indies and the people he encountered were Indians. Since then, they have been known by this name. They were referred to as Indians even after the death of Columbus and the discovery that the land was a new continent and was named America.

The 1492 voyage across the Atlantic Ocean opened a new chapter in the world’s history. Columbus’ unwitting rediscovery of the Americas initiated a European competition over the exploration and settlement of the new continent, and the exploitation of both the New World and the Old World resources. The Spanish and Portuguese pioneered the European expeditions in the sixteenth century. They exploited the black African slaves and made voyages to meet their goals of settling in the Americas, converting the native inhabitants into Christianity, and finding the promising treasures as they wished. Other European countries followed and tried to establish colonies in the Americas like the Dutch, the French, and the Swedes. The English also had the ambition to be among those nations, but due to internal issues the step was delayed to the end of the sixteenth century.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed several English attempts to settle in the Americas. Although the Tudor Crown under Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) had ambitious plans to rival with the powerful Spaniards in conquering the promising New World, all their attempts were unsuccessful. In 1583, the attempt of Sir Humphrey Gilbert could not thrive. He claimed Newfoundland for Queen Elizabeth, but died at sea when trying to find a suitable site to establish a colony. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh was assigned by the Queen to establish an

¹ John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008)

English settlement in North America. His first attempt failed in 1585 due to a severe winter that obliged his men to return back to England. The English did not lose hope; in 1587 Sir Raleigh sent John White to the same place, the Roanoke Island. The beginning of the expedition was promising as they began building the colony thanks to the description they had received from the previous voyages. White left the colony searching for supplies in England and planned to comeback after a short time, but he was delayed. When White joined the colony after three years, he found it abandoned, thus that was another English failure.

The reason behind the delay of John White and consequently the failure of the establishment of the Roanoke colony was the war between England and Spain. The military conflict arose as a result of their trading competition and religious issues. King Philip II of Spain (1556-1598) did not admit Queen Elizabeth's support for the attacks led by the English pirates, the Sea Dogs, on Spanish ships and ports to seize their treasure fleets. On the other hand, he had a strong religious zeal to overthrow England's Protestant monarch and substitute it with one that would restore the Catholic Church in England. This resulted in a conflict between the two monarchs. The English chance for victory seemed slim as the Spaniards had the most powerful naval force in the world, the Armada. In 1588, King Philip II decided to invade England and sent his war fleet to fight the English who had smaller ships. Unexpectedly, the English won the war. One half of the Spanish fleet was later destroyed by violent storms when they tried to flee northward to Scotland. It was the defeat that marked the end of the Spanish supremacy over the seas and triggered the emergence of other European nations, especially England, to undertake expeditions over the ocean and towards the Americas, and consequently secure their future settlements.

1.3. The Establishment of the Thirteen English Colonies in North America 1607-1732

The establishment of the thirteen colonies occurred gradually; it took the English more than a century to colonize the eastern coast of what has become the United States of America. Historically, the colonies were divided into three parts; the northern colonies were referred to as the New England colonies. The latter included Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were referred to as the Middle colonies. The other five colonies were named the Southern colonies, and included Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It is worthy to note that the split of the colonies

was only descriptive and based on their geographical position and had no political, religious, cultural, or ethnic background.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the English massive colonization and the peopling of the New World. By 1732, the thirteen colonies were established. The first English colonists faced hard times in making their colonies endure the bad conditions of the new continent. They started having their own plantation and economy, which was constantly growing. The need for new workers was also rising. Immigrants from England as well as Europe were longed for. Since the New World plantations did not attract the expected laborers, due to the fact that the people in Europe feared risking their lives in a land that they ignored, the settlers started thinking about new policies to attract hands. Workers were brought, voluntarily or involuntarily, from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, Sweden, the Netherlands, and even Africa to the colonies. Thanks to the newcomers, the British colonies in North America succeeded in strengthening the English presence in the New World and, thus, set the bedrock of what has become the United States of America.

It was not until 1607 that the English succeeded to establish and secure their first permanent colony, Jamestown. The colony constituted the beginning of the English settlements in North America. It was founded by Christopher Newport with 103 settlers. The settlement was established by a group of investors who founded a private company called the Virginia Company of London in 1606. Jamestown was a company-owned settlement; the company owned the land and its men. It had been granted the right to settle in Virginia by King James I (1603-1625) in the same year. The aims of the company's leaders were to make profits by finding wealth and resources in the New World, spread Christianity among Native Indians, strengthen the position of England as one of the leading European powers, and realize the English desire to be a wealthy colonial empire and compete with the Spaniards who pioneered the establishment of permanent colonies in the New World.

When the English arrived and settled in Jamestown, they were confronted to the presence of the native Indians. The attitude of the English settlers towards the original inhabitants of the land was vague. On the one hand, they considered them as inferior, uncivilized and backward, and on the other hand they expected to receive their help and guidance as the Indians knew the region. Peter Rose claimed that the number of the first inhabitants of what is now the United

States and Canada before the conquests was estimated at 1.500.000.² The first contact of the colonists with the Native Indians was friendly and beneficial for the English. When they arrived, the Indians did not treat them as a threat. They started trading with each other; in return for corn and other food, the English traded metal goods with the Indians. The English depended on the native inhabitants for food because it was not easy to grow crops in that unknown land in a short time. They did not try to work and provide their needs since they were relying only on the Indians. Even with this help, the colonists were suffering.

The success of the colony of Jamestown was vital for the English. They did not wish their first and unique settlement to be a failure because that would influence future English colonization of North America. The bad conditions that the settlers were suffering from put the colony in jeopardy; if the colony of Jamestown had succumbed, the whole ambitious project of the English crown would have failed. In 1608 and as a reaction to that bad situation, an English relief ship arrived but found only 38 men.³ The other settlers died because of starvation, diseases, or deadly conflicts with the Indians over the lands. The colony was not making the profits as hoped by its proprietors and was about to be lost. That hopeless situation drove the Virginia Company of London to send Captain John Smith in an attempt of saving what could be saved.

The relations between the settlers and the Indians deteriorated rapidly after the arrival of Captain Smith. The latter was a severe commander and forced his men to build the shelters where they lived and plant the food they ate, which meant additional conflicts with the Indians who were not ready to hand over their lands to the settlers. Hostility was from both parties as they regarded each other as a threat. The Indians rejected the English presence in the Americas, and the colonists wanted to enslave the Indians and take their lands. The English greed in the region worsened their relationship with the Indians. As a reaction, the Indians cut the supplies and decided to starve the English colonists. Cox and Alba mentioned that “In the winter of 1609-1610, the majority of the settlers starved to death. Some resorted to cannibalism.”⁴ They even stole food from the Indians. The tensions between the two sides grew and hostility increased.

Tobacco constituted the hope of survival of the colony of Jamestown; it was the most profitable crop that the settlers relied on to make profits and bring economic stability to their

² Peter I. Rose, *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States*, 4th ed., (USA: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1990), 13

³ Caroline Cox, Ken Alcala, *Opening Up North America 1497-1800*, (USA: Chelsea House, 2009), 52

⁴ Ibid.

settlement. The English desire to seize more lands for the tobacco plantation was a factor that worsened the relations between the two sides. The English, who hoped to achieve economic profit from the land, transformed the region into a big agricultural field. They seized many of the fields that the Indians used to feed from and turned them into successful tobacco fields. This crop found success in the European market. The spectacular growth of the tobacco plantations in Virginia necessitated new workers. With this expansion, people from England started invading the colony to work in the fields. The Indians did not appreciate this since it was at the expense of their fields and villages. Perdue and Green pointed out that the “Indians and settlers found themselves locked in deadly competition for the fields that fed one and promised riches for the other.”⁵ As a result, bloody conflicts were triggered causing human losses among both sides but especially among the Indians who were weaker than the English because of their primitive weapons.

At the beginning of the settlement, only men were allowed to migrate to Jamestown; McDowell and Beliles mentioned that it was not until late in 1619 that women joined the settlers to found families.⁶ The reason behind that was the will to establish a well-based settlement to make it conceivable for the presence of families and children. The first settlers knew the difficult circumstances they would face. In fact, the colony succeeded to overcome the obstacles of the first years of its existence thanks to the tobacco crop that was grown in vast fields. This was the beginning of the growth of the colony since the colonists were allowed to marry and get children, thus increase demographically and form a community.

The colony’s expansion had been so rapid that the colonists found themselves possessing huge fields of land in the region. To secure their growing tobacco fields, the English needed workers. Many English people were ready to leave their country and settle elsewhere due to some reasons. One of the major factors that persuaded many English people to immigrate to the New World was their bad economic situation. The period between 1620 and 1635 saw a very difficult economic condition in England. People could not find work and unemployment spread. At times, England saw an expanding woolen industry; the latter, as it was emphasized by Hamby, dominated an ever increasing supply of wool to keep the looms running.⁷ In addition, bad crops worsened the situation, so farmers, who sought quick profits, seized the opportunity

⁵ Theda Perdue, Michael D. Green, *North American Indians*, (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2010), 28

⁶ Stephen McDowell, Mark Beliles, *The American Dream: Jamestown and the Planting of the American Christian*, (USA: Providence Foundation, 2007)

⁷ Alonzo Hamby, *Outline of U.S. History*, (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2007), 5

and turned their lands into pastures, and became sheep raisers. As a result, many people found themselves jobless. They were compelled to flee that bad situation for greater economic opportunity, and the best choice that was available for them was in the newly established English colonies in the Americas.

The tense political and religious situation constituted another important push factor that obliged many people to leave England and join the Americas. Some people were oppressed because they had different political and religious beliefs. The colonists who were the first English migrants to the New World had many goals to realize. Unlike the majority of the first English migrants who joined the New World for pure economic reasons and the quest for better financial circumstances, some other migrant settlers chose North America as a political and religious refuge. The oppressed and persecuted English migrants fled what they considered as a bad political scene in England. They sought political freedom and dreamt of establishing a place where oppressed people could be free and equal. Religion also played an important role in urging English people to make their way to the colonies. The desire of some English migrants to find a home where they could practice their faiths freely without any oppression was their unique objective. They were not allowed to do so in England. Their different religious doctrines made of them undesirable and persecuted.

In December 1620, Plymouth, the second English permanent colony in North America, was founded by a Puritan religious group, the Pilgrims, and on religious basis. The Pilgrims, or Separatists, were a Protestant religious group that did not agree with the Anglican Church and asked for more religious freedom. Their beliefs were different; they aimed at establishing their own church and separating from the Church of England because they claimed that it was not as Protestant as they desired and, thus, needed reformation. They were not granted this in England. Consequently, they were persecuted and oppressed. Their first destination was the Netherlands, and then they fled to the New World. Their goal was to find a place where they could worship God the way they viewed as appropriate. They established the Plymouth colony which was in the region of Massachusetts in 1620. It was also the first among New England colonies. It followed Jamestown as the second successful settlement. The colony was financed by the Virginia Company of London just like Jamestown, and was also founded on economic basis. The society established in this colony was influenced by the religious practices and principles that this group of religious men secured and defended. The Pilgrims constituted the majority for a long period of time before they were joined by Protestant European immigrants.

Map 1.1. New England colonies



Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, *Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 70

By the end of 1630, the Puritans established the third successful English colony in the Americas. Butler claimed that 1.000 Puritan immigrants on eleven ships arrived in Massachusetts.⁸ They were a Protestant group who, like the Pilgrims, did not accept the Church of England as their religious authority. They thought that it, though it was considered as a Protestant Church, still kept many of the rituals of Roman Catholicism. Unlike the Pilgrims, the Puritans' aim was not to separate from the Church of England, but rather, as they claimed, to purify it. When King Charles I (1625-1649) took the throne in 1625, the Puritans were afraid because the king was against all types of religious nonconformists. They decided to escape before he would force them to conform to the Church of England which they strongly rejected.

⁸ Jon Butler, *Religion in Colonial America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31

They chose the New World as a destination to try to find a sanctuary where they could practice their faith freely. They founded Massachusetts Bay colony in 1630. It was the second among New England colonies. The colony was an investment owned by the Massachusetts Bay Company. The vast majority of the people who migrated and settled the colony were Puritans. Delbanco and Himert pointed out that almost 20.000 of them sailed to the colony up to 1640.⁹ It is considered as the first heavy wave of immigration to the colonies. They also established Boston. Though the colonies were also commercial, they were primarily religious in nature.

Maryland was another colony founded in 1632. It was second after Virginia (1607) among the Southern Colonies. It was founded by George Calvert, Lord Baltimore with other settlers. The settlement was established for two main reasons: to make profits like the other colonies, and most importantly because Lord Baltimore wanted it to be a refuge for the persecuted Roman Catholics of England. The latter were oppressed and persecuted in England by the Church. They also, like the Puritans, sought to find a home where their faith could be exercised freely and without restrictions. In Maryland, they faced no troubles in the early years with the already present big number of Protestant Puritans, but later they were the target of religious intolerance which would be explained in the following point.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the English were encouraged to immigrate and join the American colonies. But the period between 1661 and 1685 witnessed a change in England's immigration policy towards the Americas. The English monarchy restricted emigration to the colonies. They strongly believed in the economic theory of Mercantilism. The theory states that the wealth of a nation is in its people, thus the loss of the people means the loss of the nation's wealth and the collapse of the economy.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the establishment of new colonies was not interrupted. The only trouble was about the source of immigrants since the English were not encouraged to sail to America.

When establishing Pennsylvania in 1681, William Penn, the English real estate entrepreneur, had to go to Europe in a mission of bringing settlers. The colony was a religion-based settlement. Being a Quaker, Penn wanted to make of his colony a haven for his coreligionists who had been present in the colonies since the 1650's, but the establishment of a

⁹ Andrew Delbanco and Alan Heimert, *The Puritans in America: a Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001), 186.

¹⁰ Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of immigration*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 5-6

colony devoted to their cause strengthened their presence in colonial America. In addition to the Quakers of the other colonies, thousands of England's Quakers crossed the ocean and

Map 1.2. The Lower South



Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, *op. cit.*, 103

Immigrated to Pennsylvania. The Quakers, or the Religious Society of Friends, were also religiously persecuted because of their religious convictions that were in contradiction with the Anglican ones. Unlike the Puritans, they were tolerant towards other religious groups. Dinnerstein and Reimers stated that almost 25,000 English and Welsh members of the Society of Friends arrived in the colony between 1675 and 1725.¹¹ Though there were other religious

¹¹ Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 6

colonists, the Quakers established themselves as the host group in Pennsylvania thanks to their numerical superiority.

Other British colonies were formed in North America during the period 1607-1732. They were basically established for economic and financial profits, but the people who chose to migrate to them were seeking either religious freedom or political liberty. In addition to Massachusetts, three other New England colonies were formed. New Hampshire was established in 1623. It was followed by Connecticut in 1635 which was populated by some Puritans who left Massachusetts in the hope of establishing more freedom in addition to better economic opportunities. One year later the fourth New England colony was founded; Rhode Island was established in 1636 to gain religious freedom. Like Connecticut, it was established by some people from Massachusetts Bay colony who sought more religious liberty. In addition to Pennsylvania, three other Middle Colonies were formed in 1664; first, the Dutch New Netherland colony was seized by the English by force and became New York. Even under the British rule, the colony kept its ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity due to the tolerant policy that the Dutch were practicing to attract settlers. McNeese mentioned that in addition to the Dutch, there were Swedish, Finnish, English, Indians, and even Jews and Blacks.¹² In the same year, a part of New York was turned into a new colony that was named New Jersey. The new colony's aims were the same as the other colonies: political and religious liberty, in addition to improved economic chances. The fourth among the Middle Colonies was Delaware. It had been in the hands of the Swedes and the Dutch but the English sized it in 1664. The colonists had economic ambitions which could be realized through growing their cash crop, tobacco. As noted earlier, Virginia (1607) was the first among the Southern Colonies; it was followed by Maryland in 1632. In 1653, Carolina was established by the English, and after a decade it was divided to include North Carolina and South Carolina colonies which were among the original thirteen colonies. The Carolinas were founded for political and religious tolerance, in addition to economic profitability. The economy of the Carolinas, like the other Southern Colonies, was based on agriculture and based its labor force on slavery. It was not until 1732 that the thirteenth English colony and the fifth Southern colony was established. At the beginning, the colony of Georgia was founded on tolerant grounds, all immigrants were welcome, the Indians and blacks were treated well, and even slavery was banned in the colony. That open policy did not last long because the colony was turned into royal in 1753, and the policy of exclusion was once again restored in the colony.

¹² Tim McNeese, *Discovering U.S. History: Colonial America 1543–1763*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2010), 69

Map 1.3. The Middle Colonies



Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, op. cit., 88

Despite the diverse policies adopted by the colonies, big numbers of immigrants crossed the Atlantic Ocean to join the British North American settlements. The evolution of immigrants' numbers in the seventeenth century British colonies is shown in the following table which highlights the spectacular growth of the number of white immigrants to the colonies:

Year	Total population	Concentration in colonies
By 1640	25.000 whites	- 60% in New England colonies and Maryland - Most of the remainder in Virginia
By 1660	80.000 whites	- 50% in Virginia and Maryland
By 1688	200.000 whites	- 75.000 in New England colonies— Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine 44.000 - New Hampshire 6.000 - Rhode Island 6.000 - Connecticut 17.000-20.000 - 50.000 in Virginia - 25.000 in Maryland - 20.000 in New York - 10.000 New Jersey - 8.000 in North and South Carolinas

Table 1.1. Estimates of Colonial Population 1640 – 1688¹³

The total number of the white immigrants who settled in the British colonies doubled eight times in less than half a century which constitutes a rapid growth. On the other hand, the proportion of immigrants in the earliest established colonies, New England colonies and Virginia, was higher than the remaining colonies. By 1688, New England colonies and Virginia comprised more than 60% of the total population.

Unlike the Dutch and French colonies in North America, the British colonies succeeded in attracting thousands of European immigrants. The English experience was more fruitful. The methods of attracting laborers and immigrants differed from those of the French and Dutch. For instance, in 1664 when Britain occupied and took the Dutch colony of New Netherland, which became later New York, the influx of immigrants to the colony increased rapidly. The English

¹³ Carroll D. Wright, *The History and Growth of the United States Census prepared for the Senate Committee of the Census*. Washington: Government Printing Office, February 24, 1900. 56th Congress, 1st session. Document n°194. 8-9

succeeded to attract in few years what the Dutch could not in decades. The success of the English was due to the immigration policy that was adopted by the British colonies.

1.4. Colonial immigration policy

Since the English colonies in North America were comprised of many ethnic groups, one may inquire about the identity of the group which was receiving the newcomers, and thus shaping the colonial immigration policy. The seventeenth century was the era in which the English established themselves as the host group. The overwhelming majority of the people who settled in the British North American colonies were English. As they were the founders, they set the standards of the first American society which was based on the Anglo-Protestant model. English was established as the compulsory language and Protestantism, in most of the colonies, the only religious faith to be accepted. The two norms were the key-elements that have constituted the American character and identity throughout the history of the United States of America. What facilitated the spread of such policy were their big numbers, and their status as a majority group. During the course of the century, they were always superior in number than the other immigrants present in the colonies.

The settlers brought their English culture and the spirit of their racial superiority vis-à-vis other European immigrants. They believed in their superiority over the other races and regarded their culture as more civilized. They started using different notions to describe the newcomers. They considered the immigrants as foreigners, strangers, or even aliens. The new immigrants who were received in the colonies had to fit the standards put by the host group so as to be accepted in the established Anglo-American society. They had to respect the fact that English was the dominant language and Protestantism was the faith practiced by the majority. They started shaping the immigration policy of the colonies which was based on many attractive ways in order to recruit the maximum number of workers and settlers to strengthen the growth and prosperity of the colonies, but also on some restrictive or regulative measures to prevent the undesirables from immigrating to their colonies.

It is necessary to know the policy-maker before one can deal with the immigration policies that the colonists adopted, since there were three different types of systems of government in the British American colonies. Each colony had a royal, a charter, or a proprietary

government. According to their systems of government, the colonies were also divided into three categories: royal colonies, charter colonies, and proprietary colonies. It is worthy to note that the thirteen colonies had been established as either charter or proprietary colonies, but most of them were turned into royal colonies. The following table shows the system of government of each colony at the eve of the American Revolution:

Colonies	Year of establishment	Region	Initial system of government	New system of government
Virginia	1607	Southern colonies	Charter	Royal in 1624
Massachusetts	1620	New England	Charter	Royal in 1691
New Hampshire	1623	New England	Charter	Royal in 1686
Maryland	1632	Southern colonies	Proprietary	Royal from 1691 to 1715 then returned proprietary
Connecticut	1635	New England	Charter	
Rhode Island	1636	New England	Charter	
North Carolina	1653	Southern colonies	Proprietary	Royal in 1719
South Carolina	1663	Southern colonies	Proprietary	Royal in 1729
New York	1664	Middle colonies	Proprietary	Royal in 1685
New Jersey	1664	Middle colonies	Proprietary	Royal in 1702
Delaware	1664	Middle colonies	Proprietary	
Pennsylvania	1781	Middle colonies	Proprietary	
Georgia	1732	Southern colonies	Charter	Royal in 1752

Table 1.2. Proprietary, Charter, and Royal Colonies¹⁴

The four New England colonies were established as charter colonies, but Massachusetts and New Hampshire were turned to royal colonies. On the other hand, all the middle colonies

¹⁴ Farouk Beghdadi, "Economy and the Shaping of the Immigration Policy of the British American Colonies (1624-1775)," *Traduction Et Langues* 17, no. 01 (2018): pp. 98-111, 99.

were established as proprietary colonies, and then New York and New Jersey became royal colonies. The Southern Colonies had both charter and proprietary systems of government before Virginia and the Carolinas became royal colonies. Maryland was turned to a royal colony for a period of twenty-four years before it was restored to proprietary in 1715. At the eve of the revolution, eight colonies among the thirteen British colonies were operating under a royal system of government, three colonies remained under proprietary governments, and two colonies kept their charter governments.

The process of the transition in status of the colonies occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and under different monarchs. The Stuarts changed the status of six colonies starting with King James I (1603-1625) who turned Virginia into a royal colony in 1624. After King James II (1685-1689) took the crown, New York and New Hampshire saw their status change to royal colonies in 1685 and 1686 respectively. Queen Mary II (1689-1694) also changed the status of Massachusetts and Maryland in 1691. For Maryland, the proprietary government was reestablished later in 1715, when the Hanoverian King George I (1714-1727) restored Maryland's property to the Calvert family. In 1702, New Jersey became a royal colony under the control of Queen Anne (1702-1714), who was the last to rule from the Stuart House. When the Hanoverians took the lead, they turned three colonies to royal colonies starting with North Carolina under King George I in 1719, and South Carolina and Georgia under George II (1727-1760) in 1729 and 1752 respectively.

The colonial political diversity could be seen in how the colonies were governed under those three types of governments. The Royal colonies were under the direct control of the King who appointed the governors. All the decisions in the colonies' assemblies were to be made referring to the English laws and with the consent of the British monarch. The Charter colonies were owned by investors who were granted charters from the King. The investors were allowed to form a government and make laws that did not contradict the way the colony should be governed which had previously been determined in the charter. The Proprietary colonies were owned by a single person or a group of persons such as a family. The proprietors received the territories from the British monarch and had the power to make laws freely, which explains the amount of freedom and opportunities that were present in those colonies.

Since the colonies were operating under three different systems of government, one may say that their policies towards immigrants were not the same. The change in status of some colonies may draw the attention towards the change that might have occurred on the strategies of

those colonies before and after becoming Royal, and the impact of such political transition on the number of newcomers. One may inquire about the number of immigrants the other colonies that remained non-Royal received, and the role that the nature of the system of government played in shaping their immigration policies.

The following table shows in details all the thirteen colonies, their year of establishment, their initial status and the transition of some of them into Royal colonies, and most importantly the evolution of the number of white immigrants in every colony and all the three regions of the British American colonies until 1775.

	Colony	Change in status	1688	1700	1754	1775	
New England colonies	Massachusetts	Charter/ Royal (1691)	44.000	70.000	207.000	352.000	
	New Hampshire	Charter/ Royal (1686)	6.000	10.000	50.000	102.000	
	Rhode Island	Charter	6.000	10.000	35.000	58.000	
	Connecticut	Charter	17.000-20.000	30.000	133.000	202.000	
	Total			75.000	120.000	425.000	712.000
Middle colonies	New York	Proprietary/ Royal (1685)	20.000	30.000	85.000	238.000	
	New Jersey	Proprietary/ Royal (1702)	10.000	15.000	73.000	138.000	
	Pennsylvania	Proprietary	12.000	20.000	125.000	341.000	
	Delaware	Proprietary				37.000	
	Total			42.000	65.000	353.000	754.000
Southern colonies	Maryland	Proprietary/Royal (1691-1715)/ Proprietary	25.000	25.000	104.000	174.000	
	Virginia	Charter/ royal (1624)	50.000	40.000	168.000	300.000	
	North Carolina	Proprietary/ Royal (1719)	8.000	7.000	5.000	70.000	181.000
	South Carolina	Proprietary/ Royal (1729)			40.000	93.000	
	Georgia	Charter/ Royal (1752)			5.000	27.000	
	Total				83.000	77.000	387.000	775.000
Total population			200.000	262.000	1.165.000	2.241.000	

Table 1.3. The evolution of the white population in the thirteen colonies 1688-1775¹⁵

The analysis of the data shown on the previous table allows studying the evolution of the white immigration to the colonies before and after their change in status. It is noteworthy to say that the peopling of all the colonies had been steady before 1775. One can notice that by 1775, the New England colonies, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies had almost the same

¹⁵ Farouk Beghdadi, op. cit., 102.

number of white inhabitants; the three regions crossed the bar of 700.000 souls. The average year of establishment of the eight royal colonies is 1863, which is so close to that of the other five colonies (1860). The number of immigrants that each colony received is important in trying to figure out the impact of the transition of some colonies into royal; the eight royal colonies counted 1.431.000 inhabitants against 812.000 citizens in the other ones. The comparison between the average number of inhabitants in both types of colonies leads to the conclusion that they received almost the same numbers; the average number of a royal colony is 178.000 compared to 162.400 for a charter or proprietary colony. Not only Massachusetts, New York, or Virginia exceeded the threshold of 200.000 inhabitants, the charter colony Connecticut and even the proprietary Pennsylvania did so, which reinforces the fact that the change of status of the colonies did not affect the number of newcomers that flew to their soils.

The previous analysis suggests that the immigration policy of the colonies had not been influenced by the change in status of some of the colonies. The numbers expressed clearly that though the colonies were established in different regions, and had different governments but they all succeeded in attracting big numbers of immigrants. One can only say that the decisive element was the immigration policy that the colonies adopted in their unremitting attempts to provide abundant laborers to secure their rising plantations. Though the colonists of the Royal and Proprietary colonies could do little without referring to their Monarch or Proprietor in establishing their policy of immigration, their policies did not differ much from the Charter colonists who enjoyed greater freedom. The reason behind that was that the King along with the colonists shared the same objective of acquiring the laborers who were necessary for covering the shortage in the plantations and ensuring a stable growth of the colonies' resources, and consequently the British economy. The only thing that mattered to both sides, the colonists and the monarchy, was the identity of those newcomers. The English had preferences in admitting new immigrants; they adopted some policies that were intended to either encourage or discourage immigration. The policies were not the same in all the colonies, each colony tried to have a suitable policy according to its economic, political, and religious perspectives.

Peopling the established British settlements in the Americas was of great importance to the English. Their desire was to build trading posts and compete with the other European powers in exploiting the riches of those vast virgin lands. At the beginning, it was not easy to found permanent settlements, but through time the colonies prospered and were growing, they were able to receive more immigrants from England, but also from the other countries of Europe and

even Africa. Bernard stated that the British government along with the English settlers used many policies to try to supply the colonies with the sufficient laborers to work in the fields, the investors to flourish the economy, and immigrants to found communities and permanent societies to secure the English presence in what was to become the United States of America.¹⁶

The first policy used by the British government was to send convicts who were in English jails to the New World in the hope of getting rid of the undesirable people. It saw that the flourishing colonies were a national success that would be beneficial for the country since they claimed that England, at that time, was overpopulated. The judges gave them an opportunity of not serving their sentences and leaving the country. Though their number was not very large but it created a feeling of discontent among the colonists, especially in Virginia and Maryland. The latter received the largest part of the transported prisoners.

The government's attitude created a conflict with the colonists since the immigration policy of the British American colonies was a two-level oriented policy. Both the British government along with the colonies' established legislatures that could control immigration to the New World. As an illustration of such a clash, the Virginia assembly did not accept the sending of convicts in the 1660's. They were frightened that those criminals would undermine the safety and peace of the colony. They decided that "no person trading with Virginia, either by land or sea, should bring in any 'jailbirds'."¹⁷ The decision was widely supported by the colonists. Maryland issued the same legislation in 1676. The English parliament, being more powerful, overturned the colonists' decisions and continued transporting convicts to the colonies through the eighteenth century. Maldwyn estimated the convicts who were sent to America and the West Indies in the eighteenth century at no less than 30,000.¹⁸ That was to continue till the American Revolution.

The colonists and the British government used the policy of land grants to attract new immigrants and cover the shortage of labor. With the settlement of North America, vast lands were seized and needed large numbers of workers to be cultivated. At the beginning, the English settlers tried hard to enslave the Native Indians, but their efforts were unsuccessful. Therefore, they turned to the white European laborers and those from the British Isles. They offered many

¹⁶ William S. Bernard, "Immigration: History of U.S. Policy" in *The Immigration Reader: America in a multidisciplinary Perspective*, (USA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998), 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 49

¹⁸ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 21.

advantages to the workers and especially to the persons who imported them. They sold them lands at low prices. They even granted free lands as a reward to the colonists who succeeded in bringing other settlers to the colonies. This deal concerned the immigrants who could pay the cost of the voyage to the colonies.

In fact, the overwhelming majority of the English who desired to immigrate to the Americas did not have the financial resources to support their voyage. Therefore, a system was set to attract the English poor people who wished to join the colonies but they were not able to pay the expenses of such an expensive trip. The colonizing agencies such as the Virginia or Massachusetts Bay companies offered a deal; the workers had to sign a contract with the company. Under the agreement, the companies paid the cost of the workers' passage to the settlements, and in return for such a contract, the workers had to work for the company for a certain period of time, usually from four to seven years. The system was called 'indentured servitude.' The servants were sheltered and fed. At the end of the period of servitude, the servants got the status and rights of free men and received their freedom dues, generally a sum of money or a tract of land.

The indentured servitude system succeeded to attract thousands of newcomers to the colonies. Poor Englishmen emigrated to the New World in the hope of being landowners and escaping their hard situation in Europe which was characterized by unemployment, starvation, and oppression. As noted earlier, the situation in Europe and particularly England encouraged people to leave and settle in America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The system also served to import black Africans for a certain period before they were turned to mere slaves. The efficiency of the system is well shown by the 1.500 bonded laborers that were imported each year to the Chesapeake Bay in the seventeenth century.¹⁹ It was one of the main attracting policies that worked together and made of the Americas one of the most popular destinations. It is estimated that the number of indentured servants accounted between one-half and two-thirds of the total white immigrants during the colonial period.²⁰

The way the colonies accepted the new arrivals in the Americas was vital for any immigrant in choosing their destination. If we draw a comparison between the British colonies on the one hand and the French and Spanish colonies on the other hand, we may say that the

¹⁹ William S. Bernard, *Op. cit.*, 50

²⁰ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *op. cit.*, 9

main reason behind the huge influx of immigrants into the British colonies rather than the previously mentioned colonies was religious acceptance towards the newcomers from the other countries. Unlike the French and Spanish, the English showed greater tolerance towards new immigrants. They welcomed non-Catholics amid them since the Church of England was separate from the Roman Catholic Church, which explains the large number of immigrants who immigrated for the sole reason of practicing their faith freely. All the Protestant fellows were welcomed in the English colonies. The latter were their refuge from the Catholic oppression and persecution in Europe.

The majority of the seventeenth century immigrants were English of Protestant religious faith. They were the pioneers who set the tone for European immigration. They succeeded in establishing themselves as the host group. By 1680, many European immigrants started to flow in large numbers. They were Germans, Scots-Irish, Irish, French, and Dutch...etc. It is estimated that the number of newcomers to the colonies jumped from 250,000 in 1680 to over 2 million in 1760.²¹ The overwhelming majority of them were Protestants. They were attracted by the possibility that was given to them to practice their faith without being surveyed as what was happening to them in their home countries. The English tolerance was not limited only to Protestants; even Catholics could be accepted by some colonists.

The religious tolerance towards religiously persecuted Protestant people stimulated a big flow of immigrants who flooded to the New England colonies. The latter were established by the Puritans on purely religious foundations. When trying to recruit settlers and workers, they took into account the preferences of immigrants. They did not accept people of different religious convictions. They relied on religious attraction and rejected firmly the methods of advertisement used by the colony of Virginia. For them, the only element that mattered for selecting or rejecting new members was religion. The Puritans considered their colonies as a place for the people who were not free to worship the way they pleased, they were welcomed and encouraged to leave their country and join New England.

It is noteworthy to say that although the major reason that drove the New England colonists was the quest of religious freedom, they did not share this freedom with all immigrants. They were persecuted and excluded by the Protestant Church of England despite the fact that

²¹ Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 1

they were also Protestant. The Anglican Church did not consider them conformist to it. Their policy in America did not differ much from the one they had suffered from in England; they practiced exclusion against all non-Protestant immigrants. They tolerated only Protestants to join their colonies, and denied the entry especially to the Roman Catholics. The second Virginia Charter of 1609 expressed the English religious zeal when establishing their colonies:

And lastely, because the principall effect which wee cann desier or expect of this action is the conversion and reduccion of the people in those partes unto the true worshipp of God and Christian religion, in which respect wee would be lothe that anie person should be permitted to passe that wee suspected to affect the superstitions of the Church of Rome, wee doe hereby declare that it is oure will and pleasure that none be permitted to passe in anie voiage from time to time to be made into the saide countrye ²²

The impact of England's commitment to Protestantism was clear. The colonists shared the same objective with the British government; both wanted to show to the world the role of England as the defender of the Protestant faith against the Roman Catholic Church, and thus establishing it as the religion of its overseas territories. To secure their faith, the English set restrictive measures to make the immigration of the Catholics to their colonies difficult.

If the New England colonies restricted new arrivals to Puritans, other colonies, such as Maryland and Pennsylvania, established less restrictive policies to try to attract more workers. They advertised for their colonies as being the refuge of those who were religiously offended and burdened. All Christians were welcomed and even Jews were not rejected. New England colonies remained an asylum for those who were seeking the reformation of the English Church, Pennsylvania was the destination favored by the Quakers who were also welcoming other Christians, whereas Maryland had been a shelter for non-Protestant Christians.

Maryland was established by Lord Baltimore who hoped to found a colony open to all faiths. He was a Catholic aristocrat who sought settling in the New World and making a haven for his fellow coreligionists who were also persecuted by the Protestant Church of England. The clash was with the Puritans who were already present in the region, since they were against

²² "The Second Virginia Charter 1609," The Second Virginia Charter 1609 < 1600-1650 < Documents < American History From Revolution To Reconstruction and beyond, accessed September 30, 2017, <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1600-1650/the-second-virginia-charter-1609.php>.

anyone who was not Puritan. Lord Baltimore and Maryland Assembly issued an important act in the colonial history of the United States: The Maryland Toleration Act of 1649. Though the Act had lasted only five years, but it had a strong effect on the eighteenth century, and beyond, openness of Americans towards pluralism and religious tolerance. The Act stated:

That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is Curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the father sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproach full Speeches, words or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three persons thereof, shalbe punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires²³

Lord Baltimore aimed, through the Act, at protecting the Catholics present in the colony by protecting all the Christians who believed in Jesus Christ as the son of God and the Trinity which is the pillar of the Christian faith. The act granted religious freedom to all Christians including the Catholics and Protestants. He believed that by strengthening religious tolerance, the colony would live in political stability which, in return, would affect its economy positively. It also set punishment against anyone who committed acts of intolerance towards the society's minorities. Maryland received important numbers of European Catholics who were attracted by Maryland's religious policy. The Act was not adopted by the other colonies because they did not share the same religious policy. The era of openness did not last for a long period because after five years, the Act was repealed by the Protestant majority in the Maryland legislature. The Roman Catholics became unprotected legally. They were regarded as aliens and undesirables. The Maryland's new policy of exclusion towards the Catholics was practiced by almost all colonies but the degree of application varied from one colony to another.

The openness of Maryland was also experienced by New York, but, also, it was rapidly abolished. The immigration policy used by the colonists of New York was to try to attract more workers through spreading equality and religious tolerance among immigrants. The New York assembly passed the Charter of Liberties and Privileges in 1683 which set the way in which the colony would be organized. It was a courageous initiative which aimed at "the better

²³ Maryland Toleration Act of 1649, retrieved from David Felsen, *Immigration from Colonial Time to the Revolution. Immigration: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, (USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009), 8.

Establishing the Government of this province of New Yorke and that Justice and Right may be Equally done to all persons within the same.’’²⁴ The charter was used for only three years, since the colony’s status was changed to royal, and that meant the change in the structure and the way the colony was governed. As a result of that change, anti-Catholicism was restored in the colony; though the measures were not as restrictive as in the New England colonies, but the Catholics were not preferred and their admission was regulated.

The British government did not wish to interfere much in the regulation of the admission of new settlers and workers, except in two cases: the sending of jailbirds to the colonies and, as noted earlier, the period in which Englishmen were discouraged to join the colonies in the second half of the seventeenth century which resulted in a shortage of laborers in the colonies. To afford the colonies with workers, charters were granted to agencies to transport any stranger to the colonies. The British government left the task of controlling the flow of newcomers to the colonies. The latter did not have a shared policy. Some colonies favored immigrants from the same religious background and restricted entry especially to Catholics. The aim was to make of Protestantism the sole religious faith that would dominate the colonies.

The English alone were not enough to populate and exploit all the vast territories in North America; that is why they did not exclude the idea of recruiting laborers from other countries. If the seventeenth century voluntary immigrants were basically from England, those of the following century were purely Europeans. They were also attracted to the British colonies due to the same reasons that drove the English. They were indentured servants, religious persecuted people, and most of them were Protestants. They were also attracted by the economic opportunities the colonies were offering. The latter used all the methods of advertisement to show to the whole world that their colonies were the promised land of liberty, freedom, and economic progress.

One of the most successful ways that attracted more settlers was used by the colony of Pennsylvania. The colony’s immigration policy was based on a well-organized commercial advertisement. The latter was led and sponsored by the founder of the Quaker settlement William Penn. He wanted to attract settlers and workers to populate his colony. To do so, he published many pamphlets in many European languages talking about what he considered as the bounties

²⁴ New York Charter of Liberties and Privileges, 1683

of the colony. The description made of the landscape a perfect place for plantation, housing, success, and chiefly for political and religious freedom. He promised them a life that would be much better than the one they were having in their home countries; in which they would be blessed with all the facilities to achieve their ambitions. Since he believed in equality, he guaranteed to secure their rights and fight any kind of oppression or persecution. What helped spread the good reputation of his colony was the letters that the settlers were sending to their friends and relatives praising the good conditions they were having. This advertising campaign was successful, the reason why Pennsylvania was a popular destination of newcomers and among the colonies that received the largest share of immigrants during colonial times as shown in the following table:

Colony	Number
New Hampshire	102.000
Massachusetts	352.000
Rhode Island	58.000
Connecticut	202.000
New York	238.000
New Jersey	138.000
Pennsylvania	341.000
Delaware	37.000
Maryland	174.000
Virginia	300.000
North Carolina	181.000
South Carolina	93.000
Georgia	27.000

Table 1.4. The distribution of the white population in 1775²⁵

When dealing with the numbers shown in the previous table, one can deduce that, in fact, Pennsylvania was the colony that received the biggest number of immigrants. This is due to the year of foundation of the colonies. Massachusetts and Virginia were founded in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, whereas Pennsylvania was established in 1682. Therefore, Pennsylvania received in a century almost the same number of immigrants as what Massachusetts or Virginia received in a century and a half.

The land distribution was a major policy that persuaded the growth of population in the seventeenth century. The desire to get lands in the colonies was the goal of many of the

²⁵ Carroll D. Wright, *op. cit.*, 10

indentured servants who crossed the ocean and settled in the Americas. Those servants received small tracts of land after their period of servitude was over. Many of the immigrants who accepted to join the colonies under such a system wished to become landowners and start a new life. Not all of them received land as freedom dues, some got money, others clothing, guns, etc.

The immigration policy that was based on the system of land distribution was also used to attract another category of people who could contribute in increasing the population of the colonies. Rich people and investors were captivated by the Headright system. It was a system that granted huge lands to only a few settlers who were able to sponsor the passage of new settlers and servants to the colonies. It also made rewards to anyone who could pay the passage to the New World but more importantly to those rich people and proprietors who would import more workers. It aimed at attracting the maximum number of immigrant workers to cover the growth of the plantations. The new settlers received 50 acres of land as a grant, whereas those who paid the cost of voyage of new settlers received 50 acres of land for every imported person. Indeed, the ones who benefitted the most from this system were the people who already had huge lands, but in return they contributed to the sponsorship of the recruitment of thousands of newcomers.

To attract more immigrants to the colonies, the colonial legislatures made the acquisition of lands less complex. The first step was taken by the colony of Virginia which saw that granting lands to new arrivals would be attractive and beneficial for both parties. In 1705, Virginia started selling lands to settlers at low prices. Soon after, Maryland and the Carolinas made the same decision. The same situation was repeated in New England colonies where the land used to be granted to only some religious people who fitted the same conditions. The people started asking for their right in the huge uncultivated lands. In the 1720's, the New England's authorities accepted to distribute land to the people who were not religiously accepted. The land policy that was adopted by the colonies drove lots of English people to choose America as their destination for immigration.

In the eighteenth century, purchasing a land in the British colonies in America was extended to include the European settlers. The beginning of the century witnessed the immigration of huge numbers of Europeans. They settled in the thirteen colonies that were to become the United States. They did not have the right to acquire or purchase land since they were not English. But in 1740, the situation changed; the British parliament granted all foreign

immigrants in the colonies the status of nationalized British citizens. The Plantation Act of 1740 gave the British citizenship to Protestant European settlers who proved seven years of presence in one of the thirteen British colonies, and without being out of the colony for more than two months. Therefore, those naturalized settlers could have the right of purchasing land in the colonies, and also be granted land in case they sponsored the passage of new arrivals.

The combination of economic, political, and religious strategies helped attract hundreds of thousands of immigrants to the British colonies. It is estimated that the number of the white population in 1780 was 2.225.000.²⁶ The colonies underwent a rapid growth thanks to the immigration policies adopted by the colonies. The seventeenth century was dominated by the English settlers, whereas in the eighteenth century the lion's share went to the European immigrants. The latter were different in terms of language, culture, and in some cases religion. This diversity would raise inquiries about the society they were living in, and whether they were influenced by the English founders, or they changed the structure of the American colonial society.

1.5. Who Came? The Impact of the Colonial Policy on Immigration

The policy that the colonists adopted attracted big waves of immigrants from European countries, and imported large numbers of slaves from African countries. If the European newcomers crossed the ocean and joined the English colonies in search for better economic conditions, religious tolerance and freedom, and political liberty, the black Africans were forced to immigrate to the Americas because of the shortage of laborers in the expanding plantations of the agrarian South. The impact of the immigration policy was seen in the diverse society that resulted from the migration of various ethnic groups into the colonies.

1.5.1. New Source of Labor: Non-English European Immigrants

The eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of a heavy European immigration to the British American colonies. The newcomers, unlike the previous, were not only English. They were different ethnically, linguistically, religiously, and culturally. Most of them opposed the ideology of assimilation into the American mainstream. They were ready to maintain their

²⁶ Carroll D. Wright, *op. cit.*, 10.

distinct identities in the colonies, and this was to be transmitted to their children for generations. They were Scots-Irish, Germans, Scottish, French, Dutch, Swedes, and Jews.

The Scots-Irish were among the largest groups of immigrants who settled in the British colonies in America. The appellation of this group might be ambiguous due to the fact that they carried two nationalities. They were referred to as Scotch-Irish because they were a group of Scottish who were transplanted in Ireland during the Ulster Plantation under the reign of James I (1603-1625). The latter wanted to conquer the Irish region and make it a British Protestant plantation. They were accepted in the colonies due to their religious affiliation. They were Presbyterian Protestants from Ulster unlike the other parts of Ireland who were Catholics. They immigrated because of political and religious persecutions in addition to their difficult economic situation in Ireland, and they, at the same time, were attracted by the good opportunities they would find in the Americas. The main reason behind their choice was the wish to benefit from the headright system and acquire land. They were fascinated by the advertising campaign that was conducted by the colonists which resulted in the exodus of big numbers of Scotch-Irish under the indentured servitude system.

When the Scots-Irish arrived in the Americas, they did not remain in one region. Their first destination was the New England colonies, mainly New Hampshire and Massachusetts. They soon chose to leave because of the bad treatment they received from the Puritan colonists who did not accept them. They moved to Pennsylvania which was regarded by them as the best place due to the religious tolerance and economic chances the Penn's colony was promising. They later started moving to other colonies, as South and North Carolinas and Georgia, searching for more opportunities. What characterized them was their preference of settling in groups and founding their communities apart from the other groups.

The Scots-Irish suffered from the religious and ethnic intolerance in the colonies. They were not appreciated by the dominating English because they were regarded as a peril that would jeopardize their established Anglo-American society due to their big number and cultural differences. Though they spoke English and were able to assimilate in Anglo-American culture, they lived in their separate communities, practiced their customs, and tried to maintain their culture and traditions. They had different religious beliefs, as they were Presbyterians, in addition to their open rejection to Anglicanism which created a clash with the colonists. Some colonies even took some measures against them.

In 1698 South Carolina passed a law giving bounties to newcomers but exempting the Scots-Irish and Roman Catholics... Maryland temporarily suspended the importation of Scots-Irish servants, and Virginia prohibited the sale of more than 20 of them on any one river. In 1729 Pennsylvania placed a 20-shilling duty, to be paid by the colonist to whom the servant was indentured, on each imported servant.²⁷

The attitude of the colonists towards the Scots-Irish explains their continuous move from one colony to another. They came to America searching for a different life; they found themselves in an obligation of following the Anglo-American model if they desired to be treated as complete Americans. Despite being rejected, they were the largest among the European groups that immigrated to the colonies in the eighteenth century. In 1760 their number was estimated at 250,000²⁸ and they comprised between 7 to 10% of the total white population by 1783.²⁹

The Germans were the second largest group among the European immigrants of the eighteenth century. They started coming to America by 1736 and chose the newly established colony of Georgia as their first destination. Like the Scots-Irish, the Germans moved from Georgia to join Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Most of them were Protestant immigrants who belonged to the Lutheran Church. They left their home country for the sake of finding better economic conditions. They kept a steady flow of immigrants to the colonies. They were known as Dutch in the colonies, this had not to do with the immigrants from Holland, but rather from their name 'Deutsch' in German language, which means German in English.

A system was established to transport thousands of Germans who were poor and could not pay their passage to the colonies. It was called redemptioner trade. Unlike the indentured servants who were paid the voyage by the colonizing agencies, the German immigrants did not pay or sign any contract. They were transported with a condition to pay the cost of the trip once they arrive in the colonies. Once there, they negotiated indenture contracts directly with merchants, speculators, and settlers. The purchaser of the servant paid the passage in return for a period of servitude and, as noted earlier, gets 50 acres of land as a headright reward. The German immigrants crossed the ocean as redemptioners and joined the British colonies.

²⁷ Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 2.

²⁸ Ibid, 1.

²⁹ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Groups and the Building of America Natives and Strangers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 23.

The Germans came to the British colonies in North America with a strong desire of not assimilating into mainstream America. They were very conservative. They aimed at preserving their identity, language, and culture. They rejected the Anglo-American model that was compulsory in the colonies. They refused to use the English language and the host's culture at the expense of theirs. They settled in separate communities apart from the dominating English in order to be far from their influence, and taught their language and culture to their children in the aim of preserving them for the generations to come.

The Anglo-Americans were not content with the German attitude towards their established culture and society. In this regard, the Germans were perceived as undesirable and strange. They tried to Americanize them by spreading English language and culture among their children in special schools. The Germans refused to school their children in such schools and the latter were doomed to fail.³⁰ The dislike of Americans is expressed by Benjamin Franklin who asked in 1766:

Why should the Palatine Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together, establish their Language and Manners, to the Exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them?³¹

The threat of the Germans was mostly felt in the colony of Virginia. It was a real issue for the English as their number was very high. By 1776, between 110,000 to 150,000 Germans immigrants were present in the colony.³² The English considered them as a danger to the Anglo-American culture and to their status as being the host group. They feared their desire to keep themselves distinct and far from the Anglo-American society. They were afraid that they would influence them by their German language and customs instead of Anglicizing them. On the other hand, whenever the Germans found themselves in a difficult situation, they moved to another place seeking always to maintain themselves and their children's identity.

The Scottish started immigrating to the English colonies in the 1730's. Their number was not significant. What characterized them was the fact that they moved in groups and founded their communities apart from the other groups, especially the Anglos. As the Scotch-Irish, their

³⁰ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 23.

³¹ Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 7.

³² Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 29.

bad economic situation led to their exodus to the Americas. Their number started to increase only in the second half of the eighteenth century. Since they were settling in separate communities, they were keeping their cultural and linguistic differences. They spoke their language, wore their dresses, and practiced their traditions. Their preferred destinations were New York and North Carolina.

The Jews were among the immigrants who chose to go to America. They started to arrive in the colonies by the 1680's. They immigrated because of the religious persecution they were facing in European countries. They could only go to New Netherland and Rhode Island since the other colonies prohibited the immigration of people from different religious affiliations other than Christians. Later they moved to other colonies, like Philadelphia and New York, as the conditions of being admitted became less complex. Their number was very small which made of them a group without influence.

French immigrants constituted another group that chose to flee to the Americas due to religious intolerance and persecution, and hoped for some religious freedom. They were Huguenots who chose South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York as preferred destinations. They succeeded economically in the New World. They worked as merchants, artisans, farmers, and planters. They were open to other communities. They adopted the lifestyles of the colonies' societies they lived in, and married non-Huguenots. They avoided immigrating to the New England colonies because they were afraid of the religious intolerance of the Puritans. Their number was not big, it was estimated that 2.000 to 2.500 French Huguenots sailed between 1680 and 1700 to the British North American colonies.³³ Some of them moved to French Louisiana and settled there.

The Dutch and Swedes made their way to North America as settlers. The Dutch founded New Netherland whereas the Swedes settled in New Sweden, now in Delaware. The colonies were established for economic reasons. They did not have strong reasons to immigrate to the colonies, which explain the difficulty of peopling their settlements. New Netherland was seized by the English in 1664 and became New York. They were successful in trade. Their number was not large.

³³ Jon Butler, *op. cit.*, 55.

1.5.2. No More Servants: the Rise of Black African Forced Migration and the Establishment of Slavery

The colonial immigration policy was driven by the aim of populating the New World and supplying the colonies with the needed hands to contribute in their growth along with their mother country England. The first English colonists' economic determination did not stop at recruiting only white European servants; it went beyond that by hiring big numbers of black Africans. The reason behind the coming and importation of the blacks was due to the constant need for cheap hands and the desire of making quick economic profits. The black African workers were among the very first to arrive and settle in the British colonies in North America, and contributed on a large scale in peopling the New World. One can only hesitate about how to refer to the black Africans who were forced to leave their home countries and cross the Atlantic Ocean to join the colonies. They were not like the other ordinary immigrants; they did not wish to immigrate, and probably most of them ignored the place where they were to be shipped to.

I would question the status of the black Africans as I strongly oppose the fact that they were immigrants since they did not share any similarities with the other immigrant groups. In addition to the fact that they were imported involuntarily from Africa, the first Africans who set foot in Virginia came in the same year with the arrival of the first women in the colonies in 1619, and they even preceded the arrival of some groups that are considered as natives, such as the Pilgrims and the Quakers. They contributed in the development and economic stability of many of the colonies that became later the United States. Their significant role, along with the white indentured servants, in the flourish of the plantations made it possible for the colonies to develop and make enormous profits, and thus strengthen their presence in North America. When the English indentured servants ceased to flow to the plantations in big numbers after 1670, the only alternative laborers were the black African slaves; without them the colonies would have faced significant shortage in labor that would put the colonies' plantations and economy in peril. Therefore, I cannot find any convincing or conceivable reason to refer to the blacks as immigrants, and, alas, in order to avoid unrelated discussions, and in the absence of an alternative status, I would refer to them as forced immigrants rather than regular ones. At least, no one can deny the fact that they acquired the status of a group that marked the history of the colonial period as well as the independent United States of America.

The black African slaves had long been used in the New World. It is estimated that between 10 and 15 million black Africans were taken by force to the Americas between 1400 and 1900.³⁴ They were brought from Gambia, the Gold Coast, Guinea, and Senegal. The pioneers in the importation of the black slaves to the American continent were the Spaniards and the Portuguese who initiated the importation and sale of captured African slaves in their settlements in the early sixteenth century. The beginning of the use of black Africans in the British North American colonies did not start until 1619 when a Dutch ship carrying twenty black Africans anchored at Jamestown. The black Africans were landed and traded for food by the Dutch who needed supplies. In the first half of the seventeenth century, there were no laws regarding slaves and slavery in the English colonies, for that reason the black Africans who were exchanged "...were not slaves in a legal sense."³⁵ There was no real difference in terms of status between servant and slave, both were used but referred only to the recognized status of indentured servants. Some historians believe that the English colonists purchased the first blacks not as slaves, but rather under the same system by which they used to hire white European workers, i.e., indentured servitude. They also think that they enjoyed the same rights, worked for the same period, and received their freedom dues by the end of the terms of their contracts.

The fact that the first black Africans who were brought into the colonies were not slaves and were purchased probably as indentured servants, and that some of them, although a very small number, gained freedom, did not necessarily mean that they were granted the same social status like the white servants. The debate over the blacks' treatment has never ended; some historians believe that the first blacks in Virginia and the other colonies were treated as indentured servants, but some others, like the American historian Howard Zinn thinks they were different and more precisely they were slaves.³⁶ The second claim seems closer to reality for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was evident and apparent that the Africans were different than the English due to their skin color. Secondly, the long European slave trade and the big number of slaves that had been imported to the Portuguese and Spanish South American colonies, made their status widely known in all the corners of the globe, and more importantly, it shaped the image of the black Africans which was based on slavery. Thirdly, they were not purchased like the white servants under indentured servitude system, but they were imported and bought like goods. For instance, the twenty black Africans who were purchased by the Jamestown colonists

³⁴ Matthew Kachur, *Slavery in the Americas: The Slave Trade*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2006), 18.

³⁵ Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, (New York: Alfred Aknopf, 1988), 53.

³⁶ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 23.

were traded for some food. It is worth noting that the English settlers were not eager to raise the status of a group of slaves and make them equal with the white servants especially when one knows that no laws protected them contrary to the whites who could claim for the protection of the English laws. Fourthly, the major reason that shows that the blacks were not treated as indentured servants was the ability to gain freedom after a period of servitude; they did not sign any contracts and only a few were given freedom. In fact the majority of the blacks who were purchased in the first half of the seventeenth century “remained “unfree” men and women.”³⁷ Finally, the absence of a legal status which would protect the blacks was another cause for their treatment as slaves rather than indentured servants. What supports these claims is the fact that the English colonists thought of enslaving the blacks and make their servitude for life rather than the white servants who were thought to be legally protected and racially superior in the early British colonial America.

The English North American colonies did not receive large numbers of black African slaves in the seventeenth century compared with the following century. The following table shows estimates of the total population of the thirteen colonies.

³⁷ Peter I. Rose, *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States*, 4th ed., (USA: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 21

Colony	1760		1750		1740		1730		1720		1710		1700		1690		1680	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
New Hampshire	39,093	(100%)	27,505	(100%)	23,256	(100%)	10,755	(100%)	9,375	(100%)	5,681	(100%)	4,958	(100%)	4,164	(100%)	2,047	(100%)
whites	38,493	(99%)	26,955	(98%)	22,756	(98%)	10,555	(98%)	9,205	(98%)	5,531	(97%)	4,828	(99%)	4,064	(98%)	1,972	(96%)
blacks	600	(1%)	550	(2%)	500	(2%)	200	(2%)	170	(2%)	150	(3%)	130	(1%)	100	(2%)	75	(4%)
Massachusetts ^a	220,600	(100%)	188,000	(100%)	151,613	(100%)	114,116	(100%)	91,008	(100%)	62,390	(100%)	55,941	(100%)	49,504	(100%)	39,752	(100%)
whites	217,734	(98%)	183,925	(98%)	148,578	(98%)	111,336	(98%)	88,858	(98%)	61,080	(98%)	55,141	(99%)	49,104	(99%)	39,582	(99%)
blacks	4,866	(2%)	4,075	(2%)	3,035	(2%)	2,780	(2%)	2,150	(2%)	1,310	(2%)	800	(1%)	400	(1%)	170	(1%)
Plymouth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,424	(100%)	6,400	(100%)
whites	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,424	(100%)	6,400	(100%)
blacks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island	45,471	(100%)	33,226	(100%)	25,255	(100%)	16,950	(100%)	11,680	(100%)	7,573	(100%)	5,894	(100%)	4,224	(100%)	3,017	(100%)
whites	42,003	(92%)	29,879	(90%)	22,847	(90%)	15,302	(90%)	11,137	(95%)	7,198	(95%)	5,594	(95%)	3,974	(94%)	2,842	(94%)
blacks	3,468	(8%)	3,347	(10%)	2,408	(10%)	1,648	(10%)	543	(5%)	375	(5%)	300	(5%)	250	(6%)	175	(6%)
Connecticut ^b	142,470	(100%)	111,280	(100%)	89,580	(100%)	75,530	(100%)	58,830	(100%)	39,450	(100%)	25,970	(100%)	21,645	(100%)	17,246	(100%)
whites	138,687	(97%)	108,270	(97%)	86,982	(97%)	74,040	(98%)	57,737	(98%)	38,700	(98%)	25,520	(98%)	21,445	(99%)	17,196	(100%)
blacks	3,783	(3%)	3,010	(3%)	2,598	(3%)	1,490	(2%)	1,093	(2%)	750	(2%)	450	(2%)	200	(1%)	50	...
New York	117,138	(100%)	76,696	(100%)	63,665	(100%)	48,594	(100%)	36,919	(100%)	21,625	(100%)	19,107	(100%)	13,909	(100%)	9,830	(100%)
whites	100,798	(86%)	65,682	(86%)	54,669	(86%)	41,638	(86%)	31,179	(84%)	18,814	(87%)	16,851	(88%)	12,239	(88%)	8,630	(88%)
blacks	16,340	(14%)	11,014	(14%)	8,996	(14%)	6,956	(14%)	5,740	(16%)	2,811	(13%)	2,256	(12%)	1,670	(12%)	1,200	(12%)
New Jersey	93,813	(100%)	71,393	(100%)	51,373	(100%)	37,510	(100%)	29,818	(100%)	19,872	(100%)	14,010	(100%)	8,000	(100%)	3,400	(100%)
whites	87,246	(93%)	66,039	(93%)	47,007	(92%)	34,502	(92%)	27,433	(92%)	18,540	(93%)	13,170	(94%)	7,550	(94%)	3,200	(94%)
blacks	6,567	(7%)	5,354	(7%)	4,366	(8%)	3,008	(8%)	2,385	(8%)	1,332	(7%)	840	(6%)	450	(6%)	200	(6%)
Pennsylvania	183,703	(100%)	119,666	(100%)	85,637	(100%)	51,707	(100%)	30,962	(100%)	24,450	(100%)	17,950	(100%)	11,450	(100%)	680	(100%)
whites	179,294	(98%)	116,794	(98%)	83,582	(98%)	50,466	(98%)	28,962	(94%)	22,875	(94%)	17,520	(98%)	11,180	(98%)	655	(96%)
blacks	4,409	(2%)	2,872	(2%)	2,055	(2%)	1,241	(2%)	2,000	(6%)	1,575	(6%)	430	(2%)	270	(2%)	25	(4%)
Delaware	33,250	(100%)	28,704	(100%)	19,870	(100%)	9,170	(100%)	5,385	(100%)	3,645	(100%)	2,470	(100%)	1,482	(100%)	1,005	(100%)
whites	31,517	(95%)	27,208	(95%)	18,835	(95%)	8,692	(95%)	4,685	(87%)	3,145	(86%)	2,335	(95%)	1,400	(94%)	950	(95%)
blacks	1,733	(5%)	1,496	(5%)	1,035	(5%)	478	(5%)	700	(13%)	500	(14%)	135	(5%)	82	(5%)	55	(5%)
Maryland	162,267	(100%)	141,073	(100%)	116,093	(100%)	91,113	(100%)	66,133	(100%)	42,741	(100%)	29,604	(100%)	24,024	(100%)	17,904	(100%)
whites	113,263	(70%)	97,623	(69%)	92,062	(79%)	73,893	(81%)	53,634	(81%)	34,796	(81%)	26,377	(89%)	21,862	(91%)	16,293	(91%)
blacks	49,004	(30%)	43,450	(31%)	24,031	(21%)	17,220	(19%)	12,499	(19%)	7,945	(19%)	3,227	(11%)	2,162	(9%)	1,611	(9%)
Virginia	339,726	(100%)	231,033	(100%)	180,440	(100%)	114,000	(100%)	87,757	(100%)	78,281	(100%)	58,560	(100%)	53,046	(100%)	43,596	(100%)
whites	199,156	(59%)	129,581	(56%)	120,440	(67%)	84,000	(74%)	61,198	(70%)	55,163	(70%)	42,170	(72%)	43,701	(82%)	40,596	(93%)
blacks	140,470	(41%)	101,452	(44%)	60,000	(33%)	30,000	(26%)	26,559	(30%)	23,118	(30%)	16,390	(28%)	9,345	(18%)	3,000	(7%)
North Carolina	110,442	(100%)	72,984	(100%)	51,760	(100%)	30,000	(100%)	21,270	(100%)	15,120	(100%)	10,720	(100%)	7,600	(100%)	5,430	(100%)
whites	76,888	(70%)	53,184	(73%)	40,760	(79%)	24,000	(80%)	18,270	(86%)	14,220	(94%)	10,305	(96%)	7,300	(96%)	5,220	(96%)
blacks	33,554	(30%)	19,800	(27%)	11,000	(21%)	6,000	(20%)	3,000	(14%)	900	(6%)	415	(4%)	300	(4%)	210	(4%)
South Carolina	94,074	(100%)	64,000	(100%)	45,000	(100%)	30,000	(100%)	17,048	(100%)	10,883	(100%)	5,704	(100%)	3,900	(100%)	1,200	(100%)
whites	36,740	(40%)	25,000	(39%)	15,000	(33%)	10,000	(33%)	5,048	(30%)	6,783	(62%)	3,260	(57%)	2,400	(62%)	1,000	(83%)
blacks	57,334	(60%)	39,000	(61%)	30,000	(67%)	20,000	(67%)	12,000	(70%)	4,100	(38%)	2,444	(43%)	1,500	(38%)	200	(17%)
Georgia	9,578	(100%)	5,200	(100%)	2,021	(100%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	6,000	(63%)	4,200	(81%)	2,021	(100%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	3,578	(37%)	1,000	(19%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1,593,625	(100%)	1,170,760	(100%)	905,563	(100%)	629,445	(100%)	466,185	(100%)	331,711	(100%)	250,888	(100%)	210,372	(100%)	151,507	(100%)
whites	1,267,819	(80%)	934,340	(80%)	755,539	(83%)	538,424	(86%)	397,346	(85%)	286,845	(86%)	223,071	(89%)	193,643	(92%)	144,536	(95%)
blacks	325,806	(20%)	236,420	(20%)	150,024	(17%)	91,021	(14%)	68,839	(15%)	44,866	(14%)	27,817	(11%)	16,729	(8%)	6,971	(5%)

Colony	1670		1660		1650		1640		1630		1620	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
New Hampshire	1,805	(100%)	1,555	(100%)	1,305	(100%)	1,055	(100%)	500	(100%)	...	...
whites	1,740	(99%)	1,505	(97%)	1,265	(97%)	1,025	(99%)	500	(100%)	...	...
blacks	65	(1%)	50	(3%)	40	(3%)	30	(1%)	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts ^a	30,000	(100%)	20,082	(100%)	14,307	(100%)	8,932	(100%)	506	(100%)	...	...
whites	29,840	(99%)	19,660	(98%)	14,012	(98%)	8,782	(98%)	506	(100%)	...	...
blacks	160	(1%)	422	(2%)	295	(2%)	150	(2%)	...	...	...	...
Plymouth	5,333	(100%)	1,980	(100%)	1,566	(100%)	1,020	(100%)	390	(100%)	102	(100%)
whites	5,333	(100%)	1,980	(100%)	1,566	(100%)	1,020	(100%)	390	(100%)	102	(100%)
blacks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island	2,155	(100%)	1,539	(100%)	785	(100%)	300	(100%)	...	...	...	...
whites	2,040	(95%)	1,474	(96%)	760	(97%)	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	115	(5%)	65	(4%)	25	(3%)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut ^b	12,603	(100%)	7,980	(100%)	4,139	(100%)	1,472	(100%)	...	...	...	...
whites	12,568	(100%)	7,955	(100%)	4,119	(100%)	1,457	(99%)	...	...	...	...
blacks	35	...	25	...	20	...	15	(1%)	...	...	...	...
New York	5,754	(100%)	4,936	(100%)	4,116	(100%)	1,930	(100%)	350	(100%)	...	...
whites	5,064	(88%)	4,336	(88%)	3,616	(88%)	1,698	(88%)	340	(97%)	...	...
blacks	690	(12%)	600	(12%)	500	(12%)	232	(12%)	10	(3%)	...	...
New Jersey	1,000	(100%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	940	(94%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	60	(6%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delaware	700	(100%)	540	(100%)	185	(100%)	100	(100%) ^c	...	...	...	...
whites	660	(94%)	510	(94%)	170	(92%)	100	(100%)	...	...	...	...
blacks	40	(6%)	30	(6%)	15	(8%)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	13,226	(100%)	8,426	(100%)	4,504	(100%)	583	(100%)	...	...	...	...
whites	12,036	(91%)	7,668	(91%)	4,204	(93%)	563	(97%)	...	...	...	...
blacks	1,190	(9%)	758	(9%)	300	(7%)	20	(3%)	...	...	...	...
Virginia	35,309	(100%)	27,020	(100%)	18,731	(100%)	10,442	(100%)	2,500	(100%)	2,200	(100%)
whites	33,309	(94%)	26,070	(96%)	18,326	(98%)	10,292	(99%)	2,450	(98%)	2,180	(99%)
blacks	2,000	(6%)	950	(4%)	405	(2%)	150	(1%)	50	(2%)	20	(1%)
North Carolina	3,850	(100%)	1,000	(100%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	3,700	(96%)	980	(98%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	150	(4%)	20	(2%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	200	(100%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	170	(85%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	30	(15%)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
whites	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
blacks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	111,935	(100%)	75,058	(100%)	50,368	(100%)	26,734	(100%)	4,646	(100%)	2,302	(100%)
whites	107,400	(96%)	72,138	(96%)	48,768	(97%)	26,137	(98%)	4,586	(99%)	2,282	(99%)
blacks	4,535	(4%)	2,920	(4%)	1,600	(3%)	597	(2%)	60	(1%)	20	(1%)

^a Includes Maine.

^b Includes New Haven.

^c Corrected from original.

Table 1.5. Estimated Population of the Thirteen Colonies, 1620–1760³⁸

The evolution of the total population of the colonies was steady and increased rapidly. A clear difference between the two centuries would be noticed; contrary to the previous century, the

³⁸ Thomas L. Purvis, *Colonial America to 1763*, (New York: Facts On File, 1999), 127-128.

eighteenth century's growth was spectacular. The evolution of the population was thanks to the big number of European immigrants as well as the African slaves who were imported to the colonies, especially in the South. The latter imported the majority of the slaves. The slaves' proportion was very high in some Southern colonies; for instance, the blacks constituted 60% of the total population of South Carolina, and 41% of Virginia in 1760. On the other hand, the New England and Middle colonies did not recruit big numbers of slaves; this is seen in the very low proportions that the slaves constituted. The slaves as well as the indentured servants constituted an economic importance for the colonists, but their regional concentration was subject to the colonists' needs.

It is central to state that before the 1660's the black slaves were not economically as important as the white servants for a number of reasons. The colonists' needed labor was well covered by those, mainly English, white indentured servants. The colonists were finding profits with the servants as they immigrated in sufficient numbers. In addition, the price of the slaves was more expensive than that of the servants due to the fact that the blacks were less desired and thus less available.³⁹ It is noted that a slave would cost twice the price of a white servant.⁴⁰ The colonists preferred to hire English indentured servants who shared the same language and culture rather than the black Africans, especially in the absence of a legal status since the institution of chattel slavery was not yet recognized in the British North American colonies. The importation of black African slaves was very slow as shown in the previous table; they could not cross the bar of 10.000 until 1690 which constituted only 8 per cent of the total population of the colonies. By contrast, the indentured servants' numbers were much higher than the black slaves in the seventeenth century.

Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, the English settlers began thinking about recruiting more slaves to cover the shortage created by the shrinking number of the English indentured servants. The English government took restrictive measures towards the emigration of the English people into the colonies. As noted earlier, the early 1660's witnessed a radical change in the English vision towards its economic growth in which people were seen as the source of wealth, and consequently were not permitted to leave the country. The number of white indentured servants, who came mainly from England, dropped down. In addition to that, the improved economic condition in England was a factor that reduced the coming of more workers. The colonists faced a period that was characterized by the lack of indentured servants,

³⁹ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 176.

⁴⁰ Tim McNeese, *Dred Scott V. Sandford: The Pursuit of Freedom*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2007), 16.

and obviously their prices rose in the market. The black Africans were a suitable alternative to replace the indentured servants.

The colonies' agriculture was in constant growth; the need for additional workers was increasing as well. In addition to the facts discussed in the previous paragraph, the black African slaves outweighed the indentured servants because of some motives. The black slaves constituted the source of inexpensive and available labor sought by the planters. The length of the contracts terms of the white indentured servants constituted an important element in the change of the colonists' standpoint towards hiring African slaves. The English settlers found themselves locked in a cycle; the fixed terms meant the perpetual quest for new workers from Europe to secure their crops. On the other hand, unlike the indentured servants who were legally protected against any aggression or maltreatment of their masters, the blacks were hired without being affiliated to a given status; it was not until the 1660's that the colonies, in the absence of laws regarding the African slavery, made their own, and thus the institution of chattel slavery was established in the British North American colonies.

The establishment of the institution of slavery occurred gradually in the colonies. The economic need and profitability of the black Africans fueled the adoption of laws apropos slavery. The beginning of the legalization of slavery in the colonies coincided with the English discouragement of emigration from England along with an economic growth, which raised the colonists' desire to recruit blacks. There were a set of laws that aimed at legalizing the status of the forced black African immigrants and downgrading them to permanent slavery. Those laws rested on four essential elements. The first element was the length of the period of bondage. For instance in the 1660's, Virginia, Maryland, and New York established lifelong slavery for the black Africans. The black slaves had to serve their masters throughout their entire lives and did not have any right for freedom. Secondly, the fact that it had been possible for the black slaves to gain freedom by converting to Christianity persuaded the colonists to decree that baptism would not make any slave free. Thirdly, the status of the children of the slaves preoccupied the colonists; the colony of Virginia initiated the legal process and passed a law regarding them in 1662. The law made it unambiguous that the children born in the colony would inherit the status of their mothers; the children born to the slave mothers would also be slaves. Finally, in the goal of strengthening the racial separation between the slaves and the white settlers, marriage between the black slaves and the whites was not tolerated. In 1664, Maryland passed a law that punished any white woman who married a slave by serving during her husband's life. By the end of the seventeenth century, no white could marry a slave in Virginia after interracial marriage was banned in 1691. Gradually, the other colonies put restrictive measures on the black Africans. By

the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was almost impossible for the blacks to hope for freedom, and the large influx of imported slaves began to flow through slave trade.

Amidst the legalizing process of the slaves, the Royal African Company was established in 1772; it fueled the colonists' policy towards the importation of the black slaves. In fact, the company initiated the slave trade towards the British New World colonies. The company enjoyed a special privilege; the English crown granted monopoly to the company to trade with the colonies. Therefore, it established trading posts in West Africa, and supplied the British colonies with the slaves needed for their expanding plantations. Nonetheless, with the colonists' rapid expansion of the agricultural fields, the company was no longer able to cover the planters' needs. It remained as the "only legal slave trading company in England until 1698."⁴¹ In that year, and as a reaction to the mounting need for slaves, the English allowed the private merchants to incorporate the English slave trade in the North American colonies. The black slaves were imported to the colonies and sold in slave markets. Among the main northern markets were those of Boston, New York City, and Bristol, Rhode Island, but the major slave markets were established in the south mainly in South Carolina and Virginia due to the large plantations that were established in the Southern colonies which needed more workers. As noted earlier, it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the slave trade flourished in the colonies, and the numbers of imported slaves began to flow in significant numbers. In the eve of the revolution, more than 200,000 African slaves were imported to the colonies. The largest portion of the imported slaves was sold to the Southern colonies; South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland constituted the major purchasers of the imports to the colonies as shown in the following table.

Years	New York	Pennsylvania	Maryland	Virginia	South Carolina	Georgia	Total
1770-75	100	...	1,042	3,932	20,943	830	26,847
1760-69	240	1,032	3,381	9,709	20,810	3,380	38,552
1750-59	69	130	2,297	9,197	15,912	126	27,731
1740-49	141	72	3,815	12,113	1,563	...	17,704
1730-39	1,377	297	5,111	16,226	20,464	...	43,475
1720-29	1,467	76	3,927	12,466	8,817	...	26,753
1710-19	1,104	(b)	1,995	6,333	2,746	...	12,178
1700-09	(b)	(b)	2,586	7,283	206	...	10,075
Total	4,498	1,607	24,154	77,259	91,461	4,336	203,315

Table 1.6. Slaves imported from overseas to the thirteen colonies, 1700-1775⁴²

⁴¹ Matthew Kachur, op. cit., 34.

⁴² Thomas L. Purvis, op. cit., 166.

The slave trade constituted an economic necessity for the South whose economy was heavily relying on agriculture. The importation of huge numbers of slaves was to maintain the economic stability and contribute in the growth of the plantations.

Despite the fact that that the European servants continued to arrive in the colonies, the coming of the black slaves was vital for the colonies' economy, especially in the South; without the slaves' contribution, the Southerners would have faced important shortage in labor and, thus, difficulties to expand their plantations. The African slaves constituted almost half of the total number of the eighteenth century immigrants to the colonies in 1775. In the South, the black slaves substituted the white servants as the main source of labor. Among the estimated 200,000 blacks who were brought to America in the eighteenth century, nine-tenths were purchased by Southern colonies.⁴³

Decade	African s	Germa ns	Norther n Irish	Souther n Irish	Scots	English	Welsh	Other	Total
1700-09	9,000	100	600	800	200	400	300	100	11,500
1710-19	10,800	3,700	1,200	1,700	500	1,300	900	200	20,300
1720-29	9,900	2,300	2,100	3,000	800	2,200	1,500	200	22,000
1730-39	40,500	13,000	4,400	7,400	2,000	4,900	3,200	800	76,200
1740-49	58,500	16,600	9,200	9,100	3,100	7,500	4,900	1,100	110,000
1750-59	49,600	29,100	14,200	8,100	3,700	8,800	5,800	1,200	120,500
1760-69	82,300	14,500	21,200	8,500	10,000	11,900	7,800	1,600	157,800
1770-75	17,800	5,200	13,200	3,900	15,000	7,100	4,600	700	67,500
Total	278,400	84,500	66,100	42,500	35,300	44,100	29,000	5,900	585,800

Table 1.7. Estimated immigration to Thirteen Colonies, 1700-1775⁴⁴

The African forced immigrants surpassed the major European immigrants who arrived in large waves such as the Germans and the Irish. The previous table shows the importance of the slave labor to the colonists. Their importance was only economic; they were treated as a means of permanent profitability. Unlike the agrarian Southerners, the Northerners did not rely on the slaves since their economy was based on industry. The Northerners needed more skilled and qualified workers to work in factories. The slaves were present in the North but in small numbers. They were used as farm workers, household servants, and artisans.⁴⁵ The small

⁴³ Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 32.

⁴⁴ Thomas L. Purvis, op.cit., 164.

⁴⁵ Deborah H. DeFord, *Slavery in the Americas: African Americans during the Civil War*, (New York: Chelsea House, 2006), 7.

numbers of the blacks in bondage show that they did not constitute an economic need in the north.

The African slaves' share of the total population of the thirteen colonies varied from one colony to another and from one region to another. They were concentrated in the Southern colonies due to their work in the plantations. In some colonies, their number was very high and they constituted large shares of the total population. The next table shows in details their concentration and their proportion in the total population in the eighteenth century:

	Colony	1760		1740		1720		1700	
		N°	(%)	N°	(%)	N°	(%)	N°	(%)
New England	New Hampshire	600	1%	500	2%	170	2%	130	1%
	Massachusetts	4,866	2%	3,035	2%	2,150	2%	800	1%
	Rhode Island	3,468	8%	2,408	10%	543	5%	300	5%
	Connecticut	3,753	3%	2,598	3%	1,093	2%	450	2%
	Total	12,717	2.8%	8,541	2.9%	3,956	2.3%	1680	1.8%
Middle Colonies	New York	16,340	14%	8,996	14%	5,740	16%	2,256	12%
	New Jersey	6,567	7%	4,366	8%	2,358	8%	840	6%
	Pennsylvania	4,409	2%	2,055	2%	2,000	6%	430	2%
	Delaware	1,733	5%	1,035	5%	700	13%	135	5%
	Total	29,049	6.7%	16,452	7.4%	10,825	10.5%	3,661	6.8%
Southern Colonies	Maryland	49,004	30%	24,031	21%	12,499	19%	3,227	11%
	Virginia	140,470	41%	60,000	33%	26,559	30%	16,390	28%
	North Carolina	33,554	30%	11,000	21%	3,000	14%	415	4%
	South Carolina	57,334	60%	30,000	67%	12,000	70%	2,444	43%
	Georgia	3,578	37%	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Total	284,040	39.7%	125,031	31.6%	54,058	28.1%	22,476	21.5%
13 Colonies' total		325,806	20 %	150,024	17%	68,839	15%	27,817	11%

Table1.8. Black slaves' population in the thirteen colonies 1700-1760⁴⁶

The table shows the growth of the black slaves in the colonies. Their share kept increasing till they reached one-fifth of the total population in 1760. Their concentration in the Southern colonies is shown through their large records; they constituted almost 40% of the total southern population. Chief among the leading Southern colonies was South Carolina with a black majority

⁴⁶ Some data were taken from: "Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics - Census.gov," U.S. Census Bureau, accessed January 27, 2017, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/CT1970p2-13.pdf>, 1168.

of 60%. The other Southern colonies were no exception; they all had at least one-third of their population as blacks. The previous numbers summarize the big economic importance the slaves had to the Southerners; this economic need was behind the Southern policy of recruiting more slaves to secure their economy.

1.6. Conclusion

To conclude, the English colonization in North America was not easy; the settlers endured hard times to secure their colonies. The colonial immigration policy was driven by the economic situation of the colonies. The major issue that the settlers faced was populating those settlements and providing the indispensable laborers for the growth of the plantations. They adopted many successful strategies to attract workers to the colonies. At the beginning, their immigration policy rested on advertisement, land grants, and most importantly on indentured servitude system. The colonists used all the effective ways to supply the cultivated areas with the needed hands. After, they turned to slave importation to cover the shortage in labor caused by the decreasing number of European servants on the one hand, and the rapid growth of the Southern plantations on the other hand. The colonists' immigration policy was fruitful since the English colonies prospered and their economy flourished. It is worthy to note that the major element that molded the colonial immigration policy was the economic conditions of the colonies, and the legal steps that were taken were economically-oriented since it was necessary to provide workers in the goal of maintaining their economic stability.

The immigration policy of colonial America was shaped by the colonies according to their regional concentration as well as their motives. Although the economic motive was the most important, but other motives were primordial for the colonies. The New England colonies' immigration policy rested mainly on religious perspectives; there was a kind of restrictive measures towards immigrants of religious faiths other than Puritanism. As they excluded the newcomers on religious basis, New England colonies remained mostly Puritan for a long period of time. On the other hand, the Middle Colonies were considered as a cosmopolitan region; the colonies received immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds. The multi-ethnic character of the colonies was due to the less restrictive policy adopted by the colonies. The Southern colonies' policy was an economy-based policy; this was shown in the number of servants and slaves who were brought to fulfil the task of cultivating the vast plantations and making huge

profits as the South was agrarian and needed hands. In sum, colonial America was characterized by geographical, cultural, and racial and ethnic diversity which has always marked the history of the United States of America. The post-independence immigration policy will be the object of the second chapter. The scope will always be on the role that the economic conditions played in the modeling of the policy. Unlike the colonial times, the independent United States will be totally free to determine its policy, but the expanding nation towards the West and the rise of a national economy might influence its strategy towards the admission of new immigrants since the need for workers and slaves would increase.

Chapter Two: Post-Independence Immigrants: Who Came and why they Came? (1790-1920)

2.1. Introduction

Regulating immigration was one important issue that raised debate in the freshly independent country. The constitution did not give an explicit answer vis-à-vis the identity of the party empowered to shape the country's immigration policy. At the beginning, the Americans needed to set the legal mechanisms for the admission of the immigrants desiring to become Americans amidst the tense political conditions that threatened the young nation. And then by the last decades of the nineteenth century, the issue of whether immigration should be regulated at the local or the federal level was revived. The country needed more immigrants to satisfy the needs of a fast growing economy and boundaries. In the meanwhile, millions of people, mainly Europeans, were driven by their economic difficulties to choose the United States as their new home. The push factors leading those big numbers of Europeans to leave their countries and join America will be examined to try to show that their move was economically oriented and socially directed.

2.2. Who is an American? Young Nation's Early Legislations (1790- 1819)

After getting their independence from Great Britain in 1783, the Americans turned to the regulation of their national affairs. One of the major issues that worried the Founding Fathers was that of immigration; there was a debate over the requirements that were to be imposed on the immigrants for their naturalization process. The end of the eighteenth century, which coincided with the early years of the new independent nation, was characterized by fear and caution. This was noticed in the number of the naturalization acts that were issued in a short period of time, and the character of such acts; in almost twelve years, the United States passed four acts. What was peculiar in those acts was the fact that each new act repealed and substituted the previous one. It was crystal clear that the new nation was finding difficulties, due to many reasons, to establish a flawless system that would set the requirements of naturalization for the big number of immigrants who desired to become American citizens.

The first steps to naturalize immigrants in the United States started with the passing of the 1790 Naturalization Act. The act set the conditions that the immigrants had to fulfil in order to be admitted as U.S. citizens. Only five years later, the act was repealed and replaced by the 1795 Naturalization Act. The new act did not exceed three years and was also repealed by the 1798 act. The enactment of the 1802 Naturalization Law marked the end of the tunnel; the law concluded a short but busy period on what concerned the process of legalizing the status of the immigrant people who desired to obtain the U.S. citizenship. One can say that the act of 1790 was the less exigent among the four acts. The following table illustrates the major differences between the aforementioned acts.

	Naturalization Act of 1790	Naturalization Act of 1795	Naturalization Act of 1798	Naturalization Act of 1802
Applicant's status	Free white person	Free white person	Any alien	Free white person
Applicant's behavior	Good character Support and respect U.S. constitution	Good behavior Respect of U.S. constitution Loyal only to the USA Renounce any other country's allegiance	Good behavior Renounce any former title	Good moral character Respect the principles of the constitution Renounce any allegiance to any person or nation
Where to apply	Court of the state of residence	Court of the state of residence	Court of the state of residence	Court of the state of residence
Period of residence in the U.S. required for admission	2 years	5 years	14 years	5 years
Declaration of intention/ Notice time	None	3 years	5 years	3 years
Period of residence in the state of application	1 year	1 year	5 years	1 year

Children's status	Under 21: acquire U.S. citizenship when one of the parents gets naturalized Born outside the USA to American parents: they were naturalized when one or both parents had lived in the United States before	Under 21: acquire U.S. citizenship when one of the parents gets naturalized Born outside the USA to American parents: they were naturalized when one or both parents had lived in the United States before	Under 21: acquire U.S. citizenship when one of the parents gets naturalized Born outside the USA to American parents: they were naturalized when one or both parents had lived in the United States before	Under 21: acquire U.S. citizenship when one of the parents gets naturalized Born outside the USA to American parents: they were naturalized when one or both parents had lived in the United States before
Excluded categories	Non-white Non-free	Non-white Non-free Persons who supported Great Britain in the War of Independence	Applicants from enemy countries to the United States were not admitted without the state's consent (mainly from France)	Persons who joined the British army during the war were not naturalized without the state's consent

Table 2.1. The 1790, 1795, 1798, and 1802 Naturalization Acts

The previous table summarizes the intentions of the newly independent Americans on the issue of naturalizing the new immigrants with regards to the political scene of the early years of the new republic. The first concern that preoccupied them was about who was to be the suitable candidate for citizenship. In the 1790, 1795, and 1802, the expression “any free white person” showed clearly that some categories were excluded; the acts did not allow the black Africans and Native Indians, as being non-white, and the slaves and indentured servants, as being non-free, to apply for citizenship.⁴⁷ The Act of 1798 was more exigent; even some white immigrants were subject to some stricter naturalization measures. The use of “any alien” came to replace the former expression and to show that even white immigrants had to fit the requirements of the new legislation. What was peculiar in that expression was the fact that after four years, in 1802, it was again substituted by “free white person.” The reasons behind that change in position were driven by the tense political circumstances of the period; being a young nation, the United States feared the naturalization of people from enemy countries, notably the enemy of the former times, Great Britain. The latter’s immigrants were treated with precaution; they had to obtain the consent of their state of residence to be able to apply for citizenship. The position of the Americans vis-à-vis Great Britain can be noticed in the exclusion of the white immigrants who joined or even supported the British army in the times of revolution from being naturalized. It was crystal clear that the Americans were still worried about the British interference and influence on the American soil; they suspected the people who sympathized with the Royal Army during the War of Independence and were careful in admitting their citizenship.

In addition to that, the undeclared fights between the United States and France in what is known as the Quasi-War (1798-1800) played an important role in the restrictive measures over the admission and naturalization of new immigrants. The war fueled French anti-immigrant sentiments in the country. It was not an official war; neither the United States nor France declared war that is why it is known in American history as The Undeclared War with France, Pirate War, or Half War. The United States got involved into the conflict between Great Britain and France, which was a part of the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802), as a result of its foreign policy. The French expected the Americans to support them against the British as reciprocity towards the assistance that the French had offered in the American War of Revolution, but the Americans chose to side with the British to end any

⁴⁷ Tomas, Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*, (USA: University of California Press, 2009), 24.

kind of hostilities and establish peace and prosperity in relations with the yesterday enemy. What angered the French and increased hostilities was the ratification of the Jay Treaty (1795), also called Treaty of Amity Commerce and Navigation Between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, which did not permit the Americans to trade with the French. The French perceived the American position expressed by the treaty as a violation of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and France signed in 1778 that had recognized the independence of the Thirteen Colonies and established strong economic ties between the two nations which constituted a French political and economic support against the British. The Americans' rejection to pay back their debts to the French, under the pretext that the money was borrowed from the French monarchy and not the new government of the First French Republic, constituted another factor that amplified the French anger towards the United States and pushed the relations between the two countries into military hostilities. The French felt betrayed and started intimidating and capturing U.S. vessels at sea, especially in the absence of a strong U.S. Navy to protect the American ships. The United States retaliated by issuing the Naval Act of 1798 which reinforced its naval force by providing funds for the establishment of Military vessels to protect the trade of the country. The U.S. Navy along with the British Royal Navy succeeded to reduce the French attacks until France changed its position towards the conflict and accepted negotiating for a peace settlement. On September 30, 1800, France and the United States signed the Treaty of Mortefontaine which put an end to the undeclared naval conflict and opened a new era of US-French relations. By the end of the conflict, the naturalization process went into normalcy by the repeal of the 1798 exigent Act and the passing of the 1802 Naturalization Act. It is worth noting that the 1798 Naturalization Act was one of a series of four laws that the United States adopted as a response to the French threat; the Alien and Sedition Acts comprised, in addition to the Naturalization Act, the Aliens Friends Act, the Alien Enemy Act and the Sedition Act. The four laws were passed in 1798 by the dominant Federalists. The Acts illustrated the fear of strangers coming from countries that threatened the American national security, mainly France, by giving controversial powers to the president to act vis-à-vis immigrants from enemy countries.

The Alien Friends Act, which expired in June 1800, gave the president the power to jail and to deport aliens he suspected of dangerous or suspicious activities. The Alien Enemies Act was essentially the same as the Alien Friends Act, but it would only become effective in the event of a formally declared war... Both laws denied immigrants the right to a fair hearing and access to the judicial system. Finally, the Sedition Act operated directly against citizens ... Citizens were prohibited from writing or speaking

critically of the president, Congress, or government upon penalty of imprisonment and a fine.⁴⁸

The acts endowed President John Adams (1797-1801) with the power to watch, imprison, and even deport immigrants. He could even punish any spoken or written words judged to be “false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States” by a fine and by imprisonment.⁴⁹ The goal behind that was keeping suspicious people from conspiring against the country. The legislation was confronted with a fierce opposition from the Republicans, led by Vice-president Thomas Jefferson, who claimed that it limited the freedom of speech and the press which was against the first article of the U.S. Bill of Rights. Rachlin pointed out that the law did not resist long and “had a mercifully short life, expiring with the presidential term of John Adams in 1801.”⁵⁰ The 1802 Act came as a result of the end of the tensions with France and also as a reaction to the mounting refusal of what was considered as a violation of the U.S. constitution and its Bill of Rights.

The period that came later was marked by less political tensions and therefore less legislation with regards to immigration. Although the naturalization process of the immigrants was under control, information about newcomers were still not accurate in order not to say unavailable. As mentioned in the first chapter, it is impossible to give official numbers and statistics about immigration before 1820 because there had been no legislation regulating this matter before the Immigration Act of 1819 was issued and which went into effect on 1 January of the following year. Unlike the 1795, 1798, and 1802 acts which dealt with naturalization, the 1819 was the first step taken by the federal government in the goal of keeping official records and regulating the flow of foreigners to the country. The act, also known as An Act regulating passenger ships and vessels, was passed on 2 March and required captains of all ships travelling to the United States to submit to local collector of customs lists of all the passengers on board with detailed information such as their origin, destination, age, sex, occupation ...etc.

The 1819 act was an attempt made by the federal authorities to have a firm reaction to the inhuman conditions the passengers to the United States and to other destinations were

⁴⁸ Terri Diane Halperin, *The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798: Testing the Constitution*, (USA: John Hopkins University Press, 2016), 6.

⁴⁹ Sedition Act 1798. Section 2

⁵⁰ Robert D. Rachlin, *The Sedition Act of 1798 and the East-West Political Divide in Vermont*, Vermont History. Vol. 78, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2010), 123.

facing. Those unpleasant travelling conditions were the result of the greedy ship owners who profited from the development that the transatlantic transportation underwent in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and who carried huge numbers of passengers on their ships in the goal of making money. The poor people desiring to leave Europe and join America paid the lowest fares but got the worst placements in the ships; they were travelling in steerage. The United States issued the Steerage Act to protect the poor passengers by compelling the captains of all vessels coming to its shores to change their transportation methods. The Act limited the number of passengers on board vessels to no more than “2 for every 5 tons of such ship or vessel.”⁵¹ It also set severe penalties on the captains who did not fulfill the requirements of the law. In fact, the 1819 Act initiated the beginning of the official registration of immigrants entering the country. Therefore, data about immigration are available starting by 1820, the year in which the act went into effect.

2.3. A Century of European Immigration to the United States (1820-1920)

When the United States got independence from Great Britain, the Americans sought the establishment of a confederation that the Thirteen Colonies would join and form a nation. The divergent political and economic interests of each state made it so difficult for each side stood its ground and refused concessions. Immigration, just like many other serious matters of that period, was avoided when drafting the U.S. Constitution. Slavery for instance, which constituted a crucial issue between the North and South, was not mentioned in the constitution; the reason behind that was to avoid early political and economic conflicts between the newly united states which could abort the whole process of building an American nation. Immigration regulation was one complex subject to deal with; the states, as will be seen in the end of the chapter, controlled it for three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1875 that the federal government established its control over the matter. It needed time to get the political power to regulate such a contentious issue in a country of immigration.

Before dealing with the nineteenth century immigration to the United States, one should go back to the gap between the war of independence and the 1819 act. The period is overshadowed by the important and numerous political events that occurred during and after the independence; the War of Independence, the making of the Constitution, the tensions with France in the Quasi-War, and the War of 1812 between the United States and the United

⁵¹ "Steerage Act." Immigration and Multiculturalism: Essential Primary Sources. . Encyclopedia.com. 27 Jul. 2018 <<http://www.encyclopedia.com>>.

Kingdom influenced the flow of immigrants to the country and did not make of it a preferred destination for the Europeans because of the poor economic opportunities that were available in the U.S. job market. The political instability in Europe, notably the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), also reduced the number of people desiring to immigrate to the other part of the Atlantic. It is estimated that fewer than half a million Europeans chose to immigrate to the United States in the period 1789-1820 which is relatively an inconsiderable number compared with the other waves of immigrants that preceded the U.S. revolutionary war.

As noted earlier, researchers were unable to deal with immigration to the United States in an accurate way because of the lack of official numbers before 1820. After that year, it was apparent that the Americans opted for the same open door policy that was adopted in the colonial period. They allowed big numbers of Europeans to immigrate and settle in the country. Most of the nineteenth century immigrants came from the so-called old countries of immigration; in other words, they came from Western Europe, which was the dominant region of immigration during the colonial era. A change occurred by the last decade of the century; the Americans kept the same open door policy and the country was always receiving those large numbers of immigrants, but the source countries of immigration changed. The new immigrants came from Eastern and Southern European countries.

The rapid expansion of the country into the vast and empty western territories sustained the development of an immigrant-based economy. The public opinion was divided on the mass migration of European workers; some viewed that both the United States and the European countries benefitted from that big move of Europeans to the Americas; the Americans could get the workers needed to improve their economy, whereas the Europeans saw in that an opportunity to reduce the impact of overpopulation and to get rid of some people who were not desired because they were considered as extremist rebels. The latter were the freedom seekers who escaped from Europe because they were unable to make the political and religious reforms they hoped for. On the other hand, there were many voices from either side that were against what was happening; in Europe, some viewed the phenomenon as a brain drain and a loss for the European nations. In the United States, there was a rise in the nativist reactions towards what they considered as an encroachment of foreigners who jeopardized their society and their established institutions.

People's poor conditions were the major element that pushed them to immigrate to the United States. Dinnerstein and Reimers mentioned that "the most powerful factor impelling emigration was an extraordinary increase in population, preceding the ability of agriculture to

feed it or of industry to give it jobs.”⁵² The impact of the Industrial Revolution on some of the European people was difficult to bear; it affected the agricultural sector that was the main source of work for a considerable number of laborers of the rural areas. Fewer jobs were afforded in agriculture which persuaded people to quit their homes in quest of better opportunities in the cities. It changed the life patterns of millions of people who were uprooted from their lands and found themselves obligated to adapt to their new conditions. Economic difficulties, religious persecution, and political oppression caused the exodus of large numbers of Europeans to the United States of America.

The following table shows the evolution of immigrants’ numbers in the period (1820-1924) which symbolizes the open door policy era:

Decade	Number of immigrants
1820-30	151.824
1831-40	599.125
1841-50	1.713.251
1851-60	2.598.214
1861-70	2.314.824
1871-80	2.812.191
1881-90	5.246.613
1891-1900	3.687.564
1901-10	8.795.386
1911-20	5.735.811
1921-30	2.344.599
Total	35.999.402

Table 2.2. 1820-1924 immigration to the United States ⁵³

Indeed, the number of the total immigrants who entered the United States in almost one century was very large; 36 million immigrants were attracted to the U.S. states. It is noted that immigration numbers started to be significantly large in the 1830’s with almost 600.000 people entering the country in one decade. Starting with the 1840’s, immigration entered the period of millionfold increase; it kept increasing in a spectacular way till it reached more than 5 million immigrants in the 1880’s and even 8.8 million in the period 1901-1910. The overwhelming majority of those newcomers came from European countries. Historians distinguish between two massive waves of immigrants during that period; the period between

⁵² Leonard Dinnerstein, David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 20.

⁵³ Roger, Daniels. *American Immigration A Student Companion*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9

1820 and 1890 witnessed the domination of immigration from Western and Northern European countries, whereas after 1890 immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe began to flow in unprecedented numbers. It is noted that the first part which saw the domination of western European immigrants witnessed the influx of more than 15 million people compared with more than 20 million from Eastern and Southern Europe. Not only the considerable number of immigrants who entered the country in a short period of time draws the attention, but also the shift in the origins of the newcomers; the latter came with completely different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds than the already multi ethnic society. What follows tries to analyze the two major waves, the countries of origin, and the reason that pushed the immigrants to choose the United States as a destination.

2.3.1. More Immigrants from Northern and Western Europe

The nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth witnessed the influx of a huge number of immigrants to the United States. Most of them came from the Old Continent. What is noticeable, as can be seen in table 2.3 on the following page, is the fact that the new arrivals shifted from one Western and Northern Europe to the Southern and Eastern part of it by the last decades of the century. Additionally, the numbers show that the rise of Eastern and Southern European immigrants did not necessarily mean the decline of old countries of immigration; arrivals from Northern and Western Europe remained to some extent high but were incomparable with the very high rates registered by the new immigrants. Moreover, among the striking points about the two major waves is the fact that the Western European wave witnessed a century of increase, whereas that of Eastern European countries was rapid and reached its highpoint in a short period of time.

Immigration from Western Europe was the bedrock of the founding of the American colonies. Western European immigrants constituted the most important source of labor, along with the African slaves, that permitted the development of the economy, and thus the maintenance of the English presence in the Americas. Western and Northern Europe did not cease to be the most important migrant-sending region after the U.S. independence. The influx of emigrants from those countries remained high in most of the nineteenth century. Immigrants came mainly from Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands. Certainly, the causes were different from one country to another, but they all shared the same objective: immigrate to Uncle Sam's country.

Period	Total number of immigrants	Number from ---					Per cent a from ---			
		Europe. b			Other specified countries.	Countries not specified.	Europe. b			Other specified countries.
		Northern and Western. c	Southern and Eastern. d	Total.			Northern and Western. c	Southern and Eastern. d	Total.	
1822-1830	151.824	103.119	3.389	106.508	11.983	33.333	87.0	2.9	89.9	10.1
1831-1840	599.125	489.739	5.949	495.688	33.526	69.911	92.5	1.1	93.7	6.3
1841-1850	1.713.251	1.592.062	5.439	1.597.501	62.606	53.144	95.9	.3	96.2	3.8
1851-1860	2.593.214	2.431.36	21.324	2.452.660	116.385	29.169	94.6	.8	95.5	4.5
1861-1870	2.314.824	2.031.642	33.630	2.065.272	231.583	17.969	88.5	1.5	89.9	10.1
1871-1880	2.813.191	2.071.374	200.955	2.272.329	539.072	790	73.7	7.1	80.8	19.2
1881-1890	5.246.613	3.779.315	959.951	4.739.266	506.558	789	72.0	18.3	90.3	9.7
1891-1900	3.687.564	1.643.613	1.942.164	3.585.777	87.724	14.063	44.8	52.8	97.5	2.5
1901-1910	8.795.386	1.910.700	6.302.709	8.213.409	548.454	33.523	21.8	71.9	93.7	6.3
Total	27.918.992	16.052.900	9.475.510	25.258.410	2.137.891	252.691	58.0	34.2	92.3	7.7

a based on number reporting country of origin

b including Turkey in Asia

c Northern and Western Europe comprises Belgium, Denmark, France (including Corsica), German Empire, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales), and United Kingdom not specified.

d Southern and eastern Europe comprises Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), Poland, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azores Islands, Roumania, Russian Empire (including Finland), Spain (including Canary and Balearic Islands), Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia

Table 2.3. Immigration to the United States from northern and western Europe, southern and eastern Europe, and other countries, 1820-1910, by decade⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Dillingham, William P. *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Statistical Review of Immigration, 1820-1910*. vol. 20, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-404, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Statistical Review of Immigration, 1820-1910, 12

2.3.1.1. Migration of the Irish Paupers

Ireland constituted a very important source of immigration to the United States during the nineteenth century. Millions of Irish left their country and found refuge in America. The following table shows the massive numbers that crossed the Atlantic Ocean searching for a new start far from their difficult conditions:

Decade	Number
1820-1830	54.338
1831-1840	207.654
1841-1850	780.719
1851-1860	914.119
1861-1870	435.697
1871-1880	436.871
1881-1890	655.540
1891-1900	388.416
Total 19th century	3.873.354
1901-1910	339.065
1911-1920	146.199
1921-1930	220.564
Total	4.579.182

Table 2.4. Immigration to America from Ireland 1820-1930⁵⁵

It is noteworthy to state that immigration from Ireland was among the highest during the period. More than 45 million chose America as a destination. It is noticeable that the immigration from Ireland reached its peak during the decades 1841-1860 when it saw the arrival of almost one-third (29.47%) of the total Irish immigrants to the United States during the period 1820-1930.

Irish immigration to the United States had been significant in the colonial times and remained high after the independence. One of the reasons that contributed in that mass migration was the population density and its consequences on the Irish economy. Most of the issues that the Irish faced during the mid-nineteenth century were the result of the spectacular increase of the populace. Ireland witnessed the highest rate of population increase among European countries in the period 1750-1800; According to Cohn, it grew by 108% from 2.4 million in 1750 to reach 5.0-5.2 million five decades later, and continued its growth to reach 8.5 million in

⁵⁵ Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 19.

1845.⁵⁶ Given the fact that most of the Irish lived in rural areas, they did not have many choices other than working in the agricultural field, but the population growth resulted in less job opportunities with regard to agriculture because the lands could not absorb their big number. As finding a job was difficult in Ireland, the economic conditions were hard for a significant share of the population.

Irish immigrants came mainly from four provinces; as showed in the first chapter, the Irish province Ulster was the origin of the big number of the colonial Scotch-Irish migrants who were primarily Protestant Presbyterians. They also came from Leinster, the rich province in Ireland, as well as from the poor provinces of Connacht, or Connaught, and Munster. Before 1845, Ulster and Leinster dominated the Irish emigration to the United States, but after the Great Famine hit Ireland, the other two provinces became the main source of Irish emigrants because the poor regions were severely hit by the ravages of famine which persuaded a big number of starving people to seek refuge in the other coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

Indeed, the starvation was behind a massive movement of people towards different countries, but we should not deny the fact that immigration from Ireland was high even before the period of famine. The United States was among the favorite destinations for the Irish due to some reasons. The people suffered as Ireland was an occupied land and under the British rule; there was political, religious, and social injustice among the population. In addition, the poor economic conditions of the country constituted a major element that shaped their decision of quitting their motherland. All those bad conditions created a sentiment of cynicism about the future of their country. They lost hope that their nation's situation would improve and that their life would change to the better. They saw in America a haven in which they would change their conditions to the better.

The period of famine came to intensify the bad conditions of the country and drive more people to leave their homeland. The roots of the Irish Great Famine (1845-1852), also called the Great Hunger or “an Gorta Mór” in Irish, go back to the first half of the nineteenth century when the Irish were living hard circumstances. As noted previously, they did not have jobs other than farming the lands which were owned by the British. The importance of Ireland to the British relied in the fact that it was a source of food and some other farming products, and, as stated by Ignatiev, “a market for the English manufacturers.”⁵⁷ According to the laws of that period, the Irish were dispossessed of the lands that had always belonged to their families. Forbes mentioned

⁵⁶ Cohn, R., *Mass Migration under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 50.

⁵⁷ Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 37.

that the land belonged to the British, and the Irish were obliged to rent it from the British landlords,⁵⁸ but because of the high rents, the Irish could rent only small tracts of land; Paulson emphasized that “by 1846, three-quarters of Irish farms were 20 acres (8 ha) or smaller, and half of these were less than 10 acres (4 ha) in size.”⁵⁹ Consequently, the Irish were poor because they were unable to raise money due to the high expenses on the land rent. Most of the Irish people were living under the poverty line. They could barely afford modest life standards, food and shelter, for themselves and their families.

The Irish had little choices to face such a complex situation. Providing food for their families was their major concern. Poverty grew rapidly with the deteriorating conditions of the Irish. In such miserable situation, they could not find a crop that would satisfy their hunger other than potatoes. The latter constituted a life buoy for the poor Irish who hoped it would save them from the dangers of famine. They were obsessed with the idea that they needed a safe production capable of providing them with sufficient food along the year given the fact that the Irish population was so dense at that period and satisfying their needs was of great importance. The importance of the potato crop came from the fact that it was cheap, easy to cultivate, and gave more produce than other crops, thus more food. It became the main crop of the country and farmers were encouraged to grow it at a large scale. As a consequence, a big part of the Irish population, mainly from poor provinces, relied on this crop and became dependent in their daily sustenance on potatoes. Moreover, they did not have any other food to rely on in case of a potato failure. According to Tagore, it is estimated that 60% of Irish food came from potatoes and almost 3.3 million people were relying exclusively on it.⁶⁰ They managed to ward off the specter of famine for many years thanks to it, but in 1845 this same crop distressed the life of millions of poor people and caused ravages in Ireland. The crop that the Irish were relying on was hit by a deadly disease, the blight, which resulted in the damage of the potatoes in the land. Even the stored potatoes were destroyed because the methods of storing the food that existed at that time were traditional and vulnerable; they put the potatoes in large holes in the ground which made them an easy target of the disease.

Ironically, the origin of the blight was the United States, the country that received an enormous amount of the Irish immigrants a few years later. The disease hit the United States in

⁵⁸ Adams William Forbes, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine*, (Maryland: Genealogical Publishing, 2004), 6.

⁵⁹ Timothy J. Paulson, *Immigration to the United States: Irish Immigrants*, (New York: Facts On File, 2005), 28.

⁶⁰ Amanda A. Tagore, *Irish and German Immigrants of the Nineteenth Century: Hardships, Improvements, and Success*. (2014). Honors College Theses. Paper 136. http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/honorscollege_theses/136, 7.

1843 and then reached Europe. The consequences of such failure of the potatoes were not as striking as in Ireland because both the Americans and the Europeans were not relying on only one crop as the Irish did. Before the latter could catch breath and hope for a better harvest the following year, the crops were also hit for two consecutive years, and the famine spread into the four corners of the country. The conditions got even poorer as the Irish farmers lost the lands because they were incapable of paying the rent, in addition unemployment grew and food became so expensive and scarce. The already bad situation of the Irish worsened as starvation was rampant. Paulson mentioned that 1 million Irish died because of starvation in the period between 1845 and 1850.⁶¹ Hopeless Irish did not have any other alternative left except escaping the horrors of extreme food shortage and joining the United States of America seeking better life conditions. Even though they knew that the sailing conditions were precarious, they accepted to move to the American shores inside what was called the “coffin ships.” This latter appellation comes from the fact that many of the Irish poor and starving emigrants died during the voyages because of the very bad traveling methods as they were travelling in overloaded ships and in inhuman conditions.

Indeed, the main push-factors behind the Irish flood to the United States were economic, but religious reasons also fueled their desire to leave their country. Hatton and Williamson stated that the famine hit mostly the poor regions of Munster and Connacht which were of Catholic majority.⁶² They hoped to flee the unpleasant economic conditions and at the same time settle in a place where they could worship the way they pleased. As it was impossible for them to emigrate to Protestant England or British Canada, as being the preferred destinations of their Protestant compatriots from the other two provinces Ulster and Leinster, they chose the United States for it was considered the land of economic opportunities and religious liberty. The Irish Catholics, who constituted the majority in Ireland, were enduring religious persecution. They were openly oppressed by the British authorities who practiced a religious oppression over the Irish Catholics to promote Protestantism in the country. They used the Penal Laws⁶³ in order to diminish the influence of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland on the Irish society. Ignatiev cited that the Catholics were oppressed to the extent that they

Were not permitted to vote or serve in Parliament or hold public office ... they were forbidden to practice law or hold a post in the military or civil service.

⁶¹ Timothy J. Paulson, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁶² Timothy J. Hatton, and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *After the Famine: Emigration from Ireland, 1850-1913*. The Journal of Economic History, vol. 53, no. 3, 1993, pp. 575–600. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2122406. 590.

⁶³ Penal Laws were a series of anti-Catholic laws issued by Great Britain on the Irish to compel them to adhere to the Protestant Church of Ireland, and penalized the practice of Roman Catholicism.

Catholics were forbidden to open or teach in a school, serve as private tutors, attend university, or educate their sons abroad. They were forbidden to take part in the manufacture or sale of arms, newspapers, or books, or possess or carry arms.⁶⁴

The Irish were dispossessed of their liberty and rights through being prevented from improving politically, economically, and socially in the society. Furthermore, the British racial practices went on to deprive the Catholics of their lands because of their religious affiliation. By 1750, Catholics possessed only 7% of the Irish land.⁶⁵ This had a negative impact on the economics of the Irish population because, as previously mentioned, they were obliged to pay high rents to the British landlords in order to be able to grow it. In addition to the religious persecution that drove the Irish to practice their faith far from the eyes of the Protestant Church, the discriminatory measures taken by the British had severe consequences on the social life the Irish. They were poor and could barely afford food for their families and children. They suffered from unemployment, low wages, and poor housing. Poverty was widespread among the population.

Chief among the factors that pushed the Irish towards leaving their country and sail across the ocean were serious economic troubles. The latter coupled with religious oppression and deteriorated social circumstances resulted in massive emigration from Ireland towards the United States. The numbers express clearly the situation; more than 260.000 Irish immigrated to the United States in the period 1820-1840. They constituted the largest source of immigration to the country. The following decades saw the Irish remaining the dominant group and broke all records; during the eight years that followed of the Great Famine (1846-1854), 1.239.000 immigrants left Ireland and joined America which constituted almost 76% of all immigrants from the British Isles and 45% of the total European immigration in the same period. As explained by Cohn, in the period 1820 to 1860, Ireland dominated the source countries of immigration and constituted 71% of the total immigrants from the British Isles and 40% of European immigrants with the total of 1.957.000 migrants.⁶⁶

The massive migration of Irish people towards the United States had its significant impact on the Irish population right after the famine period. According to the 1841 census, the Irish accounted for 6.528.799 inhabitants. That was four years before the starvation period which hit Ireland and caused the death of a big number. The population dropped to 5.111.557 ten years later in the 1851 census. The 1861 census witnessed another drop and saw the Irish totaling 4.402.111. In twenty years, Ireland lost more than 2.1 million people, almost one-third of the 1841 population, due to famine, diseases, and emigration. What is noticeable in that fall is the

⁶⁴ Ignatiev, op. cit., 34.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 35.

⁶⁶ Cohn, R., op. cit., 24.

four provinces' proportions which are far to be equal. The following table gives a glimpse about the population decrease in the Irish provinces:

Provinces	1841 Census	1861 Census	Population loss	Percentage of population loss	Share of the total loss
Leinster	1.973.7	1.457.6	516.1	26.1%	24.3%
Munster	2.396.2	1.513.6	882.6	37.2%	41.5%
Connacht	1.418.9	913.1	505.8	35.6%	23.8%
Ulster	740.0	517.8	222.2	30%	10.4%
Total	6.528.8	4.402.1	2.126.7	32.5%	100%

Table 2.5. Population by Province in 1841 and 1861 (in thousands)⁶⁷

The data show that the two poor provinces of Munster and Connacht surpassed the other provinces with more than one third drop of their population. Both provinces lost almost 1.4 million people in two decades compared with a little more than 700.000 from Leinster and Ulster. Furthermore, as a proportion of the total loss, Munster and Connacht's population decrease comprised almost two-thirds of the total population loss which can only show how serious the impact of the period was on the demographics of the two aforementioned provinces in particular, and on the whole Ireland in general.

2.3.1.2. Huddled Masses from Germany

Before discussing the reasons behind the German immigration to the United States, I have to emphasize on the fact that Germany was unified on January 18, 1871. Prior to this date, there were many independent German-speaking states that formed the German Confederation (1815-1866), then the North German Confederation that lasted only four years (1866-1870), and later they were unified and formed the German Empire that fought World War I (1914-1918). In this work, I would refer to the nineteenth century Germany as one entity in order to avoid what I consider as useless details and ambiguity.

Again, the economic reasons were the main factor that pushed millions of Germans to leave their lives behind their backs and head towards the United States of America. Unsurprisingly, the Napoleonic wars (1803-1815) aftermath was disastrous for many European nations' economies. The treasuries were empty as the war expenses were very high. Economic crises spread among the participating countries. Obviously, Germany's economy, as being one of

⁶⁷ Some data were taken from Central Statistics Office <http://census.ie/in-history/population-of-ireland-1841-2006/>

the protagonist countries, suffered a lot after the end of the Wars. The latter cost the country huge sums of money and made it indebted. The repercussions of such downturn on its population were also intense; their economic situation was affected negatively which resulted, in addition to other economic factors, in the exodus of a significant number of Germans to other countries, notably the United States.

German artisans constituted one of the categories of people who underwent hard economic times which resulted in their expatriation outside their country. They were the outcome of the industrialization of the Old Continent. Their suffering began once the war with France ended, when Germany started importing items manufactured in British industrial factories which were sold at lower prices compared with the ones made manually by German craftsperson. The people stopped buying artisans' products because the latter could not compete in terms of cost with the British ones. The economic crisis they faced drove them to early retirement and became almost jobless. As a last resort, they forcibly chose to move to the United States for better economic opportunities. Kile pointed out that the unequal economic competition with "the newly introduced factory system caused the first great wave of emigration between 1830 and 1840."⁶⁸

The peasants were among the categories of Germans that left the country because of land scarcity. Land constituted a very important element that characterized the German family and was a source of their dignity. They inherited that from their ancestors who regarded the land as being sacred and that it was their duty to maintain and protect it. By the first half of the nineteenth century, Tagore claimed that due to population density, the land became so expensive and so difficult to obtain.⁶⁹ This was the result of the rule of partible inheritance of land in many German regions; in south Germany, land was inherited equally between the family heirs after the death of the owner. Through time, when the population increased, the areas of land became small and not sufficient to support the German families relying on agriculture. Because of those hard economic circumstances, some peasants did not have a choice other than to sell their lands and immigrate to other countries like the United States which was a popular destination at that time. Those who remained in their lands subsisted on growing some crops; among the main crops was the potato produce. Though it was not the only source of food but it constituted a major portion to satisfy the increasing population of the period.

⁶⁸ Jessie June Kile, *The Causes of the German Emigration to America, 1848 to 1854*, MA Thesis, University of Illinois, 1914, 3.

⁶⁹ Tagore, Amanda A., *op. cit.*, 25.

Among the economic complications that the Germans faced and were a push factor towards emigration was the agricultural problem. The small lands that they owned were not beneficial financially which impacted on their discouraging situation. The bad conditions of their country coupled with their poverty and high food prices made the Germans think seriously about escaping their land towards other countries. As shown previously, not a big number of them decided to leave the country, still there were many who believed that the situation would change to the better. Unfortunately, all German hopes of improvement were put down by 1846 when the potato blight hit their crops. Although the consequences were not as disastrous as in Ireland since Germany did not make of potatoes their principle source of food, but it came to shake Germans' optimism for a better future. They were aware of the ravages that the disease caused in Ireland and were skeptical about whether famine would strike their doors and take the lives of a big number of them. The event had a psychological impact on them as the food stocks diminished. In addition, the country's economic conditions were not very promising; there was an economic downturn which made the people suffer. The impact of the dramatic decrease in economic resources on the German overpopulated society created low income category of people with unsatisfactory economic needs. They decided to flee their homeland for better life conditions elsewhere. Moreover, according to Dale McLemore, there was a widespread rumor in Germany that the United States was planning to restrict immigration to its shores.⁷⁰ The desperate Germans desiring to flee their country before the situation got out of their hands, feared that they would miss the chance to join the United States and get stuck in Germany decided to migrate in huge numbers.

Political oppression was one of the causes that triggered the migration of many Germans to the United States. In 1848, hoping to unify the German states and as a reaction to the bad economic situation of the people, some Germans asked the governments of the not-yet-unified Germany for economic reforms to improve people's bad economic conditions. Unfortunately for the few thousands, who were highly educated and from an upper social rank, their movement was smashed by the rulers. The German revolutions failed to achieve its goals. Moeller believes that "their essential aims, national unity and a free constitution, the self-administration of society, and an end to the social question were not realized."⁷¹ McLemore added that they did not have a solution except fleeing Germany.⁷² This group of Germans revolutionists is known in

⁷⁰ Dale. S. McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 4th ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1994), 72.

⁷¹ Moeller F. *The German Revolution of 1848–1849 — new perspectives*. Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History, 2017, vol. 62, issue 3, pp. 601–612. DOI: 10.21638/11701/spbu02.2017.311, 610.

⁷² Dale. S. McLemore, op. cit.,73.

history as ‘Forty-Eighters’ who revolted against the rulers but when they failed, they feared death so they escaped to America. It is very important to note that before 1848, the German governments put many obstacles to the Germans desiring to leave the country, but after the revolutions they reduced the administrative restraints because, according to Maldwyn, they believed that the emigration of large numbers would ward off new uprisings.⁷³

If Ireland clearly dominated total European migration to the United States by 1840 with 47% followed with Germany with more than one-third, the latter displaced the former in 1854 as the major immigrant supplier. That year witnessed 50% of the total immigrants to America coming from Germany⁷⁴. Additionally, Maha stated that German immigration kept its rank throughout the remainder of the first big wave of the nineteenth century.⁷⁵ He added that unlike the Irish immigrants who were poor and diminished, “most of the Germans were political refugees, scholars, intellectuals, some of them wealthy and eager to later invest their money in the cheap lands of the Western US states.”⁷⁶ The following table gives an insight of the evolution of the German immigration to the United States throughout the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth:

Years	Number
1820-1830	7.729
1831-1840	152.454
1841-1850	434.626
1851-1860	951.667
1861-1870	787.468
1871-1880	718.182
1881-1890	1.452.970
1891-1900	505.152
Total 19th century	5.010.248
1901-1910	341.498
1911-1920	143.945
Total period	5.495.691

Table 2.6. German Immigration to the United States 1820-1920⁷⁷

⁷³ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *op. cit.*, 102.

⁷⁴ Sorin-Ştefan Maha, *THE MIGRATION OF EUROPEANS TO THE UNITED STATES AT THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY – THE IRISH AND GERMAN WAVE*, CESS Working Papers, IIIII, ((4)), 2011, 557.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 557.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 559.

⁷⁷ Dale. S. McLemore, *op. cit.*, 72.

Firstly, it is noted the huge number of the German Immigrants in the nineteenth century which reached more than five million. A number that put Germany on top of the immigrant countries to the United States in the same period. The decade 1841 to 1850 marked the beginning of the German mass migration with more than 400.000. the next six decades saw the most important influx; the figures exceeded at least half a million a decade reaching the peak of almost 1.5 million in 1881-1890. The same decade witnessed the largest number of German immigrants for one year; 1882 marked the peak year with a little more than 250.000 departures.⁷⁸ After the end of the century, the figures went back to normalcy; as shown in the previous table, the numbers started to decrease and Germany stopped being a major source of immigration to the United States.

2.3.1.3. More Influx from Britain

As noted in chapter one, the British immigrants constituted the most important source of immigrant labor. In the 1790 census that the newly independent United States made, the British constituted 79.8% of the total white population of the country.⁷⁹ This proportion did not take into consideration the population of Irish origins, which was estimated at 5.8% according to the same census, due to the fact that the latter was dealt with separately in this chapter. Even in historical statistics, Irish immigrants are not grouped with those from Great Britain especially before 1853; the immigration data on the United Kingdom did not only include the Irish, but it did not even separate between England, Scotland, and Wales. They were placed under one group because little information was available in the U.S. passenger lists as the immigrants from Great Britain were not registered accurately while arriving at American shores, as emphasized by Cohn.⁸⁰ They were registered as either British or English only in most of the time.⁸¹ Besides, historians found it difficult to have exact figures of the three countries due to the lack of information both in the U.S. and British official statistics. Consequently, the focus is on immigration from Great Britain as one group in most of this part of the work.

Again, the economic conditions determined the attitude of the Europeans towards leaving their homes and immigrating to the United States. The Industrial Revolution that started in Britain in 1760's generated in the following decades disastrous outcomes for some categories of

⁷⁸ Historical statistics of the united states 1789 1945 , Bureau of the Census, 1949, 33.

⁷⁹ Thomas L Purvis, *The European Ancestry of the United States Population, 1790: A Symposium*. The William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 41, no. 1, 1984, pp. 85–101. JSTOR, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1919209. 98.

⁸⁰ Cohn, R. op. cit., 40.

⁸¹ Ibid.

the society as machines and new manufacturing processes replaced the ordinary hand-based production. This transition in production techniques had a negative impact on handicrafts persons who became practically jobless because they were unable to compete with the products of the factories. In the hope of reducing the impact of the economic change on the artisans, the British authorities reacted by repealing the laws prohibiting their emigration in 1825.⁸² They were not economically needed, so they were let unbound to leave the country and emigrate. In Great Britain, many artisans left their homes and joined the towns searching for jobs in factories, but most of them chose to move and settle permanently in the United States. They did not accept to stay in their homeland to the detriment of changing their economic activity. They were repudiated and became a burden; their role in the British economy became not important as the country turned to industrialized economy based on heavy industries after they were part of an economic policy that relied on their skills.

The farmers and low skilled workers constituted the largest proportion of the British immigrants to America. A succession of events was behind their exodus in substantial numbers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the farmers were victims of economic difficulties. The Napoleonic Wars not only had a negative impact on the political scene of Britain, but it also affected the prices of agricultural products. The prices fell after the wars and the whole sector was seriously depressed. The economy of Great Britain suffered in the war aftermath. Though the depression lasted less than a decade but, as Snow concluded, its aftereffects on the farmers were sufficient to crystallize their decision of leaving to the USA and Canada.⁸³

Another factor persuaded the British farmers to opt for immigrating outside their country and fleeing their deteriorating economic situation. One of the outcomes of the changing agricultural methods of that period was the rise of the enclosure movement. The latter was a process by which small lands were enclosed and transformed to large fields owned by individuals.⁸⁴ In England and Wales, the tendency was the conversion of the arable land into pastures. The farmers who owned small tracts of land were not able to compete with big landowners. They lost their lands and found themselves jobless which generated their departure to other countries, mainly the United States. Similarly, in Scotland the conditions were not better; the transformation of the lands into permanent grass lands resulted in the loss of jobs among the local farmers as the new industry required less workers and especially skilled ones.

⁸² Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 101.

⁸³ C. E. Snow. (1931) *Emigration from Great Britain*. In: Walter F. Willcox, editor. *International Migrations*, Volume II: Interpretations. NBER. <http://www.nber.org/books/will31-1>, 248.

⁸⁴ Turner M. (1984) *Enclosures in Britain 1750–1830*. In: Clarkson L.A. (eds) *The Industrial Revolution A Compendium*. Studies in Economic and Social History. Palgrave, London, 213.

The population growth was another major cause that led to the migration of an important number of British people. As stated earlier, many European countries witnessed a rise in their censuses. England was no exception; population density marked England at the turn of the nineteenth century. English demographics boomed to record rates. The following table shows the evolution of the English population during the period 1801 to 1871:

Years	Census	Difference	Percentage of Increase
1801	8.32	/	/
1811	9.49	1.17	14%
1821	11.20	1.71	18%
1831	13.01	1.81	16%
1841	14.87	1.86	14%
1851	16.81	1.94	13%
1861	18.83	2.02	12%
1871	21.37	2.54	13.5%
1801-1871		13.05	156%

Table 2.7. The population of England in 1801-1871(in millions)⁸⁵

The data on the table expose the rapid growth of the English society in that period. The population kept a steady increase since the first decade of the century when England accounted 8.3 million inhabitants to reach by 1871 more than 21.3 million people. In other words, the population was so dense that in seven decades, the English population increased by more than 13 million which is equivalent to 156% growth since 1801. The government reacted to that growing density by abolishing any control on immigration by 1827.⁸⁶ The population growth affected the economic and social conditions of the people; because of the rise of the population, the economic opportunities were little. People were free to leave the country and their emigration was somehow welcomed due to the fact that they would relieve the distressful conditions of the country. In 1820, a Select Committee of Parliament charged of finding solutions to the issues of the society reported that the key laid in “reducing the surplus population, and expressed its opinion that emigration afforded a far more satisfactory remedy for existing unemployment than

⁸⁵ Hubert P.H. Nusteling, *English population statistics for the first half of the Nineteenth Century: a new answer to old questions*. Annales de Démographie Historique, 1993, pp. 171-189, 173.

⁸⁶ Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 102.

any temporary measures which could be adopted. It further advised the Government to make grants to assist emigration.” The doors were wide open for the British desiring to leave the country for it would solve the issues of overpopulation, unemployment, and pauperism.

Furthermore, the country’s overpopulation increased the burden of relief directed to the poor people under the English poor Laws. The latter was a system established to support the diminished and poor people, the paupers. The voices calling for the reduction of the growing bill administered for the poor relief were so loud that the Laws were amended. In 1834, the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in England and Wales, and later in 1845 the same legislation was issued in Scotland. That political decision impacted on the economic and social status of the British since the new act reduced the relief for some categories of the population. Frazer stated that the legislation “reduced poor rates. In the ten years following 1834 poor rates nationally fell to between £4.5 million and £5 million per annum, and for the twenty years after that expenditure fluctuated between £5 million and £6 million.”⁸⁷ It offered the assistance to deprived people who were to be served in Workhouses only. These places were intended to offer lodging and occupation for the needy. The outdoor relief was no more afforded, which meant the exclusion of a number of British people who in addition to other factors, listed below, chose to immigrate for better conditions as they saw their economics fall down.

Overpopulation also affected the skilled workers in the industrial field. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of industrial laborers in the country, as an outcome of the growth of the population, which created abundance of workers in some industrial sectors. Many workers lost their jobs and others saw their earnings reduced. Additionally, the early 1840’s was a period of economic recession which resulted in the rise of unemployment among the British. Consequently, an important group of skillful workers joined the United States searching for a new start and better economic opportunities.

The immigration statistics show immigration from Great Britain to the United States during the nineteenth was relatively significant. The British numbers were not as large as the German or the Irish, but constituted the third major source of immigration in the period 1820-1900. The following table gives more details about the British Immigration:

⁸⁷Derek, Fraser. *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1984), 49.

Years	Numbers
1820-30	27.489
1831-40	75.810
1841-50	267.044
1851-60	423.929
1861-70	607.076
1871-80	548.043
1881-90	807.357
1891-1900	271.538
Total 19th century	3.028.286
1901-10	525.950
1911-20	341.408
Total period	3.895.644

Table 2.8. British immigration to the United States 1820-1920⁸⁸

The data on the table show that the numbers were not high until 1840; the two decades witnessed the flow of a little more than 100.000 only. The following decade saw their number grow to reach more than a quarter-million immigrants. The 1840's marked the beginning of a period of higher numbers; from 1850 to 1890, more than 2.3 million British immigrants joined the United States. The decade 1881-1890 was the highest in terms of British influx with more than 800.000 newcomers, and 1888 was the peak year with more than 108.000 immigrants. After that period, the numbers remained relatively high but were insignificant compared with those of other groups from Eastern and Southern Europe. In sum, England, Scotland, and Wales constituted the third largest source of immigration after Germany and Ireland in the nineteenth century. While Germany and Ireland made 26.4% and 20.2% respectively of the total immigration to the United States during the century, Great Britain shared 15.8% of the overall immigration with more than 3 million persons.

2.3.1.4. Other Immigrants from Western Europe

The first big wave of immigration that came after the independence witnessed the arrival of a number of people from other Northern and Western European countries. They were not numerically as important as the Germans, Irish, or the British but they constituted an additional reinforcement to the status of immigrants from that part of Europe as being the major source of

⁸⁸ Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 19.

newcomers to the United States in most of the nineteenth century. The reasons driving them to the Americas were almost the same as the other groups, with economic reasons being the central cause of their departure. The Scandinavian immigrants succeeded to rank fourth after the aforementioned countries as the major source countries in the first stream with more than a million immigrants, whereas other countries, like France or Holland, sent very low numbers.

Scandinavian immigration would not have been possible without the lifting of the restrictive measure on immigration that had been imposed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like other European countries, the three Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, did not allow their citizens to leave the country as part of a policy that considered their presence as a national strength. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the three countries appealed their restraining laws. They followed the European trend of leaving the door open for those wishing to settle elsewhere because their immigration would solve the issues of overpopulation, unemployment, and the impacts of the industrialization of the economy on the farm laborers and handicraftsmen who were attracted to the cities but could not be absorbed by the factories.⁸⁹ Norway led the movement by repealing its laws in 1863, It was followed by Sweden in 1864 and then by Denmark later in 1868.⁹⁰ The numbers, as shown in the following table, express clearly the low influx of Scandinavian immigrants to the United States before 1860's, and how their flow began to be significant after changing their immigration policy:

Years	Scandinavia
1821-30	260
1831-40	2264
1841-50	14442
1851-60	24680
1861-70	126392
1871-80	243016
1881-90	656494
1891-1900	371512
Total 19th century	1.439.060
1901-10	505324
1911-20	203452
Total period	2.147.836

Table 2.9. Scandinavian Immigration to the United States 1821-1920⁹¹

⁸⁹ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁹⁰ Adolph Jensen, *Migration Statistics of Denmark, Norway and Sweden*. In Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*. NBER, <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5113>, (p. 283 - 312), 283.

⁹¹ Haines Michael R., *French migration to the United States: 1820 to 1950*. In: *Annales de démographie historique*, 2000-1. Les Français d'Amérique. pp. 77-91; doi : 10.3406/adh.2000.1968. http://www.persee.fr/doc/adh_0066-2062_2000_num_2000_1_1968. Accessed on 28/07/2017, 81.

The table gives an insight about the shift in policy and its impact on the number of arrivals to the United States. Scandinavia began to become a relatively important source country of immigration in 1861-1870 when the numbers increased four times compared with the previous decade. That was essentially because the U.S. economy started to recover after the end of the American Civil War. The following decades saw the highest figures; the influx of Scandinavian immigrants kept growing till it reached its peak of more than 650,000 newcomers in 1880's. The progress was rapid that in only three decades (1861-1890), Scandinavia sent more than a million immigrants. The following table shows the impressive proportions of such increase:

Years	Percentage of growth ^(a)
1851-60	70.8%
1861-70	412%
1871-80	92.1%
1881-90	170%

(a) Percentage of growth in comparison with the previous decade

Table 2.10. Growth of Scandinavian immigration to the United States 1851-1890

By comparison, although the Scandinavian average number of immigrants per decade was high (214,545), but it did not reach that of the British (389,564), the Irish (435,861), or the German (549,569) in the period 1820 to 1920. It is worthy to note that the Swedish dominated the Scandinavian figures with almost 60% of the total number of immigrants from the region, followed by Norway with 30%, and Denmark with only 10%.⁹² The push factors that generated the Scandinavian immigration to the United States varied from one country to another, but the economic reasons prevailed.

Sweden was the major Scandinavian source of immigration to America. Although most Swedish immigrants left because of economic motives, religious persecution chased a group of them out of their country. The latter had conflicting beliefs with the established and powerful Lutheran Church in Sweden. Having no power to defend their religious convictions, they were pushed to America in the hope of worshipping the way they pleased. However, the rapid demographic growth in the country impacted negatively the social and economic conditions of the people; just like in Germany, overpopulation created small landowners because of the system of partible inheritance. Land was unable to absorb the growing number of people in rural areas which resulted in increasing unemployment rates and lower wages. The degrading situation persuaded many Swedes to move to cities searching for jobs in the factories, but the majority

⁹² Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, *op. cit.*, 100.

chose to leave to the United States for better economic opportunities. Besides, bad weather conditions caused the failure of many crops and resulted in three years of starvation from 1866 to 1869, which was a good reason for 60.000 people to leave the country.⁹³ The United States was home for 98% of Swedish immigrants from 1868 to 1914.⁹⁴

Immigration from Norway did not differ much from that from Sweden. Some Norwegians were not content with the religious conditions of their country. The Quakers were the main religious group; they were in discord with the dominating church. In fact, no religious diversity was allowed in European countries in that period and it was behind the religious exile of a number of Europeans. Norway was no exception as the groups that were religiously bigoted decided to leave and look for another place where there was room for them to practice their faith freely. Most of nineteenth century immigrants left Norway because of little economic opportunities. Like Sweden, Norway suffered from the same effects of population density; the land division resulted in landowners with small tracts of land unable to support their families. Most of the freeholders did not accept the reduction of their economic status and decided to escape their degrading conditions. 96% of those who left the country chose the United States as a destination.⁹⁵

Denmark was the Scandinavian country that sent fewer immigrants to the United States. The very low figures compared with the neighbors raise an intriguing issue over the reasons. Although there is little information about the matter, Kristian Hvidt suggested that Denmark was not having the same economic difficulties that fueled Swedish and Norwegian exodus, and went on to state that the Danish were having better economic conditions that the people were not in need of immigration to improve their economics. Despite the fact that their number was small, but 89% of the 285.000 all-destinations Danish immigrants chose to settle permanently in the United States.⁹⁶

Denmark was not the sole Western European country not to have bad economic conditions that drove its people to immigrate to the United States; France also did not contribute with large numbers due to the fact that there was not strong economic motive that pushed the French towards the Americas like in Germany, Ireland, and Great Britain. The French did not leave their homeland because they were optimistic with the outcomes of the revolution they had

⁹³ Emma Erickson, *Swedish Immigration: Why They Came to Minnesota*. Honors Program, 05 May 2014. <https://www.bemidjistate.edu/academics/honors/wp-content/uploads/sites/73/2017/03/Swedish-Immigration.-Why-They-Came-to-Minnesota-Erickson-Emma.pdf>. 4.

⁹⁴ Kristian Hvidt, *Mass Emigration from Denmark to the United States 1868-1914*. *American Studies in Scandinavia*, 9 (1972). <https://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/assc/article/view/2754/2788>. 10.

⁹⁵ Kristian Hvidt, op. cit., 11.

⁹⁶ Kristian Hvidt, op. cit., 10.

made and they expected promising and equal opportunities after getting rid of the monarchy. The hopes for better life standards at home far from the American Dream remained alive among the population. The numbers of French immigration to the United States are expressed in the following table:

Years	France
1821-30	8.497
1831-40	45.575
1841-50	77.262
1851-60	76.358
1861-70	35.986
1871-80	72.206
1881-90	50.464
1891-1900	30.770
Total 19th century	397.118
1901-10	73.379
1911-20	61.897
Total period	532.394

Table2.11. French Immigration to the United States 1821-1920⁹⁷

As it can be seen in the table, the number of French immigrants to the United States was insignificant. In addition, Cohn stated that the French immigrants came mainly from the areas bordering Germany and they were affected by the same economic conditions that influenced the Germans.⁹⁸

Holland was among the sending countries of immigration but their numbers was not important. Their main reason for quitting their country was the economic difficulties resulting from weak economics combined with bad crops; the Netherlands was also struck by the potato failure of 1845 and 1846 which accelerated the process of emigration for some categories. In addition, internal religious issues led to the persecution of some religious groups who did not accept to live in oppressing religious conditions. As their predecessors in the previous centuries, they chose America as a religious haven to worship the way they please. In sum, the Dutch

⁹⁷ Data taken from : 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 6-7.

⁹⁸ Cohn, R. (2008). *Mass Migration Under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34.

immigration was the outcome of a combination of economic and religious circumstances that determined their action to leave their country.

2.3.2. They Come from the Other Side of the Continent: Eastern and Southern European Immigrants

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the main source countries of immigration changed. There was a rise of Eastern and Southern European movement to the United States. The new stream of immigration was spectacular; in very few decades, the new immigrants' numbers surpassed those from Northern and Western Europe. The newcomers came mainly from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and the Russian Empire. Though the reasons that pushed them to leave their countries and join the United States were to some extent close to those of Western Europeans, but their characteristics were far to be similar. Many of them were less educated, low skilled, not eager to settle permanently in America, and had higher proportions of males than females.

2.3.2.1. Italian Contadini⁹⁹

As noted earlier, Northern and Western Europeans dominated most of the nineteenth century; the United States saw the influx of nearly 9.2 million immigrants from that region against 2.8 million newcomers from other parts of Europe up to 1900. Immigrants from what had been dubbed the "old countries of immigration" were incontestably higher than any other origins, but by the end of the century, a shift in the source countries of immigration from Europe was noted. While there was a relative slowdown in the Western and Northern European immigration, the movement of people from Eastern and Southern Europe rose in a rapid way. Immigrants coming from those parts of Europe quickly displaced their European predecessors as the main source of labor for American economy. The new wave of immigrants (1890-1930) exceeded all previous numbers; in four decades, the United States received millions of immigrants from those regions. A big part of that number was dominated by the Italians, Austro-Hungarians, Russians, and Jews.

Before dealing with the Italian immigration to the United States, it is important to say that the country had been divided for centuries and got united to form the Kingdom of Italy through what is known as the Italian Unification (1815-1871). The Italians were fighting for independence and for bringing the different independent Italian States under one united kingdom. It was not until Rome was finally annexed in 1871 and became the capital of the

⁹⁹ Contadini: an Italian word which means "peasants." Dale. S. McLemore, *op. cit.*, 77.

kingdom that the Unification was achieved and Italy was officially ruled by one government. The new government's measures made the lives of the Italian peasants more difficult by imposing taxes and requiring young men to do the military service.¹⁰⁰ In the same period, the Italian Southern farmers, who were relying on agriculture, received another violent blow; the prices of certain products fell, like wheat, as there was an economic competition in Europe. The production was abundant which affected the prices negatively. In addition the bad conditions which resulted in poor crops worsened the situation of the already poor and suffering Italians.

There were mere economic differences between south and north Italy. What characterized the Southern Italians was the fact that they were not skilled workers and with very low or even no education which affected their economic situation. Whereas the Northerners had better educational attainment and improved social and economic conditions. The Italian Unification did only amplify the economic and political difficulties of the south; the new government, dominated by the Northern Italians who were rich, did not initiate any policy to help the South. The Southerners were pushed by their economic situation to leave their country and join another place where they could improve their economics. The United States was their major destination for it was conceived by many Europeans as the land of economic opportunities.

Italy constituted the major sending country of immigrants to the United States during the end of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth. What characterized the Italians was their regional origin; most of them came from the poor south of Italy that was known for its weak economic opportunities outside agriculture. They were small unskilled peasants who worked only in farming. Very poor possibilities were offered to them in other sectors outside farming because of the rural specificity of the region and the absence of any industrial form which required their economy to rely only on agriculture. The economic reasons were determinant in shaping the behavior of the Italians towards leaving their country and settling in the United States. They left their homes and families in the hope of improving their economic conditions and, thus the worsening conditions of their families back in Italy. They were very poor and unable to afford a decent life for themselves and their relatives.

Italy, mainly the south, was characterized by poverty and hard economic conditions. Like other European countries, population density had its negative impact on the population in the sense that it created more competition on in the labor force because of the lack of work. In addition, similar forces that drove the Irish to leave their country were among the reasons behind the Italian exodus; the Italian rich landlords owned most of the lands and imposed high rents on

¹⁰⁰ Michael Burgan, *Immigration to the United States: Italian Immigrants*, (New York: Facts On File, 2005), 28-29

the Italian farmers which resulted in higher unemployment rates and lower salaries. Even those who owned their lands had very small tracts that could not support their families. The reason behind that was the system of partible inheritance which resulted in the division of Italian lands into insignificant tracts with poor production. The absence of the new industrial techniques in agriculture aggravated the situation as the Italians were still relying on outdated cultivation systems that were unable to sustain a growing need to feed the dense population. The Southerners' economy was centered on fragile agriculture that could barely afford food for the population, but which was also subject to easy collapse in case of any economic downturns.

Italy had been an important source of immigration to the Americas before 1890's. Italy sent a big number of people to South America, mainly Brazil and Argentina; up to 1900, it is estimated that two out of three Italians who immigrated outside Italy did not choose the United States.¹⁰¹ The overwhelming majority of the immigrants came from the northern and central Italian states. As the conditions were not so bad, the Southerners did not migrate in important numbers. By the 1880's when the economic conditions of the region worsened, they were prepared to leave the country; the best destinations that were available for them were either the United States or the South American countries. They tended to choose Brazil or Argentina for there had already been an established and prosperous Italian community which would facilitate their economic and social assimilation. Two important events made of Brazil and Argentina undesirable destinations in the late eighties; firstly, a yellow fever, a great epidemic disease, emerged in Brazil and killed thousands of people among them 9.000 Italian victims which led the Italian government to temporarily prohibit Italian immigration to Brazil.¹⁰² Second, Argentina went through bad economic conditions as a result of financial and political issues that hit the country which affected the economic opportunities offered to Italian immigrants. The events influenced the destination of the big number of Italians who chose the United States as a destination that could provide them with better economic opportunities far from the economic and social issues in Latin America. The overwhelming majority of post-1890's Italian immigrants to the United States came from the southern regions. They were forced to leave their country against their will because of the hard economic conditions their region was facing in the late 1880's.

By the end of 1880's, the Southern Italians faced economic hard times. As noted earlier, the economy of the south was so fragile that when the United States, who had witnessed a "rapid

¹⁰¹ Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990), 188.

¹⁰² Maldwyn Allen Jones, *op. cit.*, 200

increase in subtropical fruit production in Florida and California,”¹⁰³ topped importing Italian lemon and oranges along with France imposing high tariffs on Italian wine¹⁰⁴ to protect and improve its local production, their economy suffered and the implications were heavy. They lost The people started escaping the bad conditions generated from the deteriorating economy, and looked forward to improving their situation in the United States. The Italians initiated a very large wave of immigration that lasted only three decades, but the numbers were spectacular. The following table gives an idea about the Italian immigration from 1820 to 1920:

Years	Total immigration to USA	Italian immigration	Proportion
1820-30	151.824	439	0.28%
1831-40	599.125	2.253	0.37%
1841-50	1.713.251	1.870	0.1%
1851-60	2.598.214	9.231	0.35%
1861-70	2.314.824	11.725	0.50%
1871-80	2.812.191	55.759	1.98%
1881-90	5.246.613	307.309	5.85%
Total			
1820-90	15.436.042	388.586	2.51%
1891-00	3.687.564	651.893	17.67%
1901-1910	8.795.386	2.045.877	23.26%
1911-1920	5.735.811	1.109.524	19.34%
Total			
1891-1920	18.218.761	3.807.294	20.89%

Table 2.12. Italian immigration vis-à-vis overall immigration to the United States 1820-1920¹⁰⁵

As shown on the table, the first decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of a very small number of Italian immigrants to the United States. The low numbers remained for most of the century. The proportion of Italian immigration did not exceed 0.5% of the total newcomers before 1870. A slight increase occurred in the following decade (1871-1880) in which more than 55.000 immigrants joined the country. The decade 1881-1890 constituted another period of

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 130.

¹⁰⁵ Dale S. McLemore, op. cit., 67, 78.

growth with a number of arrivals surpassing a historical bar of 300.000. The three decades that followed (1890-1920) witnessed a spectacular increase in the Italian immigration which took a completely different shape; 3.8 million Italians crossed the Atlantic Ocean and settled in the United States which constituted the largest wave of the second European stream.¹⁰⁶ The high rates of immigration can be seen in the increase of the Italian proportion where Italy comprised one-fifth of the overall immigration in 1890- 1920 compared with only 2.5% in the period from 1820 to 1890. The decade 1901-1910 saw the arrival of a record number of Italian immigrants which surpassed 2 million newcomers, in other words an average of 200.000 a year. That was the peak decade. The same period witnessed the second highest number of immigrants in one year, after the Austro-Hungarians, among the first and second waves of immigration from Europe with 285.731 in 1907. Even though the next decade witnessed the outbreak of the WWI (1914-1918) which affected immigration to the United States, the Italians exceeded the other source countries and counted 1.1 million newcomers.

Immigration from Italy was unprecedented not only because of its high rates, but also because of the specificity of the newcomers themselves. Unlike the Germans or Irish who dominated the Western European immigration in most of the nineteenth century, the Italians succeeded to reach high numbers in a short period of time. Furthermore, some characteristics made of them unique in the history of immigration to the United States. First, the proportion of male immigrants was clearly higher than that of females. The following table gives a comparison between the largest groups of immigrants about the proportions of males/females in the period from 1899 to 1910:

Race or people	Total immigrants	Number		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
German	754.375	448.054	306.321	59.4	40.6
Irish	439.724	210.686	229.038	47.9	52.1
English	408.614	251.421	157.193	61.5	38.5
Scandinavian	586.306	362.467	223.839	61.8	38.2
Italian, North	372.668	291.877	80.791	78.3	21.7
Italian, South	1.911.933	1.502.968	408.964	78.6	21.4

¹⁰⁶Roger Daniels, op. cit., 188.

Table 2.13. Immigration to the United States by sex and race or people, 1899-1910¹⁰⁷

The data show that the Southern Italians were five times more numerous than those from the north. It also highlights the fact that the Italian immigration to the United States was dominated by men with more than 78%. This proportion exceeded those of the other major European immigrant like the German, the Irish, the English, and the Scandinavian. It is important to say that the Italians coming either from the South or North shared almost the same percentage. The high proportion of men raises a debate over the reasons of their choice. The answer to this issue leads us to the second characteristic that makes of the Italian immigrants different; the Italians did not bring their women and families with them because they “did not intend to remain in America...they wished to make their fortunes and return with honor to the homeland.”¹⁰⁸ They were forced to leave their country because of the bad economic situation, but planned to make of their trip to the U.S. a means by which they could gather money, become rich, and come back to their country when the conditions improve. Indeed, the number of Italians left the United States and joined Italy was very important. The following table explains this fact:

	Immigrants admitted	Emigrants departed	Number departed for every 100 admitted
Italian, North	80.630	49.596	62
Italian, South	468.468	259.381	55
Total Italy	549.098	308.977	56

Table 2.14. Italian immigrants admitted, departed, and number departed for every 100 admitted, 1908-1910¹⁰⁹

In the period 1908-1910, more than half of the Italian immigrants admitted to the United States returned to Italy. They were known for being the “birds of passage”¹¹⁰ who settled in America for a given period of time, but not permanently. Not all Italians who sailed to the United States returned to their homeland, but compared with other large immigrant groups, the Italians constituted the most important group which witnessed large numbers sailing back to Italy for pure economic reasons.

¹⁰⁷ Dillingham, William. *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. vol. 1, Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1–922, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. 97.

¹⁰⁸ Dale S. McLemore, op. cit., 78.

¹⁰⁹ Dillingham, William. *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. vol. 1, Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1–922, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. p. 113

¹¹⁰ Michael J. Piore. *Birds of passage: Migrant labor and industrial societies*. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

The third characteristic that adds to the uniqueness of the Italians is their educational level and their skills in the labor force. As noted earlier, the majority of the Italians of the second European big wave of immigration to the United States came from the poor south where they did not have work opportunities outside agriculture. They were not well educated; they were among the groups with the highest rates of illiteracy. Almost 54 of every 100 Southern Italian immigrants to the United States who were 14 or above could neither read nor write.¹¹¹ The figure shows how the Southern Italians were inferior educationally to their compatriots of the north as the latter displayed only 11.5% of illiterate immigrants.¹¹² Additionally, since most of them were unskilled, they occupied less skilled occupations than the other largest immigrant groups.

	Number reporting employment	Professional	Skilled	Farm laborers	Laborers	Other occupations
Italian, North	296.622	1.1	20.4	18.7	47.8	12.0
Italian, South	1.471.659	0.4	14.6	34.5	45.5	7.9

Table 2.15. Per cent of Italian immigrants to the United States by occupation, 1899-1909¹¹³

It is noticeable that both Southern and Northern Italians had a high proportion of unskilled workers. Though Northern Italian immigrants had 20% of their labor force performing skilled occupations, this figure is overshadowed by the 66.5% who were reported as being either farm laborers or laborers. On the other hand, the Southern Italians displayed a larger proportion of unskilled workers; 77% of the number reporting employment worked in farms or as common laborers in the cities. These figures are completely logical given the fact that the majority of the Italian immigrants were unskilled landless peasants in distress who left Italy forced and wanted to gather money and return home rich to buy farms and improve their economic conditions, in other words they wished to live the American Dream but in Italy.

2.3.2.2. Helpless Austro-Hungarians

The hard economic conditions dominated the major push factors that drove Europeans out of their homelands towards the United States in huge numbers. The Austro-Hungarian immigrants were no exception; they chose to leave their country and join America for the sake of better economic opportunities to improve their lives. The economic condition of the

¹¹¹ Dillingham, op. cit., 99.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Dillingham, William. *Op. cit.*, 101.

country was not encouraging as the Austro-Hungarians earned little wages compared with what they could get in the United States. The situation in Austria-Hungary was quite similar to that in Italy where there were minor profitable chances in the weak and underdeveloped industrial sector. Unlike some other European countries of the times where industry constituted an important drain that absorbed the amounting number of people leaving their villages and joining the cities in search of jobs, Austria-Hungary's industrial movement was slow and did not help provide impetus to economy. The people had to look for another source of jobs far from industry. It is estimated that a small proportion of 26.8% of Austrians relied on industry as a source of occupation compared with only 14.4 of the total inhabitants of Hungary who were relying on industry and mining in 1900.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the industrial part of the economy did little to hire workers and help decrease the negative outcomes of population growth on the society, especially with the displacement of the rural population to the cities in quest of jobs after they were unable to secure their families in the agricultural field as it was the major source of recruitment in the empire.

The people's source of work was in agriculture but it was not so promising. The agriculture of the country suffered because of the insufficiency of the productive land due to the fact that there was an excessive subdivision of the land as part of the partible inheritance system that allowed the children to inherit the holding of their father. The lands were getting smaller through time till they became unable to satisfy the needs of their proprietors' families. It is reported that in the year 1902, 72.3 % of the total land used for agriculture in Austria consisted of holdings smaller than 12½ acres, and 52.2% of the overall agricultural holdings in Hungary were smaller than 7.1 acres in 1905.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, the farmers used obsolete methods of cultivation, because of the lack of industrialization in the empire, which resulted in poor production which was insufficient to satisfy the growing number of the population since the country was witnessing a high population density like the other European states. With the nonexistence of real opportunities in industry, agriculture constituted the refuge for the Austro-Hungarians. But under such circumstances, the earnings of the peasants were so low compared with what they would earn in the New World.

¹¹⁴ Dillingham, William P. *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe*. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 366-367

¹¹⁵ Dillingham, William P. *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe*. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. p.362

All the conditions were in favor of a mass migration from the empire but due to some restrictive measures, their movement was delayed. In the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the Austro-Hungarian legislation forbade the immigration of its subjects to other countries. By 1832, immigration was banned but for the very few people desiring to leave the country, it was the duty of the magistrates to issue the permit on the demand of the petitioner. But such permit meant the loss of citizenship of the petitioner and could not be issued unless “petitioner was not a dependent and that neither military nor other public duties were an obstacle.”¹¹⁶ Hopefully for the Austro-Hungarians seeking immigration, they could breathe a sigh of relief when the authorities removed the ban on immigration in 1867 and bound it only to not having any military obstacle. In other words, thanks to the new constitution the people were allowed to leave the country after they did the compulsory military service. The Austro-Hungarian immigration to the United States can be observed through the data provided in the following table:

Decades	Austria-Hungary
1820-30	-
1831-40	-
1841-50	-
1851-60	-
1861-70	7.800
1871-80	72.969
1881-90	353.719
1891-00	592.707
1901-10	2.145.266
1911-20	896.342
Total 1820-1920	4.068.803

Table 2.16. Austro-Hungarian immigration to the United States (1820-1920)¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Klezl, Felix. “Austria.” *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*, edited by Walter Willcox, vol. 2, NBER, 1931, pp. 390–410. <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5115>, 392

¹¹⁷ 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 6-7.

The previous table shows clearly that the immigration of Austro-Hungarians started late in the second half of the nineteenth century. No arrivals from the country had been reported in the U.S. passenger lists prior to 1861, the year that witnessed the coming of the first immigrants, only 51 passengers were registered. In the following two decades (1861-1880), the numbers were small; the total number of arrivals was only little more than 80,000. The numbers started to increase significantly in the following decades; in the period 1881 to 1890, the number was almost five times greater than the previous decade. The next decade kept the same rhythm of growth, but the most spectacular progress happened in the first decade of the twentieth century (1901-1910) when Austria-Hungary sent more than two million immigrants in a decade. The numbers were unprecedented because immigration from the country started late in the nineteenth century. In that remarkable period, the Austro-Hungarian movement gained momentum when it numbered 338,452 immigrants in 1907.¹¹⁸ The next decade displayed a large number despite the fact that the WWI occurred which slowed down the overall migratory movement. Austria-Hungary was among the largest sending countries of immigrants to the United States; it was surpassed only by Germany (5.5 million), Ireland (4.5 million), and Italy (4.2 million).

The gender of the new immigrants was an important element that characterized some groups and some parts of Europe over others. Like many Eastern and Southern European source countries of immigration, male immigrants dominated the Austro-Hungarian immigration to the United States. The following table gives an idea about the high proportions of male over female immigration.

Decades	Total immigration	Numbers		Per cent	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1871-80	72.969	40.882	32.087	56.0	44.0
1881-90	353.719	236.464	117.255	66.8	33.1
1891-00	592.707	267.814	132.943	66.8	33.2
1901-10	2.145.266	1.511.531	633.735	70.5	29.5
Total 1871-1910	3.164.661	2.056.691	916.020	69.2	30.8

¹¹⁸ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 351

Table 2.17. Immigration to the United States from Austria-Hungary by sex and decades, 1871-1910¹¹⁹

In the period from 1871 to 1910, more than two-thirds of the total number of Austro-Hungarian immigrants who entered the United States were males. It is interesting to mention that the proportions of males and females were convergent in the 1870's which was the decade that marked the real beginning of the Austro-Hungarian immigration. But during the next decades, the share of the males increased and the gap widened with the females. The only explanation to such figures is that the Austro-Hungarian migration was composed of single males rather than married individuals travelling with their families. The reason behind that lies in the fact that many Austro-Hungarians, like the Southern Italians, did not plan to settle permanently in the United States, but rather to make money and come back to their country where they could buy land and invest in agriculture. In other words, they wanted to live the American dream but in their way. Hence, the agricultural background of the Austro-Hungarians impacted on their occupations in the United States. The following table presents an overview of the careers that they incorporated once in the United States:

	Number reporting employment	Professional	Skilled	Farm laborers	Laborers	Other occupations
Austro-Hungarians	3.325.195	0.7	16.7	31.8	36.3	14.5

Table 2.18. Per cent of Austro-Hungarian immigrants to the United States by occupation, 1899-1909¹²⁰

The figures show that most of the Austro-Hungarians were unskilled workers. Among the total number of immigrants who were employed, only 16.7% occupied skilled jobs, and more than two-thirds were either farm laborers or laborers. Understandably, the low proportion of skilled workers comes from the fact that most of the Austro-Hungarians relied on agriculture in their homeland because of the low opportunities available in the fragile industrial domain, thus they were pulled into unskilled professions rather than skilled ones.

¹¹⁹ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 352

¹²⁰ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. p.377

2.3.2.3. Escaping the Tsarist Oppression

Russia constituted one of the major sending countries of immigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. Like the other European immigrants, the Russians' reason for migrating in significant numbers was fueled by their economic situation inside their country. The migratory movement was a consequence of a long period of economic and political difficulties. To understand that, it is important to go back to the policy that was prevalent in the country where immigration was restricted before mid-nineteenth century. The country was ruled by a severe feudal regime of the czars.¹²¹ The latter controlled the Russian population composed mainly of serfs who were treated as property by the nobles who constituted only a slight minority of the Russian population. As an example of how the serfs were treated, Lisa Trumbauer stated that "if the nobles sold their land, the serfs who worked the land were sold along with it. Sometimes the nobles traded their serfs for items they wanted."¹²² Their status was similar to that of slaves since they were sold and traded with no rights or freedom. Evidently, they were not allowed to emigrate outside Russia. By 1861, Alexander II the czar of Russia (1855-1881) introduced some reforms to the outdated economic system of the country. The Emancipation Reform of 1861 had a positive impact on the serfs' status as they were gradually freed and emancipated.

The overwhelming majority of the Russians were deprived and relying on agriculture for their food and occupation. Agriculture constituted the bedrock of the economy in the absence of a developed industry. The peasants were so important to the nation; five-sixths of the Russians were farm laborers.¹²³ The same scenario of many other European nations occurred in Russia; the plots were small because of the excessive subdivision. The lands were inherited by the siblings and were getting smaller till they became insufficient to satisfy the needs of their owners. Even after getting their freedom and being granted allotments of land, the serfs' situation did not improve since the lands were so small and the rents and taxes increased rapidly. The government's economic measures imposed on the serfs made their conditions even worse than when they were serving the landlords.¹²⁴ They became unable to improve their economics and could barely afford a living. In the meantime, the less restrictive policy of the czar vis-à-vis

¹²¹ Lisa, Trumbauer. *Immigration to the United States Russian Immigrants*. (New York: Facts On File, Inc, 2005), p.14

¹²² Ibid, 27.

¹²³ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 245.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 246.

the movement of the Russians towards other countries persuaded many of them to leave their homes. They were very poor and hoped, just like the other immigrants, for better life conditions far from the miserable ones in Russia.

As noted earlier, the Russians were among the largest Eastern European waves of immigrants to the United States. The following table gives full data about the numbers of Russian immigrants from 1820 to 1920:

Decades	Russia
1820-30	89
1831-40	277
1841-50	551
1851-60	457
1861-70	2.512
1871-80	39.284
1881-90	213.282
1891-00	505.290
1901-10	1.597.306
1911-20	921.201
Total 1820-1920	3.280.239

Table 2.19. Russian immigration to the United States (1820-1920)¹²⁵

It is clearly shown on the previous table that the Russian immigration to the United States started to be significant right after the emancipation of the serfs and the adoption of the less restrictive measures on the movement of the Russians. Before 1861, the Russian arrivals were unimportant to the extent that they did not reach even a thousand per decade. The jump in numbers occurred in the 1870's when the decade witnessed the arrival of almost 40.000 immigrants from Russia. Even though the number was exceptional, but it was quickly eclipsed by the four times increase of the 1880's to exceed 200.000 newcomers. The following decades saw the influx of huge numbers; half million Russians joined the United States in 1890's followed by a historic 1.6 million immigrants in the first decade of the twentieth century. In the same decade (1901-1910),

¹²⁵ 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2006, 2004 Yearbook Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. pp.6-7

Russia sent nearly one-fifth (19.4%) of the total European immigrants to the country.¹²⁶ In the following decade (1911-1920), more than 900,000 Russians came to America despite the fact that Russia and the United States took part in the First World War. The previous numbers put Russia as the third largest source country of immigration to the United States in the period from 1880 to 1920.

The Russian immigration to the United States is particular compared with the other European countries because a large proportion was composed of other races than Russians. What is noticeable when dealing with it, is the fact that the real Russian immigrants constituted a slight minority of the total emigration from the empire the following table gives an insight about the proportions of the immigration from the Russian Empire:

Race	Proportion
Hebrew	43.8%
Poles	27%
Lithuanians	9.6%
Finns	8.5%
German	5.8%
Russians	4.4%
Scandinavians	0.8%

Table 2.20. Emigration from Russian Empire 1899-1910¹²⁷

It is important to note that registering the race of the emigrants coming to the United States did not start until 1899; that is why it was impossible to find official data about the ethnic composition of the Russian emigration before that year. The previous table shows that the real Russian emigrants did not exceed 4.4% of the total immigrants recorded. The reason behind that goes to the fact that most of the immigrants came from countries that were under Russian control. Thus, the overwhelming majority came from annexed populations. They were Hebrew, Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, Germans, and to a lesser extent Scandinavians. The Russian Jews held the most important share of almost 44% of what is considered as Russian immigration.

The following lines are devoted to the Jewish immigration given the fact that it constituted a distinct type of movement because of its specificity and number compared with that

¹²⁶Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 241.

¹²⁷ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 265.

of the other races coming from the Russian Empire. The important Jewish migration to the United States started in the 1880's as part of the great waves of emigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. The period 1880 to 1910 saw the U.S. population growing by more than 42 million; the growth was due largely to the heavy immigration to the country mainly of Eastern and Southern Europeans among them the Russian Jews who totaled approximately 1.120.000 immigrants.¹²⁸ The latter kept increasing during the three decades as shown in the following table:

Decade	Total immigrants	Jewish immigrants	Per cent of total
1881-1890	213.282	135.003	63.3
1891-1900	505.280	279.811	55.4
1901-1910	1.597.306	704.245	44.1
Total	2.315.868	1.119.059	48.3

Table 2.21. Total Immigration from Russia and Jewish Immigration from Russia, 1881 to 1910, by Decade, and Percentage Jewish of Total¹²⁹

The peak decade of Jewish immigration to the United States was from 1901 to 1910 with more than 700.000 immigrants. The same decade saw the highest number of Jews arriving at American shores in a single year; they totaled 125.234 in 1906.¹³⁰

Although they came from the same country, the Russian Jews were pushed by different reasons compared with the other groups of the Russian Empire. Their immigration was provoked mainly by bad economic conditions. The economic exclusion that they underwent was behind the exodus of big numbers of them outside Russia and mainly to the United States. Their residence was restricted to only some parts of the empire that they were not allowed to leave. They were not allowed to cross the boundaries of their Pale of Settlement which was located in the western region of the Russia including some areas of Poland that were part of the Russian Empire. In addition, the Jews were not permitted by the restrictive laws to live in agricultural areas or to own private lands. Those measures were meant to impede them from changing their place of residence and searching for better economic circumstances outside their Pale of

¹²⁸ Bernard K. Johnpoll. *Why They Left : Russian-Jewish Mass Migration and Repressive Laws, 1881-1917*. American Jewish Archives, pp. 17-54, 17.

¹²⁹ Samuel Joseph, A. B., *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*. Doc Thesis. Columbia University. 1914. <https://archive.org/details/jewishimmigratio0joserich>. Accessed on March 28, 2010. p. 164

¹³⁰ Ibid.

settlement. As a consequence, their conditions were hard which encouraged them to seek refuge in the United States.

The restrictive measures towards the Russian Jews did not end at limiting their place of residence. The occupations they were allowed to perform were limited as well. As noted earlier, the majority of the Russians relied on agriculture as a main source of employment, but what strikes is the fact that the Jews were not permitted to work in this field or in any state profession. The aim of the authorities was to keep the life of the Jews difficult so that they cannot improve their conditions. Moreover, they were not equally admitted to schools; barriers were set by the Russians aiming at limiting the number of Jews accessing education. For instance, only 10% of their children were admitted in governmental schools; it constitutes an insignificant number given the fact that they constituted almost half of the total population of the Pale.¹³¹ But even though they were numerous, they had no political or governmental influence. The exclusion was total as they had practically no role in the regulation of the towns' affairs. They were denied representation in the political assemblies because they were not regarded as full Russian citizens. They were, rather, considered as an inferior class that needed to be reminded all the time of its lower position vis-à-vis the empire. In sum, they were not allowed to seek any economic, social, educational, or political progress, and were bound to live a life without hope for change. The only solution was in leaving that hard life and seeking refuge in the United States.

Though the economic reason was the most important push factor, another factor has long been believed to be very important in shaping the Jewish movement towards the United States. Many historians believe that the pogroms¹³² that started in 1881 against the Russian Jews were behind the exodus of a big number of them out of their Pale of Settlement. Their situation in the Russian Empire exceeded the aforementioned issues to face direct aggressions and anti-Semitic attacks. After the Russian Emperor Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, the Russian Jews were blamed for his death and had to endure many riots through which many died, were wounded, or lost their homes and businesses. There were two periods of pogroms; the first one occurred right after the death of the Czar and lasted till 1882, whereas the second was in the first decade of the twentieth century from 1903 to 1906.

The issue to be raised is whether or not the pogroms, as has been claimed by many historians, were among the main reasons behind the mass migration of the Jews. It is impossible

¹³¹ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 277.

¹³² Pogrom : from Russian '*gromit*' and means 'destroy by use of violence', attacks against a given ethnic group, mainly the Jews of the Russian Empire (New Oxford American Dictionary, Third Edition)

to give a convincing answer when dealing with the first period of pogroms since there were no official data about the numbers of the Jews entering the United States. As noted previously, it was not until 1899 that the U.S. authorities started registering the new arrivals, among them the Russian Jews, referring to their ethnicities or race. As for the second period, the following table gives the yearly number of Jewish immigrants from Russia to the United States starting from 1899 to 1906:

Year of emigration	Number of Jews emigrating from Russia	Year of emigration	Number of Jews emigrating from Russia
1899	24.275	1905	92.388
1900	37.011	1906	125.234
1901	37.660	1907	114.932
1902	37.846	1908	71.978
1903	47.689	1909	39.150
1904	77.554	1910	59.824
Total		765.531	

Table 2.22. Jewish Emigration from Russia to the United States 1899-1910¹³³

In the previous table, it is apparent that the Jewish emigration from Russia increased during the second period of pogroms, which may suggest that they had a direct impact on their movement. Indeed, the numbers climbed in that period compared with the previous one, but one should look into the other elements that accompanied this growth. Some current historians questioned the old hypothesis that the pogroms were behind the exodus of the Jews to the United States and reached the conclusion that this was not totally true. Yannay Spitzer claimed that the pogroms were not the main reason that amplified the Jewish movement but they “may have produced local effects that increased the level of migration.”¹³⁴ In other words, the attacks caused the Jews human losses as well as economic ones; their businesses were destroyed and their money was stolen. Many of them lost their houses, jobs, and their social rank. Such economic conditions triggered by the pogroms pushed them to flee Russia. In sum, a combination of economic and social reasons along with anti-Semitic persecution led to a Jewish mass migration which was in itself

¹³³ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1–424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 338.

¹³⁴ Yannay Spitzer. POGROMS, NETWORKS, AND MIGRATION-The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914. September 17, 2013. Pp. 1-45. 26

“particularly influenced by the health of the United States economy.”¹³⁵ Leah Platt Boustan stated that in addition to the good economic conditions, which were a key pull factor, the presence of an important Jewish community in the United States played an important role in encouraging them to migrate to this country in significant numbers.

The Empire’s population was characterized by its heterogeneous composition given the fact that many lands with its peoples were annexed. Thus, the complexity of the Russian immigration was inevitable. As noted earlier, the Russian immigrants constituted a very slight minority, and most of the immigrants who were registered as being from the Russian Empire were non-Russian populations. Consequently, dealing with immigration from Russia necessitates a careful examination of characteristics of the different racial groups that left the country. For instance, the following table expresses the different proportions of the Russian immigration in terms of their gender:

Race or people	Total number of immigrants	Number		Per cent.	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Finnish	151.774	100.289	51.485	66.1	33.9
German	754.375	448.054	306.321	59.4	40.6
Hebrew	1.074.442	607.822	466.620	56.6	43.4
Lithuanian	175.258	123.777	51.481	70.6	29.4
Polish	949.064	659.267	289.797	69.5	30.5
Russian	83.574	71.022	12.552	85.0	15.0

Table 2.23. Russian immigration to the United States by sex, 1899-1910¹³⁶

The table gives an idea of how diverse the Russian immigration to the United States was. One can notice the very low female proportion of Russian immigrants. In addition to their small number, the Russian immigration was dominated by males which suggest that they did not go with their families because they did not intend to settle in the United States. The Finnish, Lithuanian, and the Polish immigrants also displayed higher rates of males than females. On the other hand, it is worthy to note the large proportion of females among the Germans and even larger among the Hebrews. These high proportions express clearly the intentions of the two

¹³⁵ Leah Platt Boustan. *Were Jews Political Refugees or Economic Migrants? Assessing the Persecution Theory of Jewish Emigration, 1881-1914*. In *The New Comparative Economic History*. (Massachusetts : MIT Press, 2007), pp. 267-290. 286.

¹³⁶ Dillingham, William P. *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe*. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, *Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe*. 341.

groups of leaving the Empire to establish themselves permanently in the United States through a family-based movement.

The economic restrictive measures imposed on the Jews in Russia reflected their occupations once in the United States. The following table shows the type of jobs that the immigrants from the Empire went into:

Race or people	Number reporting employment	Per cent who were--- in				
		Professional occupations	Skilled occupations	Farm laborers	Laborers	Other occupations
Finnish	123.008	0.3	6.0	5.2	62.0	26.5
German	458.293	3.5	30.0	17.9	19.8	28.8
Hebrew	590.267	1.3	67.1	1.9	11.8	18.0
Lithuanian	141.540	0.1	6.7	29.5	46.6	17.2
Polish	748.430	0.2	6.3	30.5	44.8	18.1
Russian	69.986	1.4	9.1	39.4	43.3	6.8

Table 2.24. Russian immigrants to the United States reporting occupations, 1899-1910¹³⁷

The data provided reinforce the idea that the Jews were not permitted to get jobs in agriculture unlike the other groups who displayed high proportions. While the Jews had only 13.7% of them being identified as unskilled laborers and farm laborers, the Finnish had 67.2%, the Lithuanians 76.1%, the Polish 75.3%, the Russians 82.7%, and the Germans 37.7%. Two-thirds of the Jews were skilled workers, whereas the other groups did not reach 10% except the Germans who had less than one-third. The Jews were artisans and run their own businesses because this was their only way to make a living in Russia.

¹³⁷ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 341.

2.4. Conclusion

The United States witnessed two big streams of immigrants from Europe. The first stream was dominated by migrants from the old countries of immigration, whereas the second was led by Eastern and European emigrants. Despite their different regional belonging, their movement was fueled by mainly economic factors. Overpopulation, unemployment, poverty, famine, and the changing economic system and the rise of industry contributed to the exodus of millions of depressed people to an expected better life overseas. Their immigration was influenced by economic motives.

The nineteenth century's immigration policy was to some extent free and open. The country welcomed the big number of European workers because they were needed in the labor market. Despite the fact that some attempts were made by either the states or the federal government to halt the immigration of some groups, as will be studied in details in third chapter, the flow of immigrants was never altered. Even after immigration became a federal issue, immigration to the country increased from new parts of Europe. It was not until the end of the First World War that signs of a shift in the U.S. immigration policy started to be noticed. The following chapter tackles the nineteenth century U.S. immigration policy, the pull factors that attracted such big numbers of Europeans to the United States, in addition to investigating the factors behind the change in the immigration system of the country.

Chapter Three: The Door Closes: the Shift of U.S. Immigration Policy from Liberal to Restrictive 1820-1965

3.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the factors that drove the millions of European immigrants to choose the United States as their final destination. As will be seen, these factors include pull factors that attracted immigrants, in addition to other factors that facilitated the exodus of those large numbers. The chapter will also shed light on the reasons that led to the shift in the origins of the newcomers in the late nineteenth century when the dominant immigrant countries turned to be from Eastern and Southern Europe. The last part of the chapter will deal with immigration policy adopted by Congress as a response to the growing concern of the native-born Americans about the impact that the immigrants had on the labor market and their earnings.

3.2. Factors Shaping the Nineteenth Century Immigration Policy of the United States

The previous chapter dealt with the most important push factors that led millions of Europeans to quit their countries and find refuge in the United States. Such factors included bad economic conditions resulting from unemployment and poverty due to the rise of industrialism at the expense of large categories of people who relied on agriculture and the traditional economic activities, natural tragedies like famine which killed big numbers and compelled many others to escape, and religious and political persecution due to the lack of freedom and liberty in societies where authoritarian regimes ruled. The Europeans suffered during the nineteenth century and hoped to change their lives for the better far from their lands. They moved out of their homes to join other European countries, or even further to settle in North or South America. Their reasons for choosing their destination countries varied, but they were all pulled by factors that gave them

hope for a better future. Thus, no mass migration to the United States would have been possible without strong pull factors in the receiving country.

Gurieva and Dzhioev pointed out that Everett Lee¹³⁸ mentioned some factors that affect the migratory processes. They stated that

Intermediate factors increase with growth in distance between territories and they can act as limiters of migratory streams. These include transportation costs, legislative regulation of movements, availability of information on the alleged region of arrival, etc.¹³⁹

Many factors contribute in the migration process of people from one place to another. Such elements can be considered as both push and pull factors because they are interrelated; to be more explicit, the factors that push people off their countries are the same as the ones pulling them towards their new destination, but with the only difference that the conditions are not similar. For instance, some people emigrate from a given country due to the lack of economic opportunities, in this case the push factor is “low economic opportunities” and, relatively, the “pull” factor that drives them to their new destination is “better economic opportunities” that is not available at home. In addition to economic, such factors also include political and religious factors that influence the migratory processes. In sum, there would be no mass migration without a mixture of strong “push” and “pull” factors. On the other hand, other factors, that I call “contributory factors,” are neither “push” nor “pull” or sometimes “push” and “pull” factors simultaneously, but they contribute heavily in the movement of people such as transportation and the spread of knowledge about the target destination.

3.2.1. Evolution of the Transatlantic Transportation

As noted earlier, European immigration to the United States developed quickly in the nineteenth century, even though the ocean crossings were long, expensive, and generally less comfortable and crowded since most immigrants were steerage passengers. At the beginning of 1800s, travelling on a sailing vessel was hard since the ships could start the trip only when they were filled with goods. The passengers had to wait till the ship got ready to depart to be allowed to embark and start their voyage. There were no fixed schedules, but by the second decade of the nineteenth century, the ships began travelling on a regular basis which helped carry more

¹³⁸ Everett S. Lee (1917-2007): American sociologist and demographer.

¹³⁹ Lira K. Gurieva and Aleksander V. Dzhioev, “Economic Theories of Labor Migration,” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n6s7p101>, 102.

immigrants to the United States. Soon after, “passenger transportation became an important branch of commerce”¹⁴⁰ and became a strong contributory factor responsible for the movement of considerable numbers of Europeans. The British, German, and British sailing vessels transported most of the European immigrants to America till the beginning of the second half of the century which witnessed a revolution in the oceanic transportation with the substitution of the sailing vessels by the steam ships.¹⁴¹

One of the most important factors that induced millions of Europeans to immigrate to the United States was the development of the steamship lines that substituted the conventional and slow sailing ships. The transition was a significant event that changed the course of European emigration across the Atlantic Ocean. For a big part of the nineteenth century, immigrants’ transportation to the Americas relied on the sailing vessels. Though the latter was responsible for the movement of millions of people, but the trips were lengthy since it took one to two months in order to reach the other Atlantic coast, and the period depended on the weather conditions.¹⁴² The introduction of the steamships reduced the period of crossing in a significant way. For instance in 1867, the average length of a steam passage from Europe to the United States was shortened to less than fourteen days compared with more than forty-four days for the same passage by sail.¹⁴³ Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the steamship became the main means of transportation which made crossing the Atlantic faster and more importantly accessible to the entire European people.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a big movement of sailing ships in the process of immigrant transportation across the Ocean. It was not until the 1850’s that the first steamship lines began to embrace this business. Rapidly, the steam substituted the sailing ships as the chief means of immigrant transport. The process occurred in a relatively short period of time. Cohn reported that in 1854, the year which marked the peak year of pre-Civil War immigration to New York City, less than 2 percent only arrived on steamship.¹⁴⁴ This year witnessed the highest rate of arrivals under sail but, ironically, the same year marked the beginning of the rise of transatlantic crossings via steamships. In the year 1856, Maldwyn reported that more than 94 percent of newcomers arrived on sailing ships.¹⁴⁵ The sailing vessels

¹⁴⁰ Thomas W. Page, *The Transportation of Immigrants and Reception Arrangements in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 9 (Nov., 1911), pp. 732-749, p.734

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1820349>, Accessed: 24-09-2019 23:40 UTC.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 737.

¹⁴³ Thomas W. Page, *op. cit.*, 737.

¹⁴⁴ Cohn, R. (2008). *Op. cit.*, 224.

¹⁴⁵ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *op. cit.*, 184.

remained the main means of transport but soon after that, the immigration movement by sail ended and was substituted by steamship. The transition occurred so fast that in 1861, for instance, the proportion of immigrants to New York City travelling on sailing ships decreased to 31 percent, and was only 20 percent six years later.¹⁴⁶ By 1873, the majority of immigrants came on steamers rather than sailing vessels.¹⁴⁷

With the rise of steamship transportation, the number of European immigrants, Eastern and Western, increased significantly. It is believed that secret agents were actively working in the European countries to attract big numbers of immigrants to the United States. They used many advertising techniques to convince people to leave and provide the States with the workers needed. There is big debate between advocates of such hypothesis and those who see that the ticket agents had no role in persuading people to immigrate to the United States. In the 41 volume report about immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe submitted to Congress in 1911, Dillingham claimed that “the propaganda conducted by steamship ticket agents is undoubtedly the most important immediate cause of emigration from Europe to the United States.” According to Dillingham, the propaganda was present in all European countries despite the fact that the practice was illegal in such countries and even the United States. The laws prohibiting such practice and the sanctions inflicted to the law-breakers made the companies work in a discrete way. To the Commission, the agents kept attracting Europeans for the sake of gaining more profits.

Besides, the commission provided no exact data to show the number of active agents whose job was to encourage immigration and thus multiply the voyages which would bring more financial profits to the travel companies that hired them. The fact that no data available about the number of agents could be relied on weakens the claims of the report since it is based, as stated in the report, on the assertions of “one authority” without giving any details about such source. Nevertheless, according to the commission, the ticket agents worked mostly in Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Russia more than other countries,¹⁴⁸ and their secret job was not only to attract immigrants via propaganda, but also “procuring passports, and in smuggling across the frontiers”¹⁴⁹ of the Russian Empire since it had vigorous laws prohibiting the movement of its population to other countries as showed in chapter two. The agents’ job was to convince people

¹⁴⁶ Cohn, R. (2008). Ibid, p.224

¹⁴⁷ Maldwyn Allen Jones, Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Dillingham, William P. Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. vol. 4, Washington Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1–424, Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe. 62

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 63

to emigrate through making them attracted by the economic opportunities and the high wages that the United States offered, and by making their movement easier despite the fact that they clearly violated the laws of the countries which explicitly banned the emigration of its subjects.

The hypothesis suggested by the Dillingham Report stating that the ticket agents were behind the big migration of Eastern and Southern Europeans was categorically rejected by Maldwyn. He claimed that the steamship secret agents' techniques were not novel and had been used before in Scandinavia in 1860's and since they proved to be successful, they tried to use them in some Eastern European countries. The conditions were not the same and, according to Maldwyn, the job of the agents, contrary to what the Commission presented, was not possible due to the fact that their activities were firmly illegal and prohibited by all countries, and also because their efforts were meaningless given the fact that the movement of people was voluntary and did not need solicitation.¹⁵⁰ The people were ready to leave their country by themselves and did not need any persuasion notably from the agents. The "push" and "pull" factors were strong enough to convince them to cross the ocean and try to seize the economic opportunities that they already knew about. He went further to state that the agents' job was no more than selling steamship tickets for profits and not, as Dillingham claimed, advertising for the sake of persuading large numbers of people to immigrate to the United States.

Indeed, the Dillingham's hypothesis that the steamship advertisement and the significant role that the agents played was proved to be invalid due to two major elements. First, the Eastern and Southern European immigrants' movement was motivated by their conditions in their home countries. In fact, the advertisement was not needed since the people's will to search for better economic opportunities in America was the main factor that pushed/pulled them to leave. In addition, almost similar conditions had led the Western and Northern Europeans to join America in huge numbers during most of the nineteenth century and a large part of them came on sailing boats and not steamships, which would lead to the conclusion that the common denominator in the two big waves was the hard economic conditions that prevailed in such countries and which shaped the peoples' desire to improve their lives. Secondly, the lack of data about agents numbers and their impact on the migration of people from Eastern and Southern Europe is considered as a weakening element; the Commission stated that the agents worked mostly in Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Russia but neglected the fact that millions of immigrants from Italy arrived in America during the same period and without a significant influence of such propaganda. However, one could not ignore the important role that the introduction of steamship

¹⁵⁰ Dillingham, William P., op. cit., 183

lines played in increasing the number as well as in attracting new source countries of immigration, notably from Eastern and Southern Europe. The peoples' will to quit their bad situation was the main factor but it was amplified by the oceanic travel development and more importantly the declining cost of passage. In sum, the agents themselves were not responsible for the big migration but the steamship availability, safety, the reduced time of passage, and more importantly the lower prices were all contributory factors that facilitated the movement of big numbers of depressed people searching for a new start in the New World.

As stated in the previous paragraph, one of the reasons that helped immigrants travel along the Ocean and join the United States was the price of transportation between their mother countries and the Americas. As noted earlier, the decreasing cost of fares was added to the many advantages that the steam engines brought to the passengers like reducing the time of the trip along with the improvement of the sailing conditions which resulted in reducing the perils that had long been behind the death of big numbers in the previous periods. Thus, the journey became quicker, safer, and more importantly less expensive compared with the advantages offered.¹⁵¹ The oceanic transportation revolution stimulated the movement of people from places in Europe that were not familiar with immigration to the United States.

The steamship lines not only facilitated the movement of people across the Ocean in a shorter period and with less risk, but it also "led to a tremendous expansion of the prepaid passage system."¹⁵² The system was one of the ways that contributed in the migration of a considerable number of Europeans. It was the distant payment of the costs of passage to the United States by former immigrants who had already established themselves and made a living. Males used to emigrate alone and do their best to get a good job quickly to better their economic situation, and then pay the tickets for their relatives and friends who were unable to do it at home due to their bad conditions.¹⁵³ That would not be possible without the agencies that were highly represented in both the United States and the European countries. According to him, thousands of agencies were established on American soil that allowed people to purchase tickets and send them back home to their families and friends. Their job was to facilitate the process of distant payment to attract the workers needed in the labor market. An important proportion of the travelling passengers could afford passage thanks to this system, the remittance system. It is estimated that the number of European immigrants arriving in the United States on prepaid

¹⁵¹ Brandon Dupont, Drew Keeling, Thomas Weiss, *Passengers fares for overseas travel in the 19th and 20th centuries, annual meeting of the Economic Association*, Vancouver, 2012, 23-30.

¹⁵² Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 186.

¹⁵³ Cohn, R., op. cit., 49.

passage was between one-quarter to one-third in 1890.¹⁵⁴ The immigrants already established in America not only paid the passage to their relatives, but they could also send them money so that they could buy travel tickets and come to the United States. This immigration process was very popular by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth; an important part of all those who entered the United States during that period had their tickets been paid by their relatives in America either through the prepaid passage system or through the money they sent back to Europe. For instance, Andrew Urban pointed out that 90 percent of the 260 million dollars sent by Irish immigrants in North America back to their native country came from the United States and 40 percent were sent as prepaid passage to their families and friends desiring to migrate.¹⁵⁵

Indeed, as shown previously, the rise of a new transatlantic transportation boosted migration of big numbers of Europeans to America. The steamship reduced the time that the journey took with the sailing ships. The passage became less risky and more comfortable. The travel costs were reduced and new categories of people desiring to immigrate were attracted. The latter did not need any advertisement to join the Americas, their bad economic conditions were sufficient to shape their decision. What contributed in the shaping of such decision was also the opportunities their relatives offered through paying their passage from abroad. This was one of the pull factors that stimulated the big European stream by the late nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries.

3.2.2. Growing Knowledge about the Migratory Destinations

After the rediscovery of the New World, the patterns of people's migrations evolved. Intercontinental movement, though it was slow at the beginning, increased through centuries of European settlements. The rise of a transatlantic migration in the nineteenth century was attributed to a combination of different factors; among these factors was the knowledge about the migratory destinations. Indeed, one might inquire about whether the nineteenth century European immigrants had enough knowledge about the United States, or it was just a choice which would save them from their bad conditions since it was a country that had always welcomed new arrivals. In fact, as noted in the previous chapter, the European mass migration to the United States was influenced by push factors, predominantly economic, but among the contributory factors that shaped their decision of choosing America as their country of settlement was,

¹⁵⁴ Cohn, R., op. cit., 49.

¹⁵⁵ Andrew Urban, *Brokering Servitude Migration and the Politics of Domestic Labor during the Long Nineteenth Century*, vol. 6 (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 283-284.

according to Maldwyn,¹⁵⁶ their increasing knowledge about the American continent, and the United States in particular. He attributed that to the rise of public education among Europeans. The latter were quite attuned to the opportunities offered on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean thanks to the “vast flood of literature relating to the New World.”¹⁵⁷ They were familiar with what life in their country of destination would offer them. They had knowledge about the economic opportunities, the weather, the political and religious freedom, and the experiences of the previous European settlers. Books, pamphlets, and even newspapers wrote about the New World. The emigrants did not quit their countries to an unknown land; they were aware and had enough knowledge about how their conditions could be in America. On the other hand, Thomas Walker Page believed that the published literature about the New World had little impact on the willingness of people to join America since their descriptions “were not vouched for by men that were known.”¹⁵⁸ Such information about conditions in the United States had to be proven by settlers who had already established themselves in the country. For Page, most of the people knew little things about the New World in the first half of the nineteenth century, and they did not trust the advertising propaganda led by companies seeking workers and transport agents.

Though Maldwyn and Page had different interpretations of whether people had enough knowledge about the New World or not, but they both emphasized on the fact that the immigrants established in the United States had a significant role in providing their families and friends back in their home countries with important information about the situation and the opportunities offered to them once they arrived and settled. The immigrants, especially in the second half of the century, sent letters describing their experiences, achievements, and well-being in their new home and their stories became known among their compatriots. The letters served as a contributory factor that motivated big numbers of Europeans to immigrate to America through acquainting them with how their life would be and the difficulties faced to reach the other shore of the Atlantic Ocean.

When studying the letters sent from America, we can distinguish five major elements the immigrants focused on. The letters tackled the availability of work in the United States, the importance of speaking English to get better jobs, how hard work was rewarded, the hardships and difficulties the new immigrants would face, and finally useful instructions on how to avoid

¹⁵⁶ Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 95.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p.99

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Walker Page, *The Causes of Earlier European Immigration to the United States*, The University of Chicago Press: *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 8 (Oct., 1911), pp. 676-693. P.691
Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1819426> Accessed: 14-12-2019 00:03 UTC

issues in their trip along with prepaid tickets and money sent to the persons desiring to immigrate. The letters were a contributory factor that embedded a strong pull factor; the first element that the immigrants tackled was the job opportunities offered to new immigrants in the States. They provided their relatives and friends with detailed information about the job market and the wages they could get once hired. This was the most important factor that both the immigrants and their fellow-countrymen were interested in. The availability of work was prevalent in shaping the Europeans' decisions to cross the ocean and join America. They were not willing to leave their countries and settle in an unknown country where they knew little about its economic conditions. The descriptions included in the letters helped them be aware of the jobs needed and their chances to be employed. The other elements that were tackled in the letters were the role of speaking English in getting better jobs with higher wages, the importance of hard work to achieve their objectives, detailed instructions on how to reach America, and finally the difficulties that they would face during their transatlantic trip and once settled.

The letters were sent to the different European countries. Given the fact that they almost dealt with the same main elements, the focus will be on a sample of letters sent by Polish immigrants to their families and friends inciting them, in most cases, to leave Poland and join America. Choosing the Polish immigrants is motivated by two reasons; first, the availability of the primary source which gives access to the letters and especially their translation into English compared with other scarce letters from other European immigrants. Secondly, the work studies the impact that the letters had on the Europeans desiring to settle in the United States. However, the focus is not on the immigrants' motives which remain difficult to interpret through the letters, and especially when relying on a small number of letters. Dudley Baines states that "we cannot assume that the letter writers were a sample of all emigrants."¹⁵⁹ The light is shed on the way the descriptions included in such letters attracted and helped new people to immigrate. The letters that the prospered pioneer immigrants sent were so important that Page described them as "the most important and successful of all forms of immigration propaganda."¹⁶⁰

The letters' writers gave much information on the economic conditions of the country, the job market, and the opportunities expected once arrived. The letters described the availability of jobs in the United States. In his letter to his parents regarding his sister's trip to America, Kazimierz Graboski wrote "You ask, dear parents, if she will have it good here and if she will live a good life here, you need not be worried about that because there is no comparison between

¹⁵⁹ Baines, Dudley. *European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again. The Economic History Review*, New Series, 47, no. 3 (1994): 525-44. doi:10.2307/2597592. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Page, op. cit., 687

America and that foul Russian country.”¹⁶¹ Graboski reassured his parents that his sister would find better conditions in America than in her home country. Finding a good job was not a hard task as stated by Joseph and Josephine Lipinski to her sister and brother-in-law when she wrote that newcomers “In any event, they will find a job if only they will want to work.”¹⁶² Sometimes, the immigrants made a comparison between the Old and New Worlds. Obviously, they usually tended to praise the better life they were having in their new home and show that the hardship they had undergone in their native countries was forgotten. The conditions in the United States were better to the extent that “a man does not have to work as hard as he did in the old country; and he can live better and earn more money here than with you in the old country.”¹⁶³ Thus, the letters encouraged people to consider settling in the United States thanks to the economic advantages available in America.

In their letters, the immigrants emphasized on advantage that speaking English would give in finding a good job and receiving higher salaries. When writing to his family in Poland, Johann Bonkowski explained how wages increased when the workers spoke English. He reported to his parents that if his sister “will be able to understand everything that is said, she will be paid more.”¹⁶⁴ Julian Kszeszowski sent a letter to his friend and urged him to learn American because that would be economically beneficial to him. He stated that he “has to know how to speak American. One can make a ruble here much faster than one can make a half ruble in an entire summer there.” On the other hand, the language can also be a handicap for those who do not master it, and the progress at work would be so slow. Julian insisted that “one does not reach one’s goal quickly, because one does not know the language, and that is important for everyone. But if someone has the desire and he can afford to, he should not be afraid to come.”¹⁶⁵ The candidates for immigration were encouraged to learn the language if they wanted to make profits quickly and improve their financial situation.

Speaking English would be an additional asset, but only if combined with hard work. In their letters, the writers emphasized on the fact that rewards depended on the kind of deed; the more they worked, the more they were rewarded. In one of the letters, Rachel-Lea Gottlieb

¹⁶¹ Letters from America. *Kazimierz Graboski to his parents regarding his sister's trip to America*. Reading, March 15, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶² Letters from America. *Joseph and Josephine Lipinski to her sister and brother-in-law*. Scranton, February 21, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶³ Letters from America. *Julian Kszeszowski to friend on work in America*. Nanticoke, February 10, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶⁴ Letters from America. *Johann Bonkowski to his family in Poland*. Woodtown, April 26, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶⁵ Julian Kszeszowski. *Ibid.*

warned her brother to be completely aware that it would not be an easy task to succeed in America. She mentioned that her brother “should not think that the streets in America are paved with gold. One must work much harder there than in Poland. The only thing is that if one is not lazy, they can have a much better life here than in Poland.”¹⁶⁶ Moreover, since the number of immigrants was high, there was competition over jobs. Employers were spoiled for choice; young and robust had better chance to get hired. Julian Kszeszowski wrote to his friend:

Here they select workers just as they pick out beasts at the market in the old country, or as they do for the army – just as long as they are strong and healthy; that is how they deal with people. But it is true, that if one is strong, young, healthy, and industrious, then he can make 100 rubles a month.¹⁶⁷

Despite being sometimes treated in an inappropriate manner, the immigrants preferred moving to America than remaining in their home country because they knew that what they got abroad would never be earned at home. This situation is explicitly depicted in the letter sent by Leon Makowiecki to his mother where he said “I like it better in America because I can earn money more quickly.”¹⁶⁸ All that mattered for the Polish emigrants, and surely for the other European emigrants, was improving their bad economic conditions.

Some other immigrants faced hard times and made their experiences known for their families and friends at home. They sent letters in which they described how they were suffering from unemployment and the lack of revenues. For instance, Maker Kroneski sent a letter to his mother describing how many people lived in misery in America, he wrote that “Many people are without work; there is no work to be had... the one who is idle curses his life... it would have been better if I had drowned at sea; that is how it is in America.”¹⁶⁹ Not all immigrants who failed to secure a good job had such a cynical vision; many others made fewer earnings but remained optimistic and did urge other people to leave Poland and settle in America. Hope was important for Leon who enthusiastically addressed his mother and said “Right now a man hardly makes enough to live on. But perhaps that will not last long.”¹⁷⁰ Despite the hardship, the immigrants kept hope that things would improve positively, and they neither gave up nor discouraged their countrymen. The voyage to the New World was among the hard periods the

¹⁶⁶ Letters from America. Rachel-Lea Gottlieb to her brother. New York, April 6, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶⁷ Julian Kszeszowski. Op., cit.

¹⁶⁸ Letters from America. Leon Makowiecki to his mother in Poland. Gallitzin, PA, January 21st. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁶⁹ Letters from America. Maker Kroneski to his mother on misery in America. Schenectaday, March 16, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

¹⁷⁰ Leon Makowiecki, Ibid.

immigrants had lived, but though it was a horrible experience, as they described in the letters, but it did not shake their determination. Joseph and Josephien wrote that “it is that great horrible ocean which is frightful for us... I do not know how to tell you what terror and misery we had suffered before we reached America. But now that fear is already over.”¹⁷¹ The travel circumstances, though they became much better with the steamships than they had been under sail, remained hard especially with bad weather conditions. Such difficulties added to the issues faced in America were the core of a big part of the letters since the immigrants tried to make their countrymen avoid making the same mistakes and be ready for unexpected circumstances.

The letters included useful instructions for the persons desiring to immigrate; they concerned prices of fares, time of trips, the suitable time for voyage, what to take for the crossing, and the weather in the United States. For example, Johann Bonkowski advised his sister to join him soon after she received the letter because the weather was fine, and that she should bring with her some money, he wrote: “Well, it is good sailing time now. She should have at least 80 rubles.”¹⁷² Some letter writers talked about how bad the food served aboard the ships and the need to bring one’s own food for the trip. Additionally, the coming of new immigrants was encouraged through the possibility to pay the steamship tickets for them in America and even send them money for their trip. As stated before, the tickets were paid in the United States and then sent home through agencies. For example, Abraham Tangruza informed his wife in Poland that he had paid the voyage to America, he wrote: “Everything from Hamburg to New York is prepaid. Do not pay any more.”¹⁷³ In other letters, the tickets were sent as requested by the receivers; John Cybulski wrote to his wife: “You wrote that I should send you a steamship ticket. I hurry to answer to tell you that I have done as you requested. Later I will also send you a little money for the trip.”¹⁷⁴

The letters provided the Europeans with important information about the United States. They contributed in spreading knowledge about the country of destination and, thus, attract people to immigrate. The information received, especially about the possible economic progress and the availability of jobs, helped develop and shape an immigration chain from Europe to the United States. The economic opportunities constituted the pulling power that dragged those immigrants, whereas the information about the trip, the money, and the prepaid steamship tickets

¹⁷¹ Joseph and Josephine Lipinski, *op. cit.*

¹⁷² Johann Bonkowski, *op. cit.*

¹⁷³ Letters from America. Travel instructions from Abraham Tangruza to his wife in Poland. New York, November 1890. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html.

¹⁷⁴ Letters from America. Travel instructions from John Cybulski to his wife. Baiting Hollow, February 16, 1891. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html

were contributory factors that made the crossing easier and more organized. In sum, a set of factors made the United States a known destination and were responsible for the migration of millions of Europeans who decided to move and try their luck in the New World.

3.2.3. Free Land and Free Home, in the West

Most of those who emigrated from Western Europe were poor peasants and farmers. For a big part of them, agriculture constituted their only source of work. As showed previously, land was sacred for Europeans at that time; it was regarded as a family heritage that should be maintained within the family that is why it was inherited equally by the heirs after the owner died. This system of inheritance made the lands so small that it could not even subsist to the needs of the owners' families. In addition, many people were landless peasants and their dream was to be landowners. However, with the conditions that were prevailing in Europe in most of the nineteenth century, it was almost impossible for the majority of Europeans to buy lands due to the fact that they were very expensive and scarce. Thus, for them owning a land would be economically profitable and would make them privileged societally.

One of the important factors that pulled big numbers of immigrants from Western European countries into the United States was the dream of possessing a land as a private property. They were aware of the opportunities available in the vast and still-not-exploited western territories owned by the United States. Page wrote that "Tales of virgin soil in untold millions of acres that might be owned for a nominal price appealed as nothing else could do to peasants that eked out a narrow living on small holdings which produced little more than rent and taxes."¹⁷⁵ The availability of land at affordable prices is believed to have encouraged a significant number of people hoping to make a better living to settle and exploit those cheap and fertile lands. In other words, the United States represented an ideal solution for the depressed immigrants; available lands at cheap prices made it very possible for them to be landowners and develop a private economic activity which would generate financial profits.

Not only the immigrants profited from the land availability, the Americans also were in need for newcomers for a set of reasons. The Americans planned to conquer the western unsettled territories and establish new states to expand the country. To do so, they needed to populate those large virgin lands with people, and that was not possible without attracting considerable numbers of European immigrants who were already having strong factors that pushed them out of their countries. The new settlers were asked to cultivate the lands and

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Page, Op., cit. p. 685

develop a large scale agricultural economy which would generate profits for the nation by increasing the national production as well as the exportations towards new markets. Selling the lands, even though at low prices, would also generate funds necessary to help reduce the national debt. But the process of opening up the western lands to immigrants was the center of debate among the political class before it was adopted.

The biggest issue that faced the American federal authorities was the way they had to deal with the huge lands acquired after the independence; much of the lands were public lands, therefore the Congress had less power to handle such a controversial issue. The debate was intense over the 1.9 billion acres that the United States covered by 1860.¹⁷⁶ There were two opposing political views, one favoring selling the lands at lower prices or even giving access to them for free to attract the maximum number of settlers, whereas the other privileged a less liberal land policy with high prices to limit the settlements westward. Advocates of the liberal land policy supported their choice by the fact that land grants or selling it at low prices would attract bigger number of immigrants and sufficient laborers and settlers hoping to become landowners. Such numbers would populate the West as planned by the decision-makers. In addition, granting more people access to land would forcibly encourage internal migration from crowded industrial cities which would result in less pressure on the labor market especially in the southeastern states.

On the other hand, there was another view supporting selling land at high prices and reducing the pace of settlement in the western territories. Such position relied, as stated by Engerman and Sokoloff, on the arguments presented by two well-known economists: the American Henry Charles Carey and the Englishman Edward Gibbon Wakefield.¹⁷⁷ They believed in selling the lands at high prices in order to restrict access to western territories and decrease the settlements. They were not against immigrants, but rather against attracting them towards new parts of the country. They believed that the real benefit lies in guaranteeing larger concentrations of labor in the old established areas while at the same time limiting expansion to new territories by increasing the price of the lands.¹⁷⁸ Such divergence created a conflicting debate over the land policy that the government would adopt; the choice was between a liberal

¹⁷⁶ Greg Bradsher, *How the West Was Settled*. National Archives. Accessed January 18, 2020. <https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2012/winter/homestead.pdf>, 27.

¹⁷⁷ Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, "Once Upon a Time in the Americas: Land and Immigration Policies in the New World," in *Understanding Long-Run Economic Growth Geography, Institutions, and the Knowledge Economy*, (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 13-48, 31.

¹⁷⁸ Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. Op., cit.

land policy with a rapid settlement in the western territories and a restrictive one with limited westward expansion.

The pre-Civil War land policy was not as liberal as many Americans desired. There were several legislations that intended to make access to land less difficult but they did little to attract big numbers of settlers due to many reasons. The following table gives an overview about the U.S. land laws in the period 1785 to 1854:

Year	Law	Price/ acre	Price*/ Minimum acreage	Price*/ maximum acreage	Conditions and Terms
1785	Land Ordinance of 1785	\$1	\$640/ 640 acres	none	Cash
1787	Northwest Ordinance of 1787	\$1	\$640/ 640 acres	none	½ cash, balance in 3 months
1796	Land Act of 1796	\$2	\$1280/ 640 acres	none	½ in 30 days, balance in 1 year
1800	Harrison Land Act	\$2	\$640/ 320 acres	none	¼ in 30 days, balance in 3 years at 6%
1804	Land Act of 1804	\$2	\$320/ 160 acres	none	\$1.64/acre for cash; credit
1820	Land Act of 1820	\$1.25	\$100/ 80 acres	none	cash only
1830	Preemption Act of 1830	\$1.25		\$200/ 160 acres	permits squatters to purchase
1832	Land Act of 1832	\$1.25	\$50/ 40 acres	none	cash only
1841	General Preemption Act of 1841	\$1.25	\$50/ 40 acres	\$200/ 160 acres	Preemption only. Cash.
1854	Graduation Act	\$0.125	40 acres	none	price progressively reduced on unsold

- Price* is not included in the original table.

Table 3.1. Significant Public Land Laws, United States, 1785-1854¹⁷⁹

The table shows the evolution of the U.S. land policy in the antebellum period. It is worth mentioning that the data provided suggest that such evolution had an impact on two essential elements: price and size of the land. The price decreased from \$2 in 1796 to \$1.25 in 1841. It is crystal clear that the policy adopted by Congress relied on decreasing the cost of the lands through minimizing their size; the minimum size of the sold parcels dropped from 640 acres in 1785 to only 40 acres in 1854. Consequently, an individual could purchase a land at \$50 in 1832 compared with \$1280 in 1796. In the period 1785 to 1820, the prices were high and not all people were able to buy lands. Engerman and Sokoloff mentioned that the government gave

¹⁷⁹ Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. Op., cit. p.30 (with some changes)

bank facilities to purchasers by 1796 but the panic of 1819 put an end to such a policy.¹⁸⁰ After 1820, the government aimed to liberalize the land policy to make access to land easier through reducing the size of the plot and its price.

The issue of land policy became a source of division in the country after the United States defeated Mexico in 1848 and annexed the huge territories in the West. Soon after the U.S. triumph in the war, questions of whether the new territories would be pro- or anti-slavery. After the United States gained more territories reaching the Pacific Ocean, the debate increased over the expansion of slavery to those regions. But although the country was in an intense situation in 1850s, all the parties agreed upon the necessity to develop the Western territories. There was an urging need to populate the areas in order to cultivate the lands and flourish its economy. The main concern was to attract sufficient settlers, especially European immigrants, to rush into soon-to-become American states. Therefore, demands increased for a liberal land policy through which access to land would be much easier for individuals who decide to settle and live on it. This position was even supported by many Easterners for attracting internal immigrants would make of their industrial cities less crowded and would reduce pressure on the overwhelmed job market. On the other hand, some Northern industrialists feared economic downturn and opposed opening up the West for settlement for they would lose the low-priced laborers. The Northerners, however, were skeptical about the desire of the Southerners to spread their policy based on slavery, whereas the latter feared that the acquisition of lands by small farmers not committed to slavery would undermine the political balance of the Union. It was apparent that each side defended its interest and compromise was far to be reached. Thus, the way the West was to be exploited became a national challenge as sectionalism prevailed.

As demands to issue new homesteading laws providing free lands to settlers in the West grew, little political action succeeded. The Senate rejected three homestead bills in 1844, 1852, 1854, and 1859 passed in the House. The discord between the South and North over the land question could finally be solved when the House and Senate passed the 1860 compromise bill, but the legislation was vetoed by President James Buchanan (1857-61) who, according to Stephen Stathis, believed that the bill “ (1) did not require foreign applicants to be the head of the household if they declared their intention to become a citizen, (2) Congress constitutionality did not have the right to donate lands to individuals or to states, and (3) the price of 25 cents per acre was too low given that earlier settlers had paid \$1.25 per acre for their land.”¹⁸¹ The 1860

¹⁸⁰ Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. Op., cit., 29.

¹⁸¹ Stephen W. Stathis, *Landmark Debates in Congress: from the Declaration of Independence to the War in Iraq* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009), 155-156.

elections brought Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865) as President along with the Republican majority in both the House and Senate. This political change triggered harsh reaction from the Southerners who knew that homestead legislation became inevitable. The issue took another dimension when the Southern States seceded from the Union and the Civil War began in 1861. It is worth noting that with the Southern fervent opponents leaving Congress, the Act was effortlessly passed in May 1862 and went into effect January 1, 1863. The Act made millions of acres of lands of public domain accessible for ownership to private individuals except land in the Thirteen Original States and the states of Tennessee, Vermont, Maine, Texas, and West Virginia.¹⁸²

The Homestead Act of 1862 made it possible for eligible individuals to acquire “one quarter section¹⁸³ or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands.”¹⁸⁴ It set the requirements for a given category of persons who could pretend to own a homestead in the western territories. Any head of a family or anyone who was at least twenty-one years old (women could also apply), whether they were U.S. citizen or intended citizen, who served in the U.S. army or navy, and who had never fought against the United States government or provided any sort of aid to its enemies was an eligible beneficiary of a free 160 acres of land. Moreover, the legislation “established a three-fold homestead acquisition process: filing an application, improving the land, and filing for deed of title”¹⁸⁵ At first, eligible individuals file an application to benefit from the Act. Then, they should reside permanently on the homestead for a period of 5 years and cultivate the land. Finally, when the period is over the homesteader could ask for the land title after providing a residency proof.

Bradsher believes that the Homestead Act “was responsible for helping settle much of the American West.”¹⁸⁶ The implications of such a liberal land policy on the movement of people westward were important. Navarro stated that the act created “more than 720,000 farms totaling 100,000,000 acres by 1904.”¹⁸⁷ The goal behind the land law was to populate the territories, grow the nation’s economy, and establish new states to join the Union. Thus, in order for the law

¹⁸² Bob Navarro, *The Country in Conflict: Executives and Events during the American Civil War* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2008), 118.

¹⁸³ One quarter section: one hundred and sixty acres

¹⁸⁴ The Homestead Act of 1862 § (1862), pp. 392-393, Accessed January 18, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/37th-congress/session-2/c37s2ch75.pdf>.

¹⁸⁵ Paula vW. Dáil, *Hard Living in America's Heartland: Rural Poverty in the 21st Century Midwest* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2015), 63.

¹⁸⁶ Bradsher, Greg. “How the West Was Settled.” National Archives. Accessed January 18, 2020. <https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2012/winter/homestead.pdf>.

¹⁸⁷ Bob Navarro, *The Country in Conflict: Executives and Events during the American Civil War* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2008), 121.

to succeed, the Americans needed the influx of big numbers of European immigrants given the fact that the internal migration would not be sufficient. The law was made in a way that fitted the admission of not only American citizens, but also new immigrants who would own a land and settle for a period of time sufficient for them to apply for citizenship and become Americans as guaranteed by the naturalization laws. Therefore, the land distribution was a policy adopted by the United States to attract immigrants from Europe to serve in the rise of the nation's economic wheel and facilitate the expansionist strategy to the West.

The role that the Homestead Act played in promoting immigration is tackled by Historian Blake Bell¹⁸⁸ who analyzed the congressional debates and the language used in writing the Act. In an article entitled "America's Invitation to the World: Was the Homestead Act the First Accommodating Immigration Legislation in the United States?" Blake states that the act was an immigration law more than a land law.¹⁸⁹ During the debates, the Congressmen's intention was to attract immigrants to grow the nation's western wild lands and improve the economy, thus, they allowed immigrants to benefit from free lands because they were in need of settlers. According to Blake, they used the land law to pull European immigrants to the country. They believed "a liberal policy of the homestead bill should be adopted to invite immigration to the west; at which point the population increase would create new towns, cities, and eventually states."¹⁹⁰ Their desire to attract more European settlers coincided with the hard conditions the latter were having, and which the policymakers knew perfectly. One congressman argued that "bread is high, employment scarce, wages are low in Europe, and there will be a tide of men flowing into our country that will give value to those lands."¹⁹¹ One can only say that the immigration policy of the country, at least in the decades following the Homestead Act, was shaped by the economic plans that the country aimed to reach.

As far as the language used in the writing of the Act is concerned, Blake believes that the legislation was shaped to meet the requirements of citizenship. Section one which said "That any person who is... a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such,"¹⁹² stated clearly that the applicant who was not an American citizen should

¹⁸⁸ Blake Bell : Historian for the Homestead National Monument of America

¹⁸⁹ Blake Bell, *America's Invitation to the World: Was the Homestead Act the First Accommodating Immigration Legislation in the United States?* National Park Service. Accessed January 25, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/home/upload/Immigration-White-Paper.pdf>.

¹⁹⁰ Blake Bell, op. cit.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² The Homestead Act of 1862 § (1862), pp. 392-393, Accessed January 18, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/37th-congress/session-2/c37s2ch75.pdf>.

apply for citizenship to fit the requirements of the homestead. The act required the homesteaders to reside for a period of 5 years, as mentioned in section two, which was also the required time to get the U.S. Citizenship. For Blake, the Act was not an ordinary one, it “was the first of its kind to accommodate immigration and provide the necessary requirements for naturalization.”¹⁹³ It not only provided free land for the immigrants, but it also helped them become American citizens.

The impact of the Act on the peopling of the western territories was rapid. Migrants started pouring and there was a jump in the population; it is estimated that the population doubled in the states and territories west of the Missouri River in the decade 1860-70 from 759,860 to 1,492,092.¹⁹⁴ Homesteaders rushed into those areas soon after issuing the Act, and some regions succeeded to attract considerable number of homestead claims. The following figure gives more details about the number of successful claims in the western states and territories:

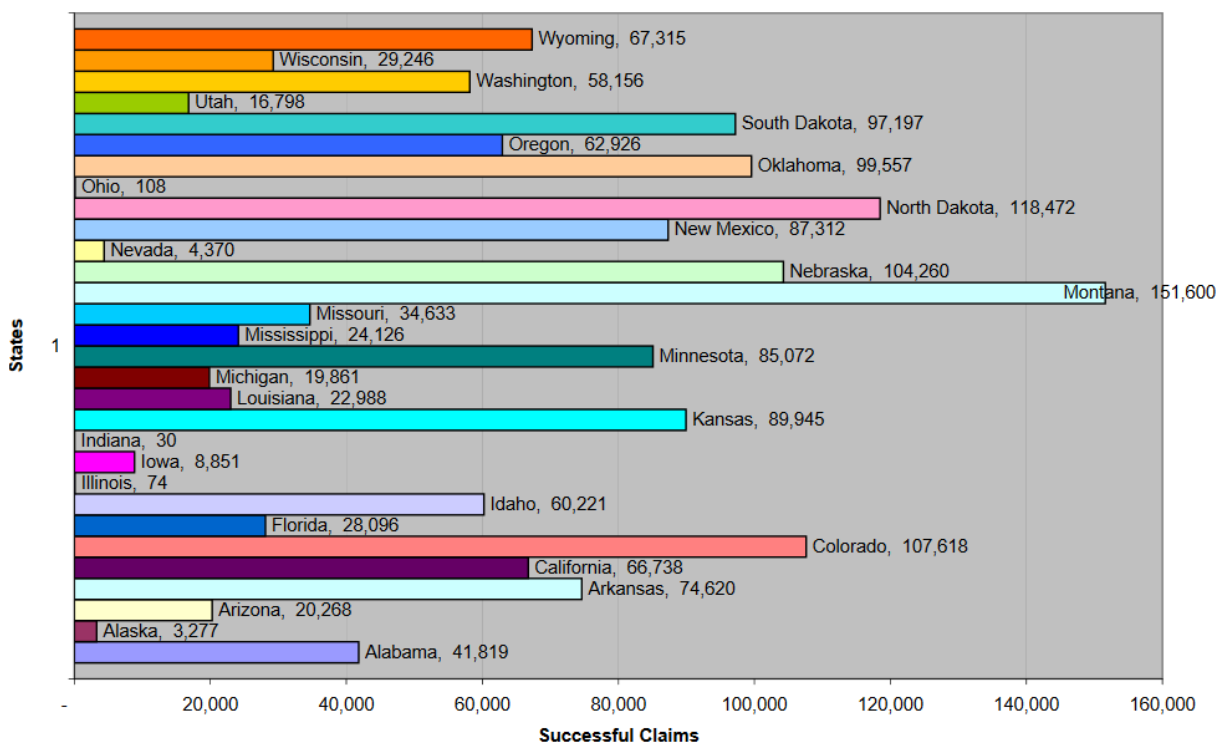


Figure 3.1. Total Number of Successful Claims¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ ¹⁹³ Blake Bell, op. cit.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/upload/Claims%20graph.pdf>

The top-five states that received the highest number of successful claims were Montana, North Dakota, Colorado, Nebraska, and Oklahoma; they received more than one-third (581,507) of the total claims (1,585,554). The following table gives the evolution of the population in these five states:

States	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Montana	//	20,595	39,159	132,159	243,329	376,053	548,889
North Dakota	//	2,405	36,909	190,983	319,146	577,056	646,872
Colorado	34,277	39,864	194,327	412,198	539,700	799,024	939,629
Nebraska	28,841	122,993	452,402	1,058,910	1,066,300	1,192,214	1,296,372
Oklahoma	//	//	//	61,834	790,391	1,657,155	2,028,283

Table 3.2. Total population of the top-five states that received the highest number of successful claims 1860-1920¹⁹⁶

A sharp increase in population number after is noticed the homestead legislation. For instance, Nebraska saw its population grow to reach 1.3 million six decades after the Act. Oklahoma witnessed an even faster growth to exceed 2 million inhabitants. Luebke emphasized on the fact that massive numbers of European immigrants moved westward in the nineteenth century; by 1900, the percentage of foreign-born individuals present in the West was 20.7% which was above the national average of 13.6% with North Dakota as the state with the highest rate of 35.4%.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, when including the immigrants and their children born in the United States, the proportions increase significantly; North Dakota topped the western states and territories with 71.3% of its population being first- and second-generation immigrants, whereas South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada Washington, and California surpassed the national proportion of 32.1%.¹⁹⁸ The land policy was successful in attracting big numbers of European immigrants, especially from Western Europe (Germans, Norwegians, and British) who, as stated in chapter two, included a significant proportion of

¹⁹⁶ Data taken from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Internet Release date: March 9, 1999. <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab13.html>.

¹⁹⁷ Luebke, Frederick C. Introduction. In *European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories*, vii-xix. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998. <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1172&context=historyfacpub>.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

farmers and farm laborers dreaming of owning land in the United States. Thomas Walker Page believes that the “United States land system was without parallel in history.”¹⁹⁹ The homestead laws had an important impact on the growth of the U.S. economy and the development of the country which witnessed, as Bradsher stated, “its greatest period of agricultural expansion ... between 1860 and 1920.”²⁰⁰

3.2.4. Industrial Growth and Economic Opportunities

The expansion of the American territories to the western Pacific coast became a reality by mid-nineteenth century; the United States and Great Britain reached an agreement about the disputed vast territory of Oregon. The issue was settled through the Oregon Treaty of 1846 which set the frontier line with Canada and gave the United States access to the northwestern coastline. Two years later, the 1848 Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty with Mexico extended the American western territorial gains to include areas stretching to the southwestern oceanfront. Though the country annexed many territories in the West, the infrastructure in such areas was poor compared with the eastern states. The westward expansion necessitated huge efforts to link the east with the west in order to facilitate any attempts to populate and improve the economy as well as the movement of people.

In 1862, the same year which witnessed the passage of the Homestead Act, Congress issued the controversial Pacific Railroad Act. The project of building a transcontinental railroad did trigger a great deal of debate and division between the South and North before it was passed. Though the need to build a railroad that connected the east coast with the west coast of the country and which would accelerate the development of the newly acquired territories was highly appreciated by the Southerners as well as the Northerners, the disagreement was about the route that the project should follow as both parties refused any compromise. The Northerners favored a central route stretching from Nebraska to California whereas the Southerners backed a proposition of building a railroad that crossed the Southern part of the country from Texas to Los Angeles, California. The Act had to wait several years because no arrangement was reached in Congress; it was not until the Southern States seceded from the Union that their proposed route was dismissed and the Act was finally signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln on July 1.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas Walker Page. *The Causes of Earlier European Immigration to the United States*. Journal of Political Economy, The University of Chicago Press, Oct., 1911, Vol. 19, No. 8 (Oct., 1911), pp. 676-693. 686. Accessed February 15, 2020.

<http://www.jstor.com/stable/1819426>

²⁰⁰ Bradsher, Greg. Op. cit. 35.

Map 3.1. First American Transcontinental Railroad



<https://www.zionsbank.com/community/economics/market-snapshot/2019/economic-snapshot-may-2019/>

The Pacific Railroad Act 1862, or An Act to aid in the Construction of a Railroad and Telegraph Line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the Government the Use of the same for Postal, Military, and Other Purposes, and its amendments of 1864, 1865, provided financial support and massive land grants to the railroad companies for the construction of the first American transatlantic railroad. The two companies that were in charge of the project were the Union Pacific Railroad, which had to extend the railway line westward from Omaha, Nebraska, and the Central Pacific Railroad with the objective of building the second part eastward starting from Sacramento, California. The two lines met in 1869 in Ogden, Utah which marked the end of America's first transcontinental railroad (see map 3.1).

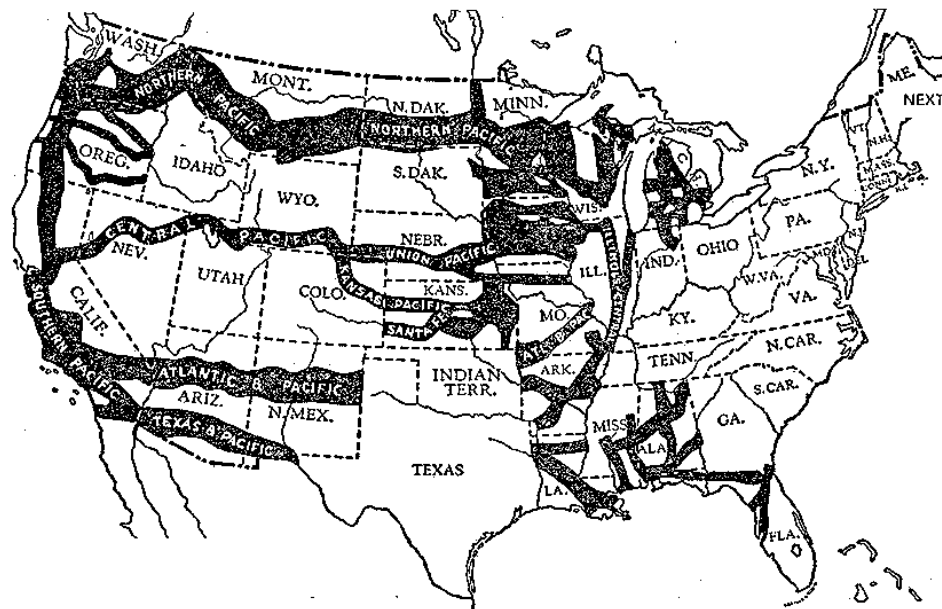
The purpose of constructing a transcontinental railroad was to populate the West and develop its economy through connecting it with the East to facilitate the movement of needed settlers and workers and the building of an economic liaison indispensable for maintaining close contact with the wester annexed territories. It was also essential to sustain the Homestead legislation through easing the movement and transportation of homesteaders and their needs to improve agriculture as intended by the law. There was a political support for the project mainly from the Republican Party which, as Bernard stated, defended a strong federal immigration policy.²⁰¹ The railroad was so important to the country that the federal government granted the

²⁰¹ William S. Bernard, "Immigration: History of U.S. Policy," in *The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 48-71, 56.

“best land”²⁰² to the railway companies; the purpose behind that liberal policy was to encourage the companies to work and then immigrants and economic improvement would follow. Besides, the companies could attract workers and immigrants especially from Western Europe through selling small plots of land at inexpensive prices.²⁰³

By the end of the century, many other railroad lines were built by different railroad companies, and the track mileage increased significantly to reach 200.000 miles by 1900.²⁰⁴ Without the assistance of the federal government, the railroad projects would have faced huge obstacles because the companies were unable to finance them. Thus, some of the lands granted were sold to generate funds to build the railroads. The following map shows the amount of land granted by the federal government and on which the railroads were constructed:

Map 3.2. U.S. Land Grants to Transcontinental Railroads



<https://www.antiquemapsandprints.com/usa-land-grants-to-transcontinental-railroads-sketch-map-1942-65472-p.asp>

One can say that the federal government reinforced its liberal land policy for the sole objective of attracting migrants to the West for they are indispensable for the settlement and the development of the unpopulated territories. The companies did their best to encourage internal

²⁰² Sequeira, S., Nunn, N. and Qian, N., 2017. Migrants and the Making of America: The Short- and Long-Run Effects of Immigration During the Age of Mass Migration. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, [online] Available at: <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/nunn/files/nunn_qian_sequeira_immigrants.pdf> [Accessed 3 February 2020].

²⁰³ Ibid, 11.

²⁰⁴ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Groups and the Building of America Natives and Strangers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 196.

and external migration due to the economic importance of immigrants. The U.S. policy vis-à-vis immigration was shaped by the economic demands of the era. Populating the cities and states of the West and Midwest would improve the economy and thus generate profits. Theodore C. Blegen pointed out that absorbing significant numbers of European settlers in the Northwestern states “meant greater wealth, exploitation of resources, larger assessments, the erection of public buildings, the establishment of public institutions, greater expenditures for state improvements, - in brief, prosperity and growth.”²⁰⁵ The railroad companies also contributed in that policy by reducing the prices and providing transportation for the internal migrant workers travelling westward. The main issue was how to attract massive numbers of Europeans to immigrate to the United States, and precisely to the West.

Providing cheap transportation and lands at low prices was not enough to bring workers from Europe; the labor shortage persuaded the states and the companies to work actively in order to convince the Europeans to immigrate. To do so, advertising campaigns were organized in eastern ports like in New York where railroad agents used to recruit newcomers and propose labor contracts in the western railroad construction. Bernard pointed out that “33 state and territorial governments established immigration offices to attract newcomers.”²⁰⁶ Their policy of attracting European hands rested on the publication and distribution of pamphlets describing the bounties of each state or territory. The main themes of such pamphlets were about the abundance of work, the possibility to get free land or at low prices, and the mild climate that characterized the region and which was advantageous for living as well as for agriculture. In order to attract more settlers, the work of the agents was extended to operate on European soil because, as Blegen stated, it was “concluded that the pamphlets would be of more value distributed in Europe than in New York, for the immigrants after arrival were too busy to read.”²⁰⁷ The agents were active in many Northern and Western European countries like England, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. In addition to the pamphlets, newspaper advertisements were published on a regular basis; the purpose was to explain the opportunities and the better life the immigrants along with their families could get, in addition to religious and political freedom compared with the European bad conditions. Given the fact that the pamphlets addressed different European peoples, they were published in several local European languages like English, Welsh, German,

²⁰⁵ Theodore C. Blegen. *The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants*. The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Sep., 1919, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Sep., 1919), pp. 3-29 . 4. Accessed February 20, 2020. URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/4630200>

²⁰⁶ William S. Bernard, Op. cit, 55.

²⁰⁷ Theodore C. Blegen. Op. cit. 5.

Dutch, Norwegian, and Swedish to target the maximum number of readers, and thus the maximum number of potential immigrants especially from Northern and Western Europe.

The westerners engaged in a fierce competition to attract the bigger number of European settlers. This was noticed in the way they advertised for their states and territories. The latter printed hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and sent them to Europe in different languages. It is worthy to note that the pamphlets centered on the better opportunities in the United States, especially the Midwest, compared with Europe, and each state/territory highlighted the most attractive assets present in their region and tried to convince people to immigrate. For instance, in a pamphlet that Iowa published in 1870, the state spoke about the beautiful climate especially in summer, and how a European immigrant could become a landowner and live a quiet life unlike Europe where they would remain a simple laborer.²⁰⁸ On its side, Minnesota stressed on the quality of life that the state offers to the settlers; its pamphlet “pointed out that its death rate was only a fourth or a third of that in Europe,” and that it was time for the Europeans to leave the Old World with its dark side and embrace the promising opportunities of the New.²⁰⁹ It is undeniable that the advertisement policy adopted by the state and territorial governments in the second half of the nineteenth century had a positive impact on the number of the European newcomers, and especially on the process of populating the West. I agree with Blegen who pointed out that “these state activities constituted one cause, though perhaps a minor one, for the great swelling of the volume of immigration in the seventies and eighties, especially from Germany, Norway, and Sweden.” In fact, no matter how significant the impact of such policies was, they unquestionably contributed along with the formerly mentioned factors in the shaping of the U.S. immigration policy.

3.2.5. Immigrants to Fuel the Second American Industrial Revolution

The 1862 Homestead Act and Railroad Acts were the bedrock of a federal policy aiming at making of the West a reproduction of the Northern model. The first step consisted of peopling the region through land distribution, and simultaneously building the infrastructure needed for such transformation. People, among them big numbers of immigrants, poured into the West driven by pure economic motives. As noted earlier, the government did not require the American citizenship to grant a land, nor did the railroad companies to sell their land to immigrants at low and competitive prices. The strategy adopted meant to develop the West by attracting sufficient

²⁰⁸ William S. Bernard, Op. cit, 55.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 55-56.

hands from Europe through solving their issues of poverty, scarcity of land, and lack of economic opportunities at home by providing them with the possibility to be landowners and improving their economic conditions.

In the first decades after the Civil War, the country would be determined as agrarian more than industrial. The impact of the American land policy was rapid; the country's agricultural expansion reached a historic 225 million acres of land cultivated only in the period 1870 to 1900.²¹⁰ White pointed out that agriculture remained the most important share of the economy till 1880 when it was surpassed by commerce with 29% of the gross national product GNP compared with 28% for agriculture.²¹¹ In 1890, the share dropped more and agriculture constituted 19 % compared with 30 % for manufacturing and mining which might seem a decline of agricultural economy but, in fact, it was a rise of the industrial sectors of the country.²¹² The last decades of the century witnessed an accelerated growth in the industrial wheel of the United States especially with the expansion to the West. Kevin Hillstrom and Laurie Collier Hillstrom mentioned that prior to the industrial age, the United States was a country “with an overwhelmingly rural character and a subsistence-oriented economy,”²¹³ but it was transformed into an urban and industrial one by the first decades of the twentieth century.

Though the American industrialization started right after the independence, it took the nation almost one century to reach industrial maturity. Historians divide the industrial movement in the United States to two phases; the First Industrial Revolution took place in pre-Civil War era and witnessed the first steps of the country, mainly the Northeastern States, towards urbanization and a factory-based economic system. But the real industrial boom happened in the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth when the United States became the first industrial country in the world.²¹⁴ This period, from around 1870 to 1920, is defined by historians as the Second Industrial Revolution. Unlike Britain and some Western European countries, the industrialization of the United States took a long time to occur; the U.S. economy

²¹⁰ Richard White, “The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History,” *The Rise of Industrial America, 1877-1900* | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, accessed February 20, 2020, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/essays/rise-industrial-america-1877-1900>.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Richard White, op. cit.

²¹³ Kevin Hillstrom and Laurie Collier Hillstrom, *Industrial Revolution in America* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), vii.

²¹⁴ Charles Hirschman and Elizabeth Mogford, “Immigration and the American Industrial Revolution from 1880 to 1920,” *Social Science Research* 38, no. 4 (2009): pp. 897-920, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2009.04.001>, 915.

evolved from agrarian to industrial throughout the nineteenth century and witnessed its highest acceleration in the last decades of the same century.

The U.S. economy grew rapidly by the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth; Dinnerstein et al. stated that the “national wealth practically doubled in the first decade of the twentieth century while the worth of foreign investments multiplied fivefold between 1897 and 1914.”²¹⁵ Such transformation of the U.S. economy was accompanied by a workforce shift from predominant agricultural labor force by 1860 to nonagricultural majority by 1920. The following chart gives an idea about the transition of the U.S workforce in the period 1880-1920:

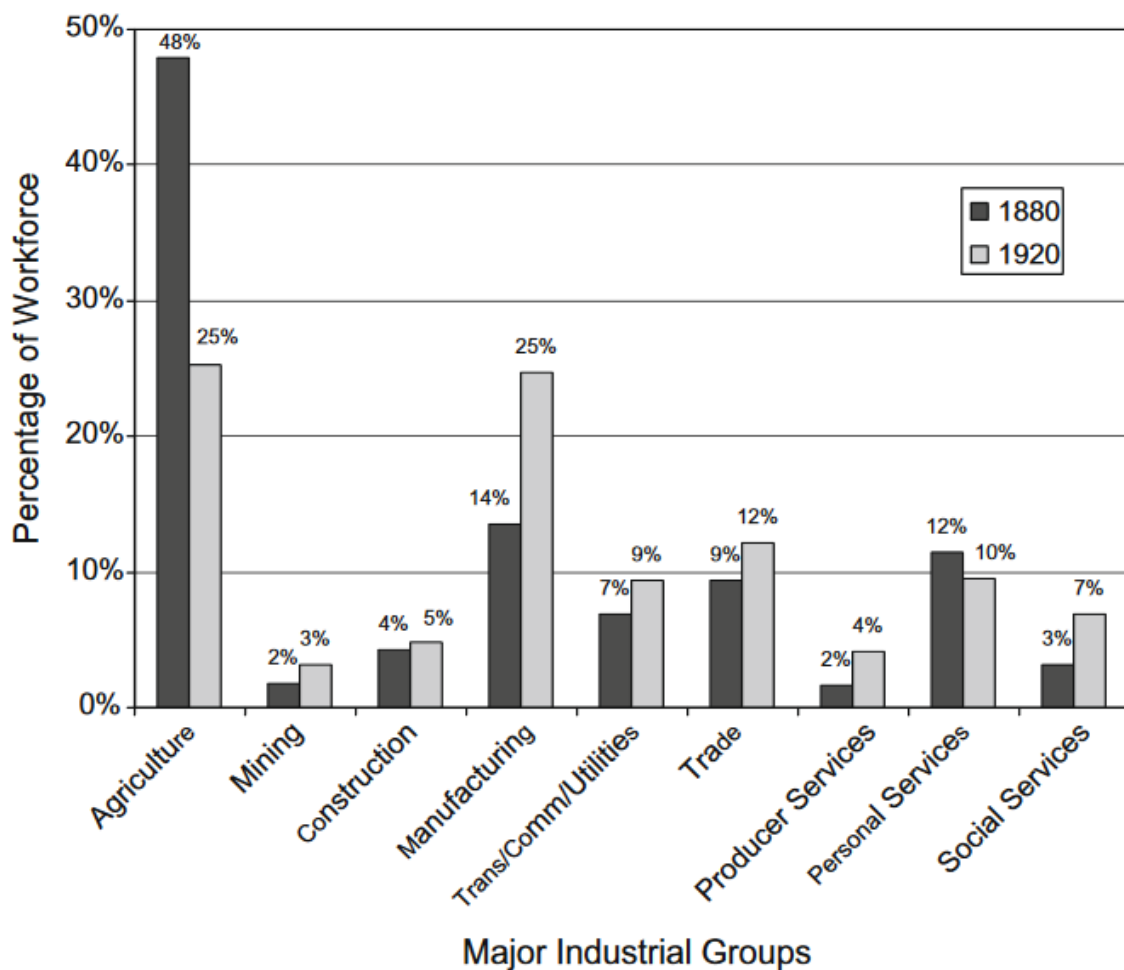


Figure 3.2. Industrial Structure of Workforce: 1880-1920.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Groups and the Building of America Natives and Strangers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p.119.

²¹⁶ Charles Hirschman and Elizabeth Mogford, op. cit., 903.

As the figure shows, there was a decline in the agricultural labor force from 48% in 1880 to only 25% in 1920. On the other hand, all the eight industrial sectors witnessed slight increase except for manufacturing which saw its share of the workforce rise to comprise one-quarter and equal that of agriculture. Dinnerstein et al. stated that the number of workers hired in that period was spectacular; the number of workers employed in factories, mines, construction, and transportation jumped from 8 million in 1890 to 15 million in 1910.²¹⁷ This big number of workers was necessary for the growth of the country's economy and could by no means be provided by the existing American population. It was thanks to the mass immigration from Europe that the industrial sectors could solve the issue of labor shortage and the country saw its economy flourish.

It was due to the massive numbers of Eastern and Southern European immigrants that the United States industrial revolution could thrive and become a model. As shown in the second chapter, the millions of newcomers chose to settle mainly in cities rather than in rural areas; they were attracted by the job opportunities offered by the industrial sector. Undeniably, Hirschman and Mogford mentioned that the immigrants and their descendants constituted the backbone of the country's industry as they represented more than 50% of the American labor force in 1920.²¹⁸ The role that the immigrants played in industry was very important; by the first decades of the twentieth century, the industrial labor force was almost wholly reliant on the immigrant hands, and it is claimed that immigration labor contributed massively in the rise of the American industrial revolution from 1880 to 1920.²¹⁹

The importance of the immigrant labor comes from the fact that a large proportion of them were unskilled. In fact, the industrial revolution "is fundamentally linked with the rise of factories and the decline of skilled artisans in manufacturing."²²⁰ In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the industry of the country was at its first stages and was not developed much to require big numbers of workers. In addition, and as discussed in chapter two, the structure of the first European wave of immigration played an important role; the Northern and Western European immigrants who had an agriculture-based profile were absorbed by the rural and agricultural economy which was widespread in that period. Moreover, many of them, especially

²¹⁷ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, op. cit.

²¹⁸ Charles Hirschman and Elizabeth Mogford. Op. cit., 897.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 917.

²²⁰ Sukkoo Kim, "Immigration, Industrial Revolution and Urban Growth in the United States, 1820-1920: Factor Endowments, Technology and Geography," *National Bureau of Economic Research*, January 2007, pp. 1-47, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w12900>, 2.

from England, were skilled artisans who escaped from their countries because they could not compete with the factory-based economy that emerged at that period. Therefore, immigration was not a helping factor to industry at that epoch of American history.²²¹ On the other hand, Maldwyn pointed out that the immigrants coming from Eastern and Southern Europe avoided farming and preferred the cities and opted for factory jobs in the East and Middle West.²²² As the size of eastern and Southern European immigration was huge, it provided a significant number of unskilled workers who were indispensable for the growth of manufacturing economy and for the rise of the Second Industrial Revolution. Wright noted that the workers who put the United States on top of the industrial countries were not the “well-educated native-born Americans,” but rather the low-educated unskilled immigrants without whom the industry would not develop at the same pace it did.²²³

The reliance of the American Industrial Revolution on unskilled labor raises an important question about how the industry would develop if the unskilled immigrants were not available in sufficient numbers. Undoubtedly, it would follow a different path. The Americans were aware of the importance the influx of the workers from Europe would bring to their economy; hence “the United States did open every possible avenue to emigration from abroad, and immigrants indeed ‘flocked’ from Europe.”²²⁴ They adopted an open immigration policy fueled by their huge need for unskilled labor. All that mattered was the hands required to run the wheels of industry, thus they admitted millions of immigrants in a few decades regardless of their country of origin. Hillstrom pointed out that “the demand after the 1880s was almost exclusively for unskilled workers to fill the growing number of factory jobs that emerged as a result of the Industrial Revolution in the United States.”²²⁵ On the other side, the immigrants were pulled by the opportunities offered by the American factories as the firms in the United States gave the highest salaries in the world.²²⁶

The immigration policy of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth was driven by a combination of different factors which all contributed to shape an open strategy based on recruiting the maximum number of workers who were needed in the growth of the expansion of the country as well as the growth of the economy. In fact, the need for settlers and

²²¹ Sukkoo Kim, op. cit., 4.

²²² Maldwyn Allen Jones. Op. cit, 178.

²²³ Gavin Wright, “The Origins of American Industrial Success, 1879–1940,” *The American Economic Review* 80, no. 04 (September 1990): pp. 651-668, <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139174244.020>, 662.

²²⁴ Kevin Hillstrom and Laurie Collier Hillstrom, 185.

²²⁵ Ibid, 183..

²²⁶ Gavin Wright, Ibid.

laborers persuaded both the government and the companies to adopt attractive measures to influence the coming of European immigrants. The liberal land policy, the advertisement made by the immigration agencies and the railroad companies, in addition to the desire of the industrialists to import cheap labor molded the U.S. immigration policy for most of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next century.

3.3. Federal Immigration Control: From Regulation to Restriction (1875-1965)

The rise of mass immigration to the United States in the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries resulted in the exodus of millions of people from different countries. Besides their dissimilar ethnic and racial origins, the newcomers brought their diverse economic, social, cultural, religious, and political backgrounds. Through time, nativism against some groups grew fueled mainly by the impact that such groups had on the native-born. If during much of the nineteenth century, xenophobic attitudes were directed to the Irish paupers in the Eastern seaboard and the Chinese cheap labor in the Western states, the end of the century and the beginning of the new witnessed fervent activism against the immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe who were accused of jeopardizing the American society. In such a tense situation, reaction from Congress was inevitable.

3.3.1. Rise of Nativism, Early States' Policies, and The Shift of Immigration Control from Local to Federal (1830s-1870s)

As noted in chapter one, anti-immigrant sentiments had been present in colonial times. Economic, racial, and religious motives fueled nativist attitudes against newcomers who were considered as a source of issues for the established host society. The rise of the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant model as the unique path for assimilation into American mainstream reduced the status of any other racially, ethnically, or religiously distinct group. Unsurprisingly, Nativism against immigrants continued after the independence for the same factors; among these factors the rise of Catholicism in the country as a result of immigration from Ireland by the first half of the nineteenth century. Maldwyn pointed out that hostility towards non-Protestant Christians originated from the fact that many Americans believed that the Catholic Church was against political freedom and free government.²²⁷ The immigrants' cultural and political beliefs were also another source of fear for the established Americans; the fact that immigrants had different cultural and linguistic backgrounds raised anxieties about their assimilation.

²²⁷ Maldwyn Allen Jones. Op. cit, 149.

Furthermore, though it had not been as important as it was in the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the economic impact that the foreigners were thought to have on the Americans constituted an additional reason for the pre-Civil War nativist attitudes. The newcomers were accused of being responsible for the reasons behind the rise of unemployment rates and the decrease of the wages because of their economic competition. Dinnerstein et al. mentioned that from time to time in the 1830s and 1840s, the foreigners “have been labeled as the causes of the national difficulties.”²²⁸ The tensions grew more in the second half of the nineteenth century when the country expanded westward and massive numbers of immigrants arrived.

Nativism is best symbolized in the anti-Irish sentiments which took another dimension at the eve of the Irish Great Famine. If the nativist hostility against Irish sprang in 1830s, the late 1840s witnessed another wave of antagonism toward the large numbers of poor Irish. The American nativists accused the Irish assisted paupers as being responsible for the deteriorating economic situation of the American working men. The Irish were blamed for the labor competition which resulted in low wages because the immigrants were very poor and accepted cheaper salaries. Hidetaka noted that the decline of the American workers’ wages and social status was the outcome of the industrial transition of the country which transformed the Americans into “factory-based wage labor,” and blaming the poor laborers from Europe was the excuse used by nativists to justify that declining economic condition.²²⁹ The nativists demanded a reaction from the states’ legislators to restrain European pauper immigration to curb their negative impact on the labor market. Some states like Massachusetts and New York started deporting the pauper passengers coming from Europe to their home country.²³⁰ For instance, the Alien Passengers Act issued by Massachusetts on 20 April 1837, required the immigration officers to examine the passengers of any ship landing at its port or harbor, and in case there were passengers “who have been paupers in any other country,” such passengers were not allowed to land.²³¹ Hidetaka believes that the “American states’ laws for restricting the admission of destitute outsiders and banishing them increasingly assumed the character of

²²⁸ Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, David M. Reimers, op. cit., 112.

²²⁹ Hidetaka Hirota, *Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States and the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy* (New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2017), 53.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Michael C. LeMay and Elliott Robert Barkan, “Alien Passengers Act—The Commonwealth of Massachusetts (April 20, 1837),” in *U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Laws and Issues: a Documentary History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999), 23.

immigration control, rather than the regulation of domestic pauperism.”²³² The states’ policy against pauperism is driven by the fact that the more the pauper immigrants settle, the more the states had to spend on them because they become a public charge. Though the states needed European laborers, they excluded some of them because they could be an economic burden on their treasury. It is worth noting that the states’ exclusionary policies targeted only a category of immigrants, but the control did little to alter the flow of needed immigration from Ireland as massive numbers arrived during the years of the potato famine which helped form another type of nativist activism.

The rise of political nativist movements in mid-nineteenth century reached its peak with the creation of an anti-immigrant political party: the American Party or best known as the Know Nothing Party.²³³ The party gained support and popularity among anti-foreigners in the eastern states in the early years of 1850s. The party’s political program rested on rejecting all what was Catholic and foreigner to America. The Know Nothings asked for the modification of the naturalization laws through extending the required period for citizenship to twenty-one years. In addition, they proposed to prevent the foreign-born from holding high positions in the country and cut the road for certain categories of undesirable immigrants like “paupers, criminals, idiots, lunatics, insane persons, and the blind.”²³⁴ The party grew rapidly to exceed a million adherents and succeeded to elect twelve governors and more than 100 representatives in 1855.²³⁵ The growth of the know nothings persuaded them to push their candidate into the 1856 elections with a goal of seeing their contestant as president of the United States. The party lost in the elections as the opponent parties, the Democratic Party and the newly founded Republican Party, focused on the crucial issue of slavery which divided the country and drew the attention of the voters. Nativism was much less important than slavery for the Americans for it did not jeopardize the future of the Union as slavery did. The popularity of the party fell rapidly especially when the

²³² Hidetaka Hirota, *Ibid*, 58.

²³³ Know Nothing Party: Founded in New York in 1844. It started as a secret organization named “Order of the Star-Spangled Banner.” The appellation comes from the fact that its members answered ‘I know nothing’ when asked about the organization’s secret activities. Its members were called ‘the Know Nothings’.

Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 10.

²³⁴ Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: a History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1990), 269-270.

²³⁵ James Ciment and John Radziłowski, *American Immigration: an Encyclopedia of Political, Social, and Cultural Change* (London: Routledge, 2015), 149.

tensions between the South and North increased. The Know Nothing Party was dissolved in 1860 and most of its members joined the Republican Party.²³⁶

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the debate over who was eligible to control and shape the U.S. immigration policy was tense; while the federal government was in charge of the naturalization process of the new immigrants, the states' local governments controlled immigration to the country. The federal government, for more than three-quarters of the nineteenth century, issued many acts on what concerns who and how to be eligible for American citizenship. It did not clearly interfere in who was to be admitted as lawful permanent resident in the country. However, the states had that mission. In fact, the states' control of immigration was not quite different from that of the colonial period; they adopted practically a free and open policy and that was for pure economic reasons. Their goal was to attract the workers needed in the expanding country and in its economy. It was, otherwise stated, a continuous strategy aiming at providing the country with the European hands, just as they did in the previous century. Throughout the century, there was a debate over whether immigration should be regulated at state level or at the federal one. For much of the nineteenth century, the states controlled immigration, but by the last decades, the federal government, with the help of some events that happened in the country, took some steps that affected the process of immigration regulation and helped it spread its power on the matter as the sole law enforcer.

Before dealing with how the federal government took control of immigration, one must understand the source of the issue. Right after the independence, the country turned to establish a constitution to try to fix the various issues of the country, and assign the states and the federal authorities with their respective powers. Nevertheless, the U.S. constitution, which was adopted in 1787, did not say much about the regulation of immigration policy. Hence, the states took the initiative of regulating their policies because in the constitution Congress is granted the right to regulate naturalization only. It is stated in article 1 section 8 of the constitution that "The Congress shall have Power ... To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization,"²³⁷ and therefore for the states, it was their job to take control of immigration since the tenth amendment of the U.S. constitutions stated clearly that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the

²³⁶Mary Beth Norton et al., *A People and a Nation: a History of the United States*, 9th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2012), 375

²³⁷ U.S. Constitution, art.1, sec. 8

people.”²³⁸ Since then, the debate had been at its utmost; should immigration be regulated by the states or at the federal level? Congress passed legislations regulating only naturalization like the 1790, 1795, 1798, 1802 and the 1870 Naturalization Acts in addition to the fourteenth amendment of 1868 that granted citizenship to African-Americans and slaves after the War of Secession (1861-1865). As noted earlier, some historians believe that the Homestead Act of 1862 was an immigration act more than it was a land act, but it surely lacked a legal frame to be regarded as a federal immigration law. The very first immigration act issued by the Congress was in 1875. The Latter marked the end of the states’ monopoly over immigration control as it initiated an up-to-now federal domination over the matter. The control of immigration shifted from the local to the federal level.

The federal government’s step raises many questions: what is the context that drove the Congress to issue such act after near a century of state monopoly? Can immigration be controlled by the federal government without affecting the constitutional powers assigned to each party, the Congress and the states? The debate has never been over between those claiming for an original interpretation of the constitution, and those asking for a more comprehensive understanding of the process. It is impossible to end such debate since both parties have their more or less valid arguments. In fact, the 1875 Immigration Act was a reaction to some states’ immigration legislations that were issued after the Civil War. The states of New York, Louisiana, and California made legislations regarded as conflicting choices that interfered in the federal powers of the federal government. The contradictory statutes that created issues between the states and federal government over their unconstitutionality were brought to light in the 1875 *Henderson v. Mayor of New York* and *Chy Lung v. Freeman* cases.

The statutes were issued in the period following the end of the Civil War in which big numbers of Europeans joined the United States. The states feared the new arrivals would be a charge on their economy. For the state of New York,

the statute then directs the mayor, by indorsement on this report, to require the owner or consignee of the vessel to give a bond for every passenger so reported, in a penalty of \$300 ... conditioned to indemnify the Commissioners of Emigration, and every county, city, and town in the State, against any expense for the relief or support of the person named in the bond for four years thereafter; but that the owner or consignee may commute such bond, and be relieved from giving it, by paying for each passenger, within twenty-four hours after his or her landing, the sum of one dollar and fifty cents...etc.²³⁹

²³⁸ U.S. Constitution, Amendment X

²³⁹ *Henderson et al. v. Mayor of N.Y. et al*, 92 U.S. 259 (1875), 261

In other words, the state taxed passengers and immigrants travelling on vessels and required the master of the ships to pay for them. The state argued that the money collected was directed “to protect its cities and towns from the expense of supporting persons who are paupers or diseased, or helpless women and children, coming from foreign countries.”²⁴⁰ This statute did not last long before it created issues to the state. The beginning of the *Henderson v. Mayor of New York* case started when a British ship named *Ethiopia* arrived in the port of New York coming from Glasgow, Scotland. It carried 261 passengers who intended to settle in the country or, for some, move to Canada.²⁴¹ Refusing to pay according to the requirements of the New York statute, the master of the ship complained and sued the Mayor of New York in the local courts and then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. After examining the case, the decision of the Court stated that the statute of the state of New York regulated international commerce which is an exclusive power of the Congress granted by the Constitution; therefore the statute was ruled unconstitutional. It went further to state that “whenever the statute of a State invades the domain of legislation which belongs exclusively to the Congress of the United States, it is void, no matter under what class of powers it may fall, or how closely allied to powers conceded to belong to the States.”²⁴² According to the Supreme Court, the statute was in conflict with one of the exclusive rights of the federal government which meant that it was not the duty of the states to regulate such issues with regards to immigration and immigrants, but it was rather a federal mission.

California, however, did have a legislation of the same nature as the state of New York in 1775, but unlike the statute of New York, which taxed every passenger onboard the ships coming to the state, California statute targeted specific categories of passengers who were identified as being ‘Lewd and debauched.’²⁴³ It was the duty of the immigration commissioner to examine the passengers who were not fit according to the statute of the state and, therefore, to be denied entry to the country. In the same year, twenty-two Chinese female travelers were identified as ‘lewd and debauched’ by an immigration commissioner at the port of San Francisco, and faced deportation as the captain of the ship did not accept to give the bond as required by the statute. Three women refused to go back to China and appealed the courts’ decisions till their case reached the U.S. Supreme Court in what is known as the *Chy Lung v. Freeman* case. The Supreme Courts’ decision came to strengthen the federal government’s power to regulate

²⁴⁰ *Henderson et al. v. Mayor of N.Y. et al*, 92 U.S. 259 (1875), 268

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, 261

²⁴² *Ibid*, 267

²⁴³ *Chy Lung v. Freeman*, 92 U.S. 275 (1875)

immigration as it denied the state of California the right to restrict immigration of foreigners to the country because it was not authorized by the Constitution. It went further to insist on the fact that the state of California did not have any power to regulate commerce, and considered denying access to the country to some foreign people and requiring them to pay taxes as an infringement of an exclusive power granted to the Congress by the Constitution. Consequently, the statute was declared void and unconstitutional. The *Henderson v. Mayor of New York* and *Chy Lung v. Freeman* decisions strengthened the federal government's position as the sole immigration policymaker.

As a matter of fact, when the federal government took control of immigration policy, it took some time to make profound changes in the free policy adopted by the states. Immigrants continued to pour to the country in spectacular numbers. Congress did issue few acts restricting immigration of some categories of people, as will be seen in the following points, but by the third decade of the twentieth century, harsh measures were taken to stop the flow of undesirable people and favor the desired ones. Amidst all this transition in policy, the symbolic Ellis Island Station was established in January 1892 to mark a historic event in a long history of immigration to the United States. To conclude, the nineteenth century immigration policy was based on a free and open approach; the states were accepting big numbers of immigrants because they were needed to sustain the growing economic and industrial opportunities of the country and the expansion towards new territories in the West. After 1775, Congress gained power gradually over immigration regulation, but the flow of immigrants, as seen in the second chapter, increased till the outbreak of the First World War, which suggests that the federal government kept the same open strategy as the states did. Nevertheless, Congress took some measures to regulate or restrict the immigration of some categories of undesirables, or a specific group of people like it happened in 1882 with the Chinese.

3.3.2. "The Chinese Must Go" and the Early Federal Restrictive Policy 1882-1917

The Civil War and the conflict between the South and North over the issue of slavery did draw the attention of the Americans and lowered the anti-immigrant movement in the country. It was just a short truce before nativism gained the upper hand once again. Fry stated that the role that the Catholics and immigrants played in the Civil War reduced the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiment in the following decade, but that was not to last forever as nativists'

activism came back soon under different context and for a given purpose.²⁴⁴ The year 1875 witnessed the enactment of the first federal law regulating immigration; the Page Act, named after Horace Page the Californian representative who proposed the bill, banned the importation of “any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country, without their free and voluntary consent, for the purpose of holding them to a term of service.”²⁴⁵ The Act forbade the recruitment of forced Asian laborers by Americans; it did strengthen the Anti-Coolie Act of 1862 issued by California legislature which banned the importation of forced Chinese coolies to the state as a result of white workers protest. The Page Act also excluded other categories of people from immigrating to the United States; the importation of “women for the purposes of prostitution” was strictly forbidden in addition to convicts and criminals.²⁴⁶ The Act explicitly targeted the Chinese immigration to the country. Though it did little to restrict it, it was a step towards future exclusionary legislations vis-à-vis Chinese immigrants.

The Page Act symbolized the American racially motivated nativism against the Chinese. The source of anti-Chinese sentiment goes back to the mid nineteenth century when thousands of Chinese laborers, just like many other workers from different nationalities, poured into the West for economic opportunities. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 drove many people from different nationalities to try their luck to make quick fortunes, and obviously the Chinese were among the common herd. Soon after, the Chinese workers surpassed the other laborers with their mining skills. Ciment and Radzilowski pointed out that the “Chinese soon became the most efficient placer miners in California” thanks to their improved techniques.²⁴⁷ The Chinese were mostly gold miners and the overwhelming majority concentrated in the state of California. When the California gold rush ceased to be the door for the American Dream as gold mining declined, the Chinese were highly requested in the transcontinental railroad construction. Zhu stated that the Chinese accepted low wages that the railroad companies paid to break free from the declining gold business and the mounting anti-Chinese nativism in California.²⁴⁸

The Chinese success in gold mining was repeated in railroad building; due to their beneficial role, the Central Pacific company recruited more than 10.000 Chinese workers

²⁴⁴ Brian N. Fry, *Nativism and Immigration: Regulating the American Dream* (New York: LFB Scholarly Pub., 2007), 53.

²⁴⁵ The Page Act of 1875 (Immigration Act), FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS. SESS. II. CH. 141. 1875, sec. 2. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/43rd-congress/session-2/c43s2ch141.pdf>

²⁴⁶ Ibid, sec III, IV.

²⁴⁷ James Ciment and John Radzilowski, *American Immigration: an Encyclopedia of Political, Social, and Cultural Change* (London: Routledge, 2015), 151.

²⁴⁸ Liping Zhu, *The Road to Chinese Exclusion the Denver Riot, 1880 Election, and Rise of the West* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2013), 17.

comprising 90% of the company's work force and even after the transcontinental railroad was finished, the other railroad companies engaged in the construction of other lines hired big numbers of them due to the reputation they had gained.²⁴⁹ The flow of Chinese immigrants continued to exceed 100,000 in 1880 with three-quarters of them concentrated in California.²⁵⁰ The rise of the Chinese immigration in 1860s and 1870s is attributed to the federal legislation of 1864; Congress issued the Act to Encourage Immigration or better known as the Contract Labor Act²⁵¹ which allowed American employers to recruit immigrant laborers. The Act was proposed and defended by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 as a solution to the important labor shortage that the North underwent during the War of Secession. Under the terms of the Act, the American employers were allowed to import workers from their foreign countries and pay the expenses of the transportation. In return, the law authorized that "emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration"²⁵² Briggs goes far to say that the system implemented by the legislation was similar to the indentured servitude system of the colonial times, and "Under these conditions, it was very difficult for free labor to compete with them."²⁵³ Therefore, a nativist reaction against what they considered "coolies" was inevitable due to the fact that the American white workers believed they were taking their jobs and undermining their economic and social status.

Nativism against the Chinese witnessed its peak in the two decades following the passage of the Act. Bernard claimed that the Chinese were coolie laborers ready to work hard for lower wages which was alleged that it would have a negative impact on the white workers' salaries and working situation,²⁵⁴ whereas Ciment and Radziłowski assumed that the Chinese workers received the same wages as the white workers, and gave the example of the Central Pacific Railroad Company which offered the same salary of \$35 to both white and Chinese workers.²⁵⁵ Whatever impact the Chinese had on the earnings of the white workers, there was an escalating

²⁴⁹ Liping Zhu, op. cit., 18.

James Ciment and John Radziłowski, *Ibid*, 152.

²⁵⁰ US Census Bureau, "1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population," The United States Census Bureau, January 16, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html>, 379.

²⁵¹ The Act was repealed by the passage of the Foran Act 1885 which banned the employers to import any worker under the contract labor system.

Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 28.

²⁵² An Act to Encourage Immigration (Immigration Act), THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS. SESS. I. CH. 246. 1864, sec. 2. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/38th-congress/session-1/c38s1ch246.pdf>.

²⁵³ Vernon M. Briggs, *Mass Immigration and the National Interest: Policy Directions for the New Century* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 62.

²⁵⁴ William S. Bernard, op. cit., 58.

²⁵⁵ James Ciment and John Radziłowski, *ibid*, 153.

nativism toward them because their number was relatively big; in 1870s, the Chinese comprised 25% of the overall working force of the state of California.²⁵⁶ Accusing them of being responsible of the declining wages and the high rates of unemployment, the white anti-Chinese formed the Workingmen's Party of California in 1877. Their slogan was “the Chinese Must Go” which explicitly showed that the party’s goal was the restriction of the Chinese immigration and the deportation of the existing labor force. Though the anti-Chinese movement was highly active only in California, the echo of the nativist sentiment exceeded the borders of the state; Lew-Williams mentioned that the newspapers reporting the white Californians’ fear of Chinese job competition and the violent confrontations that occurred helped intensify the nativist sentiments against the Chinese laborers in Oregon and Washington territory though the white workers in those territories had little to worry about the Chinese labor competition.²⁵⁷ By the late 1870s, the need for a federal restrictive measure toward Chinese cheap labor was highly requested by the labor organizations which placed all their hopes in the hands of the U.S. Congress.

Though the federal government was for restrictive actions to settle down the mounting nativist antagonism by the late 1870s, there was a diplomatic obstacle that delayed such action. The Hayes Administration²⁵⁸ did not want to violate the Burlingame Treaty with China in 1868. The purpose of the Treaty was to improve the trade relations with the Empire of China. Under the Treaty’s terms, the United States guaranteed an unrestricted treatment for the Chinese immigrants. Advocates of the Chinese immigration restriction at state level became aware that the task became a federal issue. In the decade following the ratification of the Treaty, the Western states kept militating for a federal reaction to contain the Chinese threat. Under such pressure, Congress adopted the Fifteen Passenger Bill of 1879 which limited the number of Chinese passengers to fifteen per every voyage, but President Rutherford B. Hayes vetoed the bill because it violated the Treaty.²⁵⁹ One year later, the Treaty was repealed in agreement with China; the Congress could regulate the Chinese immigration without violation of the international agreements between the two countries.

In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, formally known as “An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,” which was the first plain federal restrictive law. The Act suspended the entrance of the Chinese skilled and unskilled laborers to

²⁵⁶ Hidetaka Hirota, Op. cit., 189.

²⁵⁷ Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Harvard University Press, 2018), 43.

²⁵⁸ Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-93) : 19th U.S. President (1877-1881)

²⁵⁹ William S. Bernard, op. cit., 58.

the United States for the following ten years because the government believed that their coming “endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof.”²⁶⁰ The legislation also declared the Chinese ineligible for American citizenship. In 1892, the Geary Act extended the exclusion for another ten year period, and then it was made permanent in 1902. The Act culminated a tense period of anti-Chinese nativism. It is worthy to note that the United States, mainly the Western States, benefited from the Chinese labor, but when they ceased to be economically profitable as mines closed and railroad projects ended, they were subject to restriction and suspension. The immigration policy towards Chinese immigrants was shaped by economic motives; at first, the Chinese were encouraged to immigrate to fill in the economic need caused by the labor shortage, and then they became the target of restriction because they were thought to endanger the economic status of the white workers. It was not until 1943 that the Act was repealed and Chinese could be granted a small quota as will be seen in the next point. Nevertheless, the end of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries witnessed the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments after the arrival of millions of Eastern and Southern Europeans. The Chinese Exclusion Act was but the first law of a restrictive federal immigration policy which reached its peak in the 1920s with the implementation of the controversial National Origins Quota System.

3.3.3. The Door Closes: No More Immigrants... Eastern and Southern Immigrants 1917-1965

The Chinese Exclusion Act was but an early step towards a broader restrictive immigration policy. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe triggered another wave of anti-immigrant nativism among some Americans. As noted in the second chapter, the nature of the newcomers who were less educated and low skilled made them different compared with the old immigrants. Paradoxically, they contributed massively in the growth of the industrial America not because they were skillful, but it was thanks to their unqualified labor. Their economic influence on the country’s economy caused dissatisfaction of some labor groups who accused them of being responsible for the decrease of wages and the declining economic status. In addition, the fact that they came from dissimilar cultural, political, and ideological backgrounds raised anxieties about the impact that they would have on the society and national security.

²⁶⁰ Chinese Exclusion Act 1882 (Immigration Act), FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS. SESS. I. CH. 126. 1882, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/47th-congress/session-1/c47s1ch126.pdf>

The nativist sentiments started taking shape by the last decade of the nineteenth century when the Immigration Restriction League (IRL) was founded in 1894 by some Harvard graduates who preached for severe measures to restrict immigration. The League's aim was to preserve what they believed to be the Anglo-Saxon identity of the nation from what they considered as the immigrant peril.²⁶¹ The founders believed that immigration was responsible for the coming of the worst people to America; according to them, the European unskilled workers undermined the country's welfare which required the support of skilled workers in the League's struggle to restrict immigration.²⁶² In their fight to halt the coming of immigrants, Barbara Miller Solomon mentioned that in 1895 the argument that the League used to push for a restrictive legislation was based on a report issued by the Massachusetts Commission on Unemployment which concluded that joblessness was due "in a considerable measure ... to ill-responsible, ill-advised and ill-adapted immigration."²⁶³ The report was amid an economic depression that the United States went through from 1893 to 1897. But the League's founders decided that it was not the economic factor that would lead to immigration restriction, but rather an emphasis on the race of the immigrants as they believed that the newcomers from the old countries of immigration were superior to those from Eastern and Southern Europe.

The desirable people to immigrate to America were described by Prescott F. Hall (1868-1921), one of the founders of the Immigration Restriction League, who wrote that admitting immigrants should not be based on their "ability to perform manual labor," but on other more important qualities like "moral, social, and political."²⁶⁴ The main issue which preoccupied the League's founders was who to be admitted and who to be restricted. They clearly favored more immigrants from Western and Northern Europe as they believed they were having better qualities that made them desirable. Hall inquired about the immigrants that the country should admit, he asked "Do we want this country to be peopled by British, German, and Scandinavian stock, historically free, energetic, progressive, or by Slav, Latin, and Asiatic races, historically down-trodden, atavistic, and stagnant"²⁶⁵ Besides his racial distinction, he overtly favored the admission of skilled workers and the restriction of what he considered the huge numbers of undesirable and unskilled laborers who were settling in the country.

²⁶¹ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, op. cit., 31

²⁶² Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: a Changing New England Tradition* (Boston: Northern University Press, 1989), 107.

²⁶³ Ibid, 108.

²⁶⁴ Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration and the Educational Test," *The North American Review* 165, no. 491 (October 1, 1897): pp. 393-402, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/25118890?refreqid=search-gateway:b9833a144740967f941f09ad1ed5e0f5>, 394.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 395.

The League's founders opted for a literacy test restrictive measure by which illiterate immigrants would be denied entry to the United States. It was believed that due to the low educational level of the Eastern and Southern European immigrants, the measure would certainly decrease the number of who successfully pass the test, and simultaneously increase the number of immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe. This assumption came from the conclusions that the members of the executive committee drew from the reading and writing test applied to a number of Eastern and Southern European immigrants at Ellis Island in 1895; according to them, there was a "close connection between illiteracy and general undesirability" which would make of a literacy test an efficient tool to decrease the number of arrivals from that region.²⁶⁶

To understand why the IRM focused on a literacy test to evict undesirables from reaching the American shores, the following figures were published by the League in 1903 to show the illiteracy rates among Eastern and Southern European immigrants in four years from 1900 to 1903. The data was taken from immigrant races who contributed more than 2,000 immigrants in each of the four years, and who were unable to read and write their native language.

Eastern Europe (including Spain and Portugal)	1900	1901	1902	1903	Western Europe	1900	1901	1902	1903
Spanish	--	--	--	8.9	Scandinavian	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.6
Magyar	16.8	7.5	13.3	10.5	Scotch	--	1.2	1.2	1.2
Romanian	--	--	28.3	21.5	Bohemian and Moravian	3.0	1.5	1.6	1.2
Slovak	27.9	30.7	25.9	21.6	English	0.2	1.8	1.9	1.6
Greek	17.1	25.5	30.0	27.7	Irish	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.8
Russian	--	--	--	31.9	Finnish	2.7	2.2	1.4	2.2
Polish	31.2	37.5	38.4	32.1	French	3.9	3.9	4.8	3.8
Croatian and Slovenian	37.4	39.7	42.2	35.2	German	5.8	4.1	5.4	4.6
Bulgarian, Serbian, Montenegrin	--	--	--	44.7	Dutch and Flemish	9.6	7.8	7.6	6.9
Lithuanian	31.7	49.8	54.1	46.6	Italian (North)	11.2	15.7	14.4	12.7
Ruthenian	49.0	53.2	56.4	51.4					
Italian (South)	54.6	59.1	56.4	51.4					
Portuguese	39.8	63.8	71.6	73.2					
Average of above	39.8	46.0	44.3	39.7	Average of above	4.2	5.6	4.4	3.9

Table 3.3. Illiteracy among Western and Eastern European Immigrants in the United States 1900-1903²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Barbara Miller. Solomon, op. cit., 110-111.

²⁶⁷ "Immigration Figures for 1903 - Library of Congress," accessed April 1, 2020, <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/primarysourcesets/immigration/pdf/figures.pdf>.

The numbers show a clear dissimilarity in terms of educational attainment between the immigrant groups. While the Western Europeans displayed from 3.9% to 5.6% of illiterate immigrants, the Eastern Europeans (including Spain and Portugal), on the other hand, had much higher proportions ranging from 39.8% to 46%. Theoretically, a literacy test would be a good restrictive measure to limit the number of immigrants coming from those countries.

The fight through which the League succeeded to push for a legislation based on a literacy test was not acquired beforehand. They made many attempts which were very close to be adopted but were vetoed by some presidents several times. Amidst the fears caused by the 1893-1897 economic depression, the bill passed in both the House and Senate but was finally vetoed by President Grover Cleveland²⁶⁸ in 1897 who characterized it as "illiberal, narrow, and un-American."²⁶⁹ Had it been approved, it would have a significant impact on the flow of unskilled labor that was highly needed in industry as noted earlier. Not adopting a literacy test avoided the economy probable labor shortage that might have had negative impacts on the industrial growth of the country. Yet again, the bill failed to pass in 1903 and 1907, but amid the debate about the adoption of a literacy test, the Naturalization Act of 1906 was passed which required candidates to "speak the English language"²⁷⁰ as part of the process of naturalization. The Act was a proof that the political elite supported the proposal of the League. The bill was reintroduced again in 1913 and 1915; in both cases, the bill was approved in Congress but vetoed by Presidents Taft²⁷¹ and Wilson²⁷² respectively. It was not until February 1917 that the bill became an act despite the veto made by President Wilson, but his veto was overridden.

Before one can talk about the 1917 Act, it is worthy to note that there was a combination of factors that made the League's goal achievable. As shown previously, the efforts of the League to pass such a restrictive measure took more than twenty years to succeed. In the two decades following the League's foundation and before the adoption of the Literacy Test measure, there was intense debate over immigration restriction between advocates of a liberal immigration policy and their opponents. It is not secret that the class which benefited the most from an open policy adopted in the Gilded Age was that of industrialists who were in constant need for

²⁶⁸ Grover Cleveland (1837-1908): he was the 22nd and 24th President of the United States. He served for two presidential terms; the first was from 1885 to 1889 and the second from 1893 to 1897.

²⁶⁹ Roger Daniels, *Coming*, 277.

²⁷⁰ An Act To establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS. SESS. I. C. 3592. 1906, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/59th-congress/session-1/c59s1ch3592.pdf>. sec. 8, 599.

²⁷¹ William Howard Taft (1857-1930) : he was the 27th president of the United States (1909-1913)

²⁷² Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924): he was the 28th president of the United States (1913-1921)

unskilled and inexpensive hands. On the other hand, the coming of the progressives by the very beginning of the twentieth century was a turning point with regards to the issue of immigration restriction. Roger Daniels mentioned that during the Progressive Era, the economic concerns were not as important as in the previous era, and “most progressives were not particularly sympathetic to either labor or immigrants.”²⁷³ There was a political determination to achieve restrictive measures against immigration; such will was reflected in the political fight that took place when the bill was approved by Congress but vetoed by some presidents. However, no one can deny the fact that the First World War had an important impact on the passage of 1917 Act for it did create an atmosphere of national patriotism and public mobilization. Oscar Handlin stated that with the rise of nationalism in the World War American society, there was no room for foreign-born support for it was against the national security; the period was a fertile land for the advocates of a restrictionist immigration policy to champion their plans.²⁷⁴ Besides, Claudia Goldin believes that not only the War fueled restriction, but also “the declining political power of Immigrant groups and falling real wages for lower-skilled workers after around 1910 may have eventually clinched the vote for restriction.”²⁷⁵

The 1917 literacy test was adopted as part of the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, officially known as “An Act To Regulate the Immigration of Aliens to, and the Residence of Aliens in, the United States,” which denied entry to other categories of people. In addition to the part that required all persons over sixteen years old to pass a literacy test through which they should be able to read “not less than thirty nor more than forty words in ordinary use, printed in plainly legible type in some one of the various languages or dialects of immigrants”²⁷⁶ in order to be admitted, the Act also created a list of undesirable immigrants; all those who were “idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, insane, alcoholics; paupers, diseased, criminals, polygamists, anarchists, prostitutes, contract laborers, deported persons trying to return, and persons likely to become a public charge, stowaways”²⁷⁷ were not allowed to enter the United States. Furthermore, the Act’s third part made most of Asia, except Japan, a so-called Asiatic Barred Zone; in other words, no individual from that zone would be admitted as immigrant or for naturalization.

²⁷³ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, 33.

²⁷⁴ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*, 2nd ed. enlarged (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1973), 258-259.

²⁷⁵ Claudia Goldin, “The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921” NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH (NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES, April 1993), <https://www.nber.org/chapters/c6577.pdf>, 2.

²⁷⁶ “An Act To Regulate the Immigration of Aliens to, and the Residence of Aliens in, the United States. (Asiatic Barred Zone Act 1917),” SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS. SESS.II. CHS. 27-29. 1917, accessed April 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/64th-congress/session-2/c64s2ch29.pdf>. sec.3, 877.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, sec. 2, 875-876.

The 1917 legislation meant, as the advocates of immigration restriction claimed, to limit the entry of newcomers especially from Eastern and Southern Europe which raises queries about its efficiency and impact on post-Act immigration. A comparison between the numbers of immigrants before and after the adoption of the Asiatic Barred Zone shows that the Act did little to reduce the numbers (see table 3.4).

Year	Total European Immigration	Northern and Western European Immigration	Percentage	Eastern and Southern European Immigration	Percentage
1911	764.757	202.355	26.5%	562.402	73.5%
1912	718.875	161.290	22.4%	557.585	77.6%
1913	1.055.855	182.886	17.3%	872.969	82.7
1914	1.058.391	164.133	15.5%	894.258	84.5%
1915	197.919	79.200	40.0%	118.719	60.0%
1916	145.699	42.340	29.1%	103.359	70.9%
1917	133.088	38.500	28.9%	94.588	71.1%
1918	31.063	12.946	41.7%	18.117	58.3%
1919	24.627	18.039	73.2%	6.588	26.8%
1920	246.295	86.998	35.3%	159.297	64.7%
1921	652.364	135.551	20.8%	516.813	79.2%

Table 3.4. Immigration from Northern and Western Europe, and Eastern and Southern Europe 1911-1921²⁷⁸

Logically, the total number of European immigrants dropped significantly during the WWI period and mainly after the U.S. involvement. Except for the year 1918 which saw the immigrants from Northern and Southern Europe surpass those from the East and South Europe, the latter kept their domination even after the War when they reached almost 80% of the total European entries to the United States. As far as the numbers are concerned, immigration resumed its high influx beginning by 1920 reaching more than 650.000 newcomers in 1921. One can only conclude that the literacy test policy failed to limit the number of undesirable immigrants since they continued to flow in significant numbers. But how could they come in such big numbers despite their low educational level? Handlin pointed out that the Eastern and Southern immigrants started to adapt to the new legislation and learned how to read to be able to

²⁷⁸ Some data were taken from: "Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789 - 1945," U.S. Census Bureau, 1949, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/HistoricalStatisticsoftheUnitedStates1789-1945.pdf>, 33.

pass the test,²⁷⁹ whereas Goldin stated that the shipping companies which transported the immigrants made the test before accepting to transport them in order to avoid shipping them back to their home countries as required by the laws.²⁸⁰

The 1917 Act did not succeed to halt immigration as wished by restrictionists, therefore more efforts were made to achieve their goal. With the end of the WWI and the rise of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe, the restrictionists accelerated their activism to prohibit immigration from that region of Europe. There was a proposal of limiting the number of admitted immigrants through applying a system of quotas. It was inspired from the recommendations made by the Report of the Dillingham Commission submitted to Congress in 1911. In addition to the literacy test, the Commission recommended that Congress should proceed to “the limitation of each [race] arriving each year to a certain percentage of that race arriving during a given period of years.”²⁸¹ In addition, it proposed to limit the annual immigrant admission due to “economic, moral, and social considerations.”²⁸² The political situation that arose after the War made it easier for the restrictionists to push for a restrictive legislation based on the recommendations of the Dillingham Commission.

The second decade of the twentieth century witnessed many events that made immigrant restrictive measures closer to reality. It is worthy to note that the political decision was influenced by some factors and chief among these factors were economic. The debate between pro- and anti-restriction was at its peak. Among the influential categories were the business groups; unsurprisingly, they did all their best to counter any restrictive legislation for it was against their economic interests. Any drop in the number of workers would lead to changes in the patterns of employment which would impact the wages and social status of the labor market. As noted earlier, they influenced the rejection of the literacy test on several occasions. On the other hand, unlike rural America which overtly asked for restriction due to its ethnic composition, mainly from the old stock, the Southerners opposed a restrictive measure at the end of the nineteenth century for they hoped that significant numbers of immigrants would settle in the South which would have positive impacts on their economy; but such position did not last long as they changed their plans towards restriction as far as they were convinced that immigrants

²⁷⁹ Oscar Handlin, *Op. cit.*, 259.

²⁸⁰ Claudia Goldin, *Op. cit.*, 4.

²⁸¹ William P. Dillingham, “Reports of the Immigration Commission. Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission V.1” (Government Printing Office, 1911), <https://archive.org/details/reportsofimmigra01unitrich/page/n7/mode/2up>, 47.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

would not choose the South as their destination, which explains their political support to the literacy test in the second decade of the twentieth century.²⁸³ The transition in the South's political position was motivated by pure economic reasons.

The most important reason that helped gather public as well as politic mobilization to pass a restrictive legislation was the impact that the immigrants had on the economics of the native-born. As mentioned earlier, the Eastern and Southern European immigrants settled mostly in cities which resulted in competition over jobs and social services. Economists Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson reached the conclusion that the influx of the post-1890 large immigration generated a 34% loss in the urban workers' salaries in 1910.²⁸⁴ Goldin stated that by the second decade of the twentieth century, the negative impact of foreign-born workers on the wages influenced the political position towards restriction as the immigrants' low skills engendered little pays that the native-born did not accept.²⁸⁵ In addition, xenophobic attitudes amplified the impact of immigration on the economic status of the native-born workers after the WWI; during the war period, the number of immigrants decreased dramatically which impacted positively the economic conditions of the labor market. Pula pointed out that in 1919, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) pushed for a complete ban of immigration as a result of the "improved status of organized labor during the war."²⁸⁶ The events that happened in the post-War period increased the calls for restriction; the economic recession that followed the War and which caused an upsurge in the unemployment rates, in addition to the rise of public anxiety caused by the Red Scare, especially after immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe resumed in high numbers, urged Congress to take urgent restrictive measures to stop the influx of undesirables.²⁸⁷

Finally, the advocates of restriction saw their efforts succeed in 1920s when Congress first issued the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. The Act, which was meant to last for only a year, set an annual limit of 357,803 immigrants who could enter the United States, and a 3% quota of each nationality residing in the country according to the census of 1910.²⁸⁸ The purpose behind the Act was to curtail the immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe. It is worthy to note that immigration from the Western Hemisphere was not restricted because the country needed the influx of cheap labor from such countries like Mexico (see chapter four). Though the Act did

²⁸³ Claudia Goldin, Op. cit., 9.

²⁸⁴ Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 81.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 12.

²⁸⁶ James S. Pula, "American Immigration Policy and the Dillingham Commission," *Polish American Studies* 37, no. 1 (OAD): pp. 5-31, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20148034>, 9.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 10.

reduce the number of Eastern and Southern Europeans to reach four times less than the annual number admitted in the years preceding the WWI, but this measure did not satisfy the restrictionists who asked for more immigration control. In 1922, the Act was extended for two additional years till 1924. The same year witnessed the passage of a more rigorous immigration act, the Johnson-Reid Act. The Act did not depart from the principle of quotas established by the 1921 Act, but rather reinforced it; the act lowered the annual total immigration to 165,000, and reduced the quotas allotted to each nationality to 2% and changed the base year from 1910 to 1890.²⁸⁹ The Act not only reduced the total number of immigrants per year, it also reduced extensively the undesired immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe through relying on the 1890 census; by changing the base year to 1890, it was certain that the big majority of immigrants would come from Northern and Western Europe because they were predominantly represented in U.S. society as shown previously in chapter two. Finally, in 1929 “national origins” system was implemented and through which a total annual number of immigrants was set at 150,000 in addition to the substitution of the 2% quota by the proportion of individuals of each nationality present in the United States in 1920.²⁹⁰ This restrictive measures based on quotas would last until 1965 and had, as intended, heavy impact on overall immigration numbers and specifically from Eastern and Southern Europe. The following figure gives an idea about the evolution of immigration numbers during the period of restriction.

Annual immigration	Immigration from Northern and Western Europe	Other immigrants, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe
Average, 1907-1914	176.983	685.531
Under 1921 act	198.082	158.367
Under 1924 act	140.999	20.847
Under national-origins system a	127.266	23.235 ^b

a The legal maximum of 150,000 has been exceeded slightly because the legal minimum per-country quota of 100 was in some cases a higher number than the strict application of the national origins formula would have allowed

b Southern and Eastern Europeans only.

Table 3.5. The effects of the quota acts on the volume and sources of immigration²⁹¹

The numbers show clearly the impact of the restrictive measures adopted by Congress on the Eastern and European immigration which decreased significantly. By drawing a comparison

²⁸⁹ William S. Bernard, op. cit., 64.

²⁹⁰ Dale S. McLemore, op. cit., 111.

²⁹¹ William S. Bernard, op. cit., 65.

between the numbers before the WWI and those under national-origins system, we figure out that the immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe was decreased by almost 97%, whereas that of Northern and Western Europe was reduced by only 28%. In sum, the restrictionists succeeded to halt unwanted immigration from undesirable Europeans. The next chapter tries to examine the impact of immigration restriction on the economy and whether the United States would experience a labor shortage that would force the decision-makers to adopt a different immigration policy.

3.4. Conclusion

The nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries' immigration policy, just like in colonial times, was driven by economic factors. Before 1890, such open-door policy was shaped by great labor imports to cover the shortage, expand the country to the Western territories, cultivate the free lands, build railroads and canals, and improve the country's economy. Then, the rapid industrialization of the nation pushed for more liberal policy as the country needed millions of workers to reinforce its economic growth. On the other hand, the restrictive policy was the result of a combination of factors; the economic impact of foreign born immigrants on the job competition and native-born earnings fueled xenophobic attitudes against them. The Chinese were the first to be denied entry to the United States because they were coolies which engendered a rising hostile reaction from the native-born workers. The significant restrictive measures of 1920s would probably not have been adopted if the WWI did not occur; the War was responsible for the rise of nationalism, the fear of foreign born as being potential disloyal elements, and the rise of ideological and racial discrimination against the immigrants, especially from Eastern and Southern Europe. These elements served as an accelerating factor for the adoption of immigration restriction in 1920s. The latter was sewed carefully to fit the coming of immigrants from the old countries of immigration and exclude the maximum number of undesirable Eastern and Southern Europeans. In the next chapter, the focus will be on the impact of the departure from the historic open door policy on the labor market of the country, as it had been the main shaping factor of the previous immigration policy, in addition to the repeal of immigration restriction and the adoption of a new policy.

Chapter Four: New Immigration and Immigration Policy 1965-2002

4.1. Introduction

The fourth and final chapter will deal with the establishment of a new immigration policy which substituted the 1920s restrictive measures. In the first section, the focus will be on the first steps that led to the adoption of the new policy. The acts of 1965, 1986, and 1990 dealing with immigration and the refugee issue will be tackled to better understand the new policy's patterns of admission. Then the attention will shift to the impact of such policy on the American society; the focus will be on the effect on the ethnic compositions of the country, the emergence of undocumented immigrants, and the economic implications on the national economy and the economics of the native-born workers.

4.2. First Steps towards a New Immigration Policy

The era of restriction reduced the number of admitted immigrants to the United States dramatically in the period from 1924 to 1965. The immigration policy adopted by Congress succeeded to curtail the flow of undesirables from Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia as planned by its initiators. But the core of such policy was always under serious criticism because of the impact it had on the American society and its political creed. In this section, the focus will be on the impact that the restrictive policy had on the U.S. economy and the earnings of both the Native-born as well as the immigrants given the fact that the economy had heavily relied on the flow of big numbers of immigrant labor in the recent past. After the economic depression that the country went through in 1930s, the economic importance of immigrants was put into question after the U.S. entry into WWII and the labor shortages caused by the mobilization of a large part of Americans in massive war industry as well as military service. Under such economic need of labor, important numbers of Mexican workers were granted temporary entry to sustain the economy of the Southwestern region which suffered from labor scarcity. Though the importation of the Mexican labor was under a non-immigration basis, but it marked a step that revived the debate over the impact that the restrictive measures had on the labor market and the economy of the country. The section will also tackle the issue of the political refugees that was generated by the escalation of chauvinistic policies in Europe. The failure of the American system to absorb

the refugees had always triggered much criticism to the quota system for it departed from the historic role of the United States as being the refuge for the oppressed and persecuted people. Although the policy remained firm until 1965, the aforementioned issues helped shape the political opinion to reform the controversial policy implemented in 1920s.

4.2.1. Economic Impact of Restriction on Native-born and Immigrant Labor

The 1920s immigration restriction affected drastically the influx of foreign born immigrants to the United States. As seen in the third chapter, the new immigration policy not only lowered the total number of annually admitted immigrants, but it also targeted some unwanted nationalities especially the Eastern and Southern Europeans. Indeed, one can only say that the restrictive measures succeeded in achieving the objectives of its advocates. Koven and Götzke pointed out that by 1925, the total number of admitted immigrants decreased by more than 50% compared with their number between 1920 and 1921, with three-quarters of them originating from Northern and Western Europe.²⁹² The decline in immigration numbers was to remain for several decades as the National origins system was maintained till 1965. During this period, other events caused the immigration rates to go even lower than the low quotas granted by the laws.

The most optimistic among the restrictionists did not imagine the numbers of newcomers dropping to the levels they reached in the 1930s and the first half of 1940s. The severe period of economic depression that the country went through and which resulted in historical high rates of unemployment, poverty, and distress among Americans witnessed entries below the annual number permitted by the law. The following table gives an insight about the immigrants' numbers during the periods of depression and the Second World War:

²⁹² Steven G. Koven and Frank Goetzke, *American Immigration Policy: Confronting the Nation's Challenges* (New York, NY: Springer, 2010), 11.

	Year	Number	Europe
WWII	1945	38,119	5,943
	1944	28,551	4,509
	1943	23,725	4,920
	1942	28,781	11,153
	1941	51,776	26,541
	1940	70,756	50,454
	1939	82,998	63,138
Depression	1938	67,895	44,495
	1937	50,244	31,863
	1936	36,329	23,480
	1935	34,956	22,778
	1934	29,470	17,210
	1933	23,068	12,383
	1932	35,576	20,579
	1931	97,139	61,909
	1930	241,700	174,438

Table 4.1. Immigration during the Great Depression and WWII 1930-1945²⁹³

The failed economy caused by the depression resulted in an unattractive economic opportunity which had always pulled the immigrants towards the United States. During the 1930s, the jobs were so scarce that any competition by foreign born was met with xenophobic hostility by native-born. Therefore, potential immigrants were discouraged by the hard economic conditions that the United States was facing. In fact, this has always been the case with immigration to the United States; immigration tended to increase in times of economic prosperity and shrink in periods of recession and economic crises. Evidently, more job opportunities and improved wages are offered by employers when the economy is at full speed, and the opposite is true.

It is evident that the 1920s restrictive acts had a tremendous impact on the size and origins of the immigrants to the United States, but what impact did the U.S. immigration policy have on the economy of the country and the natives' earnings since in the prior periods, the economy depended heavily on the influx of massive numbers of immigrant labor? The effects of the dropping number of immigrants were not clear in the first decade of the new legislation. The U.S. economy witnessed a post-World War boom in the 1920s which almost hid the absence of foreign born workers and, to some extent, justified the restrictive measures taken by the government. Nevertheless, the 1929 Wall Street Crash and the collapse of the U.S. economy opened the debate over the importance of European immigration in the country's economic

²⁹³ "Table 1. Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status: Fiscal Years 1820 to 2018," Department of Homeland Security, January 6, 2020, <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2018/table1>.

expansion. The crisis was but the very beginning of a decade characterized by great depression that Christina D. Romer described as the worst depression in the history of the United States and Western countries.²⁹⁴

Undoubtedly, the economic sector that was affected the most by the restriction of the European workers was manufactory. In fact, as noted earlier, the huge expansion that this sector had witnessed in the 1890s and 1900s was due in large part to the contribution of the unskilled labor provided by the open immigration policy that the United States was adopting in that period. With the flow of such workers curtailed abruptly, the consequences were drastic. Given the fact that the immigrants concentrated mainly in cities, Noah Smith points out that such areas suffered from the significant populace decline caused by restriction which on its part had negative impacts on the industrial segment.²⁹⁵ The decline in population resulted in the decline of the labor force and, thus, the economic output of the sector. Such transition caused a slow development of the economy's manufactory and contributed in the economic downturn that the United States went through by the very end of the 1920s. Smith reinforces this claim and suggests that there is "a clear and direct link" between immigration restriction and the 1930s economic crisis and depression.²⁹⁶

The decline of the large-scale immigration also impacted on the economic conditions of the native-born Americans. Unlike what was intended by the restrictive measures, the low economic productivity of the manufacturing sector resulted in negative consequences on the incomes of the workers. Philipp Ager and Casper Worm Hansen reached the conclusion that the declining number of immigrants in areas where they rushed heavily before restriction was responsible for substantial losses in the average incomes of the white native-born as they were obliged to occupy low-waged jobs.²⁹⁷ Besides, the decline of the economy in the years of depression had a heavy impact on the employment rates in the country. Amidst the declining economic activity, the number of unemployed people reached historical proportions in the 1930s

²⁹⁴ Christina D. Romer, "Great Depression - University of California, Berkeley," December 20, 2003, https://eml.berkeley.edu/~cromer/Reprints/great_depression.pdf.

²⁹⁵ Noah Smith, "One Sure Way to Hurt the U.S. Economy? Cut Immigration Big Reductions in Residence Permits in the 1920s Contributed to the Great Depression.," *Bloomberg Opinion*, July 9, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-07-09/cuts-to-u-s-immigration-in-1920s-made-great-depression-worse>.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Philipp Ager and Casper Worm Hansen, "Closing Heaven's Door: Evidence from the 1920s U.S. Immigration Quota Acts," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, November 2017, pp. 01-35, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3059439>, 25.

when it touched the peak of 25% jobless people in 1933.²⁹⁸ In such bad economic conditions, priority for jobs was given to native-born rather than immigrants; Maldwyn pointed out that the foreign-born were not hired in high skilled jobs and the preference, instead, went to the native-born applicants.²⁹⁹

No restrictive measure could curtail the number of foreign immigrants entering the country as the period of depression and economic downturn did. The 1930s served as an additional halting barrier against the influx of immigrants. The period reduced the number of entries drastically (see table 4.1). In fact, the hard times that the U.S. economy underwent not only discouraged immigration, but it also shaped the political attitude towards it; Daniels mentioned that President Herbert Hoover³⁰⁰ believed that the delicate period of depression required less immigration, Hoover stated that there was a “need for revision of our immigration laws upon a more limited and more selective basis, flexible to the needs of the country.”³⁰¹ As a reaction to the rise of unemployment, Hoover ordered the U.S. consular services to limit the visa delivery especially for those who were likely to become public charges.³⁰² In other words, immigration to the United States was made difficult at the source countries to prevent further economic downturn at home.

The depression period not only reduced the number of newcomers, but it also increased significantly the departures of immigrants to their home countries. The following table gives an idea about the number of immigrants and that of emigrants.

²⁹⁸ Robert Margo, “Employment and Unemployment in the 1930s,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 07, no. 02 (1993): pp. 41-59, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w4174>, 43.

²⁹⁹ Maldwyn Allen Jones, op. cit., 282.

³⁰⁰ Herbert Hoover (1874-1964): the 31st president of the United States. He served for one term between 1929 and 1933.

³⁰¹ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, op. cit., 60.

³⁰² *Ibid*, 67.

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Net Immigration
1931	97,139	61,882	35,257
1932	35,576	103,295	-67,719
1933	23,068	80,081	-57,013
1934	29,470	39,771	-10,301
1935	34,956	38,834	-3,878
1936	36,329	35,817	512
1937	50,244	26,736	23,508
1938	67,895	25,210	42,685
1939	82,998	26,651	56,347
1940	70,756	21,461	49,295
Total	528,431	459 738	68,693

Table 4.2. Immigration and Emigration, 1929-1939³⁰³

In addition to the shrinking number of immigration during the period of depression, an astonishing high number of emigration is noticed. The years from 1932 to 1935 saw the number of departed immigrants exceed that of the newly admitted by 139,000; to be more precise, nearly 262,000 immigrants returned back to their countries of origin whereas only 123,000 stayed. In the overall period, little more than 68,000 immigrants remained in the United States compared with almost 460,000 who left which constituted 87% of the total immigration. In other words, the average of immigration was almost 6,800 a year only. The high numbers of people who chose to leave the United States shows how hard the impact that the Great Depression had on the economy of the country and the economics of the labor force.

4.2.2. Land of Asylum Vs Land of Restriction

Since the establishment of the first colonies in what has become the United States, the land has been dubbed the haven of refugees and asylum seekers. Millions of distressed people found refuge in the colonies and later in the United States. But the thirties and beginning of forties of the previous century marked a historical pause in the country's policy towards refugees who were victims of political and racial upheavals in the European continent. There was a big debate in the United States between the fervent supporters of immigration restriction and the advocates of a less restrictive policy towards refugees to allow the big number of them to escape from the horrors of the rise of xenophobia and anti-Semitism in the 1930s and the Second World

³⁰³ Roger Daniels, *coming*, op. cit., 288.

War. In fact, the system of quotas failed to absorb the refugees fleeing dictatorship and political totalitarianism in the sense that it did depart from the historical U.S. principle of a land of asylum.

The reason behind the firm rejection of any attempt to allow the coming of non-quota refugees was purely economic. Due to the economic conditions that the United States faced in that period, the Americans strongly opposed admitting more immigrants. As noted in the previous point, the executive order that President Hoover issued in 1930 and which added more barriers to U.S. visa applicants, limited the number of political refugees resulting from the Nazi discrimination of the German Jews. The depressed economy dictated a policy based on favoring the American job seekers rather than importing competition from Europe. Therefore, the doors were almost closed for the Jewish asylum seekers who were facing mounting racial, political, as well as religious persecution especially after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany.

The rise of the Nazi Party led by Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) in 1933 initiated a period which was characterized by violence and persecution against the German Jews. The latter were the target of discriminatory practices structured by the Nazis. Hundreds of thousands decided to leave Germany and escape that situation. A significant part of the German Jews dreamed of immigrating to the United States as being the symbol of freedom and a shelter for the persecuted. Unfortunately, the dream of a big proportion of them did not come true due to the immigration restriction policy. The American attitude towards the German refugees issue generated much criticism among historians; Wesley P. Greear pointed out that unlike the biased Nazi's ruthless treatment of the Jews, the American "lack of involvement in stopping this atrocity" was not understood.³⁰⁴ The Americans did not intervene to save the lives of Jews in Germany, nor did it welcome them on its lands as refugees. All what mattered for the Americans was to avoid further economic implications that the admission of such number of refugees would have on the already exhausted economy.

When the Nazis started their anti-Semitic campaign against the Jews in 1933, the echoes reached the United States but it seemed that not all Americans were worried. There were protests by some Jewish and Christian organized groups against the discriminatory policy practiced in Germany, but surprisingly there were no voices calling for amending the American restrictive

³⁰⁴ Wesley P. Greear, "American Immigration Policies and Public Opinion on European Jews from 1933 to 1945," *American Immigration Policies and Public Opinion on European Jews from 1933 to 1945* (2002), <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd/645>, 6.

laws to save the persecuted German Jews by allowing them to immigrate to the United States.³⁰⁵ Even if there were some political calls for opening the door to mass refugee immigration, it would be almost impossible for Congress to amend the immigration laws for two main reasons; first, there was a strong opposition in Congress from advocates of restriction to liberalize the laws implemented only few years before. The absence of the political will was expressed by president Hoover who stated that he “would not intervene in domestic affairs of foreign powers.”³⁰⁶ The rise of restrictionists was at its height in the 1930s which aborted any attempt for changing the existing policy. Secondly, the depression that the country was undergoing contributed in solidifying the national rejection of immigrants whatever their motives were.

The number of immigrants admitted starting by 1933 explains the American attitude towards the refugee crisis in Europe. Though the National Origins system allowed the admission of 150.000 European immigrants per year, this quota was unfilled during the periods of depression and the WWII. Their number did not even reach half of the permitted quota (see table 4.1). In 1936, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt³⁰⁷ canceled Hoover’s executive order but according to Daniels, many consular services kept working with the “likely to become a public charge (LPC)” system and limited the obtention of U.S. visa.³⁰⁸ Consequently, the impact was not significant; the immigrants’ number increased slightly between 1936 and 1939 and went down in the War period (see table 4.3). The overall immigration to the United States increased from 36.000 in 1936 to 83.000 in 1939, whereas that from Europe jumped from 23.000 to reach 63.000 in 1939. As far as the refugees fleeing the Nazi system are concerned, out of the 280.000 European immigrants admitted in the period 1934 to 1941, Maldwyn and Briggs stated that 250.000 of them were refugees from “Axis nations or Axis-occupied countries in Europe,” who immigrated under the existing legislations and without any special measures.³⁰⁹ It is worthy to note that there were no laws regarding the status of the German Jews in the United States, they were immigrants and they did not come as legal refugees. The term “refugee” is used to indicate that this group of immigrants escaped from persecution and that they were not, like the other immigrants, pulled by economic conditions. They were pushed by the political developments that undermined their lives in their home countries. Briggs observed that the refugees were from

³⁰⁵ Wesley P. Greear, Op. cit., 16.

³⁰⁶ Rebecca Weston, “Hidden Histories and the Appropriation of the Holocaust in the American Narrative,” Escholarship University of California, February 12, 2015, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/09w878vf>, 33.

³⁰⁷ Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945): he was the 32nd president of the United States, he served as president from 1933 until his death in 1945.

³⁰⁸ Roger Daniels, *coming*, 295.

³⁰⁹ Allen Jones Maldwyn, Op. cit., 281 .
Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 95.

the middle and upper-class and had high social status compared with the regular immigrants.³¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, the slight proportion of regular immigrants was due to the lack of economic opportunity generated by the depression period and then insecurity caused by the war.

Indeed, the Second World War was a serious factor that reduced immigration to the country (see table 4.1). During the War period, European immigration declined to reach less than 5,000 new arrivals a year. This was logical due to the military involvement of the European countries as well as the United States. There was no room for regular immigration debate during the years of the war. But on the other hand, with the war developments, calls for the admission of the displaced persons increased in the United States as millions of people were displaced from their homes and faced racial and political persecution. The firm immigration restriction that the country was adopting gave little chances for a profound change that could contribute in solving the post-war refugee crisis.

The first steps that seemed to be the beginning of relaxed immigration policy occurred during the WWII with the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts. The Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act of 1943, also known as the Magnuson Act, which was signed by President Roosevelt, was issued in response to the Chinese role played in the Second World War. After Japan attacked the United States in Pearl Harbor in 1941, China immediately offered military alliance to the United States and the Allies. China became important to America's war strategy as the Americans relied on the Chinese to block the Japanese armed forces until the war in Europe was over, in addition it would be much easier for the U.S. army to bomb Japan from military bases in China.³¹¹ The improvement of the U.S.-China relations persuaded the Americans to change their racial and exclusionary attitude towards her new and important ally. The calls for the repeal of the discriminatory legislation against the Chinese and especially the Chinese rose and, finally, on 17 December, 1943 the Act was signed into law and officially abolished the Chinese restriction, granted them a quota under the 1924 measures, and declared them eligible for American citizenship. Though the quota was small, only 105,³¹² but it symbolized the end of the contradictory legislation based on race and discrimination which had lasted for more than six decades.

³¹⁰ Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 96.

³¹¹ Xiaohua MA, "A Democracy at War: The American Campaign to Repeal Chinese Exclusion in 1943," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* No. 9 (1998): pp. 121-142, <http://www.jaas.gr.jp/jjas/PDF/1998/No.09-121.pdf>, 124.

³¹² William S. Bernard, Op. cit, 68.

If 1943 Act allowed the admission of a number of Chinese immigrants under quota system, other categories were granted entry to the United on a non-quota basis soon after the end of the Second World War. The years 1945 and 1946 saw the United States issuing three legislations that granted entry to not only Chinese people, but which affected the Chinese immigration; on 28 December 1945, the War Brides Act admitted the spouses and minor children of military men who could not bring their wives and children to the United States due to the absence of a legislation that regulated their status.³¹³ On 29 June, 1946 the Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act was passed and which permitted the war soldiers to bring their foreign-born fiancées and fiancés to the United States and granted them a three months period for marriage to avoid deportation.³¹⁴ One month later, on 9 August 1946 an amendment to the Act which repealed the Chinese Exclusion was passed and which granted the Chinese wives of American citizens the status of U.S. permanent residents.³¹⁵

Year	Total	Male	Female	Percentage
1945	109	45	64	59
1946	233	71	162	69
1947	1.128	142	986	87
1948	3.574	257	3.317	93
1949	2.490	242	2.248	90
1950	1.289	110	1.179	91
1951	1.083	126	957	88
1952	1.152	118	1.034	90
Total	11.058	1.111	9.947	90

Table 4.3. Immigration of Chinese by Gender, 1945-1952³¹⁶

The acts contributed in permitting the admission of almost 150.000 wives and fiancées, 25.000 of their offspring, and hundreds of male spouses from Europe in the period from 1945 to 1950.³¹⁷ As far as the impact of the acts on the Chinese immigration is concerned, they boosted the Chinese population in America with little more than 11.000 new immigrants dominated by an overwhelming majority of females (see table 4.3).

³¹³ War Brides Act 1945, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/war-brides-acts-1945-1947/>

³¹⁴ Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act 1946, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/79th-congress/session-2/c79s2ch520.pdf>.

³¹⁵ War Brides Act 1946, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/war-brides-acts-1945-1947/>

³¹⁶ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, op. cit., 94.

³¹⁷ Maldwyn Allen Jones. Op. cit., 284.

After the War ended, the issue of the millions of displaced persons was brought to light. As a first reaction, President Harry S. Truman³¹⁸ believed that given the new status that the country acquired after the War, it was the duty of the United States to admit a considerable number of the displaced persons as being the land of asylum, and as it was for the American interest to see Europe on its feet again.³¹⁹ In 1945, Truman issued an executive order for the admission of more than 41.000 displaced persons to the United States on a quota basis in a period of thirty months.³²⁰ Though Truman hoped to increase the number of admitted displaced persons, it was not possible to pass a legislation to ease the restrictive measures for there was strong opposition in Congress from anti-immigration advocates. All what Truman could do was to try to pass legislations within the quota system. In 1948, the Displaced Persons Act was passed and amended two years later; under these acts, a number of 400.000 persons were admitted in a period of four years.³²¹ Truman commitment to European refugee issues did not cease as in his last year as President of the United States, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was passed and which authorized the admission of 214.000 refugees during a period of 41 months.³²²

After the WWII, President Truman militated against the restrictive policy of his country. He supported a reformed immigration policy not based on racial and discriminatory quotas. He also pleaded for a system that met the needs of the nation; the new policy that Truman and his supporters longed for relied on economic, political, and humanitarian components. The focus of a new reformed policy would be on admitting special skills that would have a positive contribution on the labor market, setting a legal process of the admission of refugees, and reviving the humanitarian role of the country as being the refuge for politically and religiously persecuted people.³²³ On 26 July, 1947 congress responded by passing the Senate Resolution 137 which ordered for a comprehensive investigation of the U.S. immigration system for future possible reform.³²⁴ A committee was formed and which submitted its final report three years later. The Report's conclusions and recommendations were totally against the hopes of the advocates of immigration reform. Instead of removing the quota barrier on immigration, the report recommended that the immigration system of the country was in "need for imposing

³¹⁸ Harry S. Truman (1884-1972): he was the 33rd president of the United States of America. He served from 1945 to 1953.

³¹⁹ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *Op. cit.*, 285.

³²⁰ James Ciment and John Radziłowski, *Op. cit.*, 218.

³²¹ William S. Bernard, *Op. cit.*, 68.

³²² Maldwyn Allen Jones, *Op. cit.*, 286.

³²³ Vernon M. Briggs, *Op. cit.*, 111.

³²⁴ "The Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States. Report of the Committed of the Judiciary Pursuant to S. Res. 137," Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, Report N°1515. Accessed April 25, 2020, <https://www.ilw.com/immigrationdaily/news/2008,0701-senatoreport81-1515part1of5.pdf>, 1.

additional immigration restrictions,” and that people who try to enter the United States were likely “to engage in activities subversive to the national security.”³²⁵ Obviously, the report was influenced by the recent political development that emerged after the WWII; the rise of Communism revived the 1920s Red Scare and created an atmosphere of suspicion vis-à-vis immigrants from regions judged supportive to this ideology and its economic doctrine. Therefore, the report recommended the exclusion or deportation of individuals who were Communists or who sympathized with Communist or Socialist doctrines.³²⁶

The 1950 Report was the base for the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which adopted many of its recommendations. Truman kept fighting for an immigration reform but he was unable to reach his objective due to the significant political influence of restrictionists in Congress. His last attempt to prevent a further restrictive measure was the veto he used to block the passage of the 1952 Act; Truman believed that the legislation “discriminates, deliberately and intentionally, against many of the peoples of the world,” but his veto was overridden by Congress and the bill became law in June 1952.³²⁷ The Act which was passed amid anti-Communist fears, did keep the same system based on quotas; the recommendations of the 1950 Report were taken seriously by Congress and the numerical limitations based on nationality and origin were not altered. Besides, all restriction on Asian immigrants was cancelled and each Asian country was given a small quota; Bernard stated that under the 1952 INA “Japan was given a quota of 185; China retained its quota of 105; and countries in an area designated the Asia-Pacific Triangle, including colonial areas such as Hong Kong, were given a quota of 100 each.”³²⁸ While no limitation was imposed on immigration from Western Hemisphere, there was an increase in the annual admission from the Eastern Hemisphere to reach 156.700 a year.³²⁹ The following table shows the impact of the new legislation on the number of admitted individuals:

³²⁵ “The Immigration,” op. cit.,

<https://www.ilw.com/immigrationdaily/news/2008,0701-senatereport81-1515part5of5.pdf>, 798.

³²⁶ Ibid, 799.

³²⁷ Wolgin, Philip E., and Irene Bloemraad. "Our Gratitude to Our Soldiers": Military Spouses, Family Re-unification, and Postwar Immigration Reform." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 1 (2010): 27-60. Accessed August 14, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40785025, 46

³²⁸ William S. Bernard, op. cit., 69-70.

³²⁹ Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 111-112.

Year	Total	Europe	%	Americas	%	Asia	%
1953	170	82	48	78	46	8	5
1954	208	92	44	96	46	10	5
1955	238	111	47	110	45	11	5
1956	322	157	49	145	45	17	5
1957	327	170	52	134	41	20	6
1958	253	115	45	113	45	21	8
1959	261	138	53	93	36	25	10
1960	265	120	45	120	45	21	8
1961	271	109	40	140	52	19	7
1962	284	104	37	156	55	20	7
1963	306	109	36	170	56	23	8
1964	292	108	37	159	54	21	7
1965	297	101	34	171	58	20	7
Total	3,494	1,516	43	1,685	48	236	7

Table 4.4. Immigration, 1953-65, by Major Regions (in thousands)³³⁰

The numbers displayed show that in the period that followed the passage of the 1952 INA, almost 3.5 million immigrants entered the United States. That number was practically shared equally between the countries of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. It is worthy to note the increase in the annual admitted number due to the non-quota categories that the Act created; spouses of American military men, foreign husbands of American wives, in addition to relatives of U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents were all admitted on a non-quota basis. Finally, the Act also favored the immigration of some individuals with special skills needed by the United States. In fact, the preference-based system and family reunification would be the bedrock of the 1965 legislation which changed the immigration policy of the country. In sum, the Act did not depart from the national origins system of 1920s; restriction was maintained and it was to a given extent motivated by two main reasons: the economic impact that the admission of bigger numbers would have on the economy and the labor market, in addition to the ideological fears originating from the tense events of the era and the rising influence of Communist doctrines on the domestic security. Though there were not significant changes in the immigration system, the attempts made by the opponents of the policy based on racial and ethnic quotas would finally succeed with the passage of the 1965 INA.

³³⁰ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, op. cit., 123.

4.2.3. Temporary Mexican Braceros to Cover the Labor Shortage 1942-1964

Amid restriction, some measures were taken by the U.S. government and which were regarded as steps towards the relaxation of the restrictive policy. In addition to the refugees, the Mexican laborers were highly requested in times of labor shortage. This category of workers were not granted permanent residency but rather temporary work permits. They were not immigrants in a legal sense, but their number was bigger than the regular immigrants. Before tackling the Mexican temporary workers program, it is necessary to deal with their regular immigration to draw the differences. In fact, Mexican immigrants have always been present in the United States. In fact, their number was not important in the nineteenth century; during that century, only 28.000 Mexicans settled in America permanently (see table 4.5). The following table details the history of Mexican immigration to the United States from 1820 to 1964:

Years	Number
1820-1830	4.818
1831-1840	6.599
1841-1850	3.271
1851-1860	3.078
1861-1870	2.191
1871-1880	5.162
1881-1890	11913
1891-1900	971
Total 19th century	28003
1901-1910	49.642
1911-1920	219.004
1921-1930	459.287
1931-1940	22.319
1941-1950	60.589
1951-1960	299.811
1961-1964	187.715
Total	1.326.370

Table 4.5. Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1820-1964 (Mexican braceros not included)³³¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, Mexicans did not flow in considerable numbers; the highest decade in numbers was that from 1831 to 1840 which witnessed almost 6.600 individuals entering the United States. The last decade of the century saw less than a thousand Mexicans settle in the country which marked the lowest proportion since 1820. On the other hand, the

³³¹ Dale S. McLemore, op. cit., 245

following century observed an important surge in numbers; for instance, the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the arrival of almost the double of all the nineteenth century Mexican immigrants. In the following decades, the numbers jumped even higher except for the period of the Great Depression and the WWII in which the overall immigration declined due to the reasons discussed in the previous points. In other words, we may consider that the Mexican immigration to the United States has started in the very beginning of the twentieth century given the fact that the previous period did not witness significant waves from Mexico.

Unsurprisingly, the reasons that drove immigrants from Mexico did not differ much from those of the other immigrant groups. The economic reasons were the chief factors that shaped the movement of people from the Southern border. In fact, the sudden upsurge of the Mexican immigration by the first decade of the twentieth century was due to the contrasting conditions in both countries. McLemore states that a “combination of turmoil in Mexico and economic opportunities in the United States” was the reason behind such an increase in immigrants’ numbers.³³² Mexico was ruled by the dictator Porfirio Díaz³³³ who initiated new economic policies intended to improve the nation’s economy. David Spener pointed out that the dictator’s economic policies had a negative impact on small Mexican farmers who lost their lands to Mexican and foreign investors’ large-scale plantation directed to exportation; it is estimated that almost five million farmers lost their lands, most of them living in poor and overpopulated areas which persuaded them to try to look for better economic chances somewhere else.³³⁴ The construction of the Mexican railroads, as part of Diaz’s economic policies, and their connection with the United States played an important role in easing the movement of Mexicans to the industrial areas of Mexico and the United States looking for job opportunities.³³⁵

In the second decade of the twentieth century, Mexican immigration continued its growth and increased four-fold compared with the previous decade. The reasons of such rise rested on two main factors: the political developments in Mexico and the shortage of labor in the United States especially in the Southwestern region contiguous with Mexico. The Mexican Civil War (1910-1920) generated a big number of displaced persons desiring to escape the violent events. Technically speaking, they were political migrants seeking refuge in the United States, but, as

³³² Dale S. McLemore, *op. cit.*, 247.

³³³ Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915): He was Mexico’s military ruler from 1876 until he was removed by the Mexican Revolution in 1910.

³³⁴ David Spener, “Mexican Migration to the United States, 1882-1992: A Long Twentieth Century of Coyotaje,” eScholarship, University of California, October 18, 2017, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2d95t1j2>, 4-5.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

noted earlier, there were not laws regulating the refugee issue in the United States. Therefore, they would not be admitted as political refugees but rather as economic laborers; the Mexicans were pulled by the huge job opportunities provided by the expanding Southwestern economy and the decline of European immigrants as a result of the escalating events amid the WWI.³³⁶ To cover the labor shortage, the Americans even bypassed some legislation with regards to the Mexican immigrants; Richard Worth mentioned that due to the great need for inexpensive and unskilled laborers in farming, mining, and railroad building, the U.S. officials ignored the Immigration Act of 1917 obliging any immigrant entering the country to pay eight dollars in addition to passing the literacy test to be granted entry.³³⁷ All what mattered was covering the vacant jobs in the labor market in order to keep the wheel of production running particularly during the period of the War.

In the following decade, the pre-1965 Mexican immigration reached its highest number with almost 460,000 new legal immigrants (see table 4.5). Their economic importance was so high that even the ardent restrictionists could not put any limits on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. Maldwyn pointed out that the reason behind the exemption of this region from the restrictive policy that the country adopted in the 1920s was that the southwestern economy, mainly agriculture, was heavily relying on the Mexican labor.³³⁸ With the quota system curtailing European immigration, the Mexican laborers were strongly needed due to the flagrant lack of workers which resulted from the country's immigration policy. Logically, the influx from the southern neighbor continued in the 1920s but with the economic downturns faced by the end of the decade, the situation was likely to change.

The economic factor that pulled Mexican workers to the United States in the first three decades of the twentieth century would turn to be an excluding reason that contributed in the decline of Mexican immigration. With the 1929 Wall Street Crash which plunged the country into its worst depression, the economic attraction was no longer a pull factor. The Mexicans, like the other groups in the U.S. society, suffered from the very high rates of unemployment. People lost their jobs, homes, and savings because of the crisis. As discussed previously, the overall immigration numbers declined, and so did those from Mexico. The dramatic decrease is clearly expressed by the 22,000 Mexican newcomers in the period from 1931 to 1940 compared with the 460,000 of the previous decade. In the 1930s, the United States ceased to be a desired reason for

³³⁶ David Spener, op. cit., 6.

³³⁷ Richard Worth, *Immigration to the United States Mexican Immigrants* (New York: Facts On File, 2005), 42.

³³⁸ Allen Jones Maldwyn, op. cit., 289.

immigration, but the outbreak of the WWII presented signs of economic stimulation generated by the rise of war industry which accelerated the recovery from the years of the Great Depression.

Yet, the economic importance of the Mexican cheap labor sprang during the First and Second World Wars years. In the First World War, the Mexican laborers were called to fill the labor shortage in agriculture caused by the rise of the war industry in addition to the big number of people selected for the military which affected the labor market. The Mexicans were recruited when the European immigration declined due to the war and its impact on the transatlantic transportation. They became the main source of labor for many southwestern regions. This could be possible only thanks to a provision in the Immigration Act of 1917 that served the interests of the railroad companies and the farmers; Otey M. Scruggs pointed out that although the 1917 Act required potential immigrants to pass a literacy test and pay an eight dollars tax to be granted entry, the Ninth Proviso to section three which stated that “the Commissioner General of Immigration with the approval of the Secretary of Labor shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission” allowed the admission of temporary laborers without the aforesaid conditions only in case of labor shortage.³³⁹ Hence, the provision served as the basis of the recruitment of Mexican laborers until 1964. It is worthy to note that the interest in the Mexican temporary labor increased with the rise of the economy and declined in times of crises. Unsurprisingly, the Mexican imported labor ceased to be economically profitable in the period of the Great Depression when the country witnessed its highest unemployment proportions.

The WWII period revived the interest in the Mexican temporary cheap laborers as the economy recovered thanks to the rise of the war production. In fact, when the United States got involved in the War, economically and militarily, the economy of the country boosted due to the increase in the country’s war production. But this was not the case for agriculture which suffered a shortage of labor; Barbara Schmitter Heisler mentioned that the War had a negative impact on the supply of laborers in the agricultural sector as many American workers were either attracted by the growing defense industry and left their low paid jobs in the fields, or were recruited by the

³³⁹ Otey M, Scruggs, "The First Mexican Farm Labor Program." *Arizona and the West* 2, no. 4 (1960): 319-26. Accessed May 20, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40167678>, 320.

armed forced.³⁴⁰ However, the Southwestern farmers were quite aware of the lack of workers that the War would cause since they had already suffered the same conditions in the WWI. Briggs cited that the farmers pushed for a legislation that allowed them to import the Mexican cheap labor when the War started and even before the United States got involved militarily.³⁴¹ Their aim was to have a sufficient supply of laborers to cover the shortage predicted to be caused by the War effects. Again, the Mexican laborers became desirable as they were before the Depression period. The U.S. policy towards this type of labor was shaped by the economic conditions of the country; they were recruited in periods of economic prosperity coupled with lack of hands, but once there were sufficient labor or the country faced an economic downturn, they would be denied entry.

The planters' hopes to see the U.S. government issuing a program similar to that of the WWI were getting shape by the beginning of 1940s; in fact, they pushed for a Congress legislation vis-à-vis the Mexican imported labor in 1941, but their attempt failed.³⁴² One year later, an agreement was made between the United States and Mexico which set the guidelines for a temporary waiver worker program. The Bracero³⁴³ Program was signed on 23 June 1942 and permitted the importation of 50.000 (later it was increased to 75.000) workers in the field of agriculture, then it was amended in 1943 and also granted entry to additional 50.000 (it was also raised later to 75.000) workers in railroad maintenance and mining.³⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the workers were temporary seasonal recruits and had to leave the United States once the working season is over.³⁴⁵ The following table gives an idea about the number of Mexican braceros to the United States:

³⁴⁰ Barbara, Schmitter Heisler, "The Bracero Program and Mexican Migration to the United States." *Journal of the West*, 47 (2008): 65-72, 239.

³⁴¹ Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 105.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Bracero: it is a term in Spanish language which, according to Roger Daniels, comes from the word 'braccar' and means "to wave one's arms." Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, 90.

³⁴⁴ Gilberto Cárdenas, "United States Immigration Policy toward Mexico: An Historical Perspective." *Chicano Law Review*, 2, (1975), 66-91. Accessed May 25, 2020. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0fh8773n>, 76.

Barbara, Schmitter Heisler, Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Vernon M. Briggs, Ibid.

Year	Braceros		
		1953	201.380
1942	4.203	1954	309.033
1943	52.098	1955	398.650
1944	62.170	1956	445.197
1945	49.454	1957	436.049
Total WWII	167.925	1958	432.857
1946	32.043	1959	437.643
1947	19.632	1960	315.846
1948	35.345	1961	291.420
1949	107.000	1962	194.978
1950	67.500	1963	186.865
1951	192.000	1964	177.736
1952	197.100	Total	4.646.199

Table 4.6. Braceros to the United States, 1942-1964 ³⁴⁶

During the War years, almost 168.000 Mexicans entered the United States under this program (see table 4.6). It is important to mention that the 1943 amendment extended the program to include West Indian and Bahamian workers who were recruited mainly in the Eastern agricultural fields.³⁴⁷ The Mexican workers comprised the majority of the Bracero program; Daniels reported that among 225.000 workers were imported during the WWII period, three-quarters were Mexicans.³⁴⁸ Though the program was temporary and it was set to operate only during the WWII period, it was renewed several times. The numbers show that the workers kept coming in higher numbers than the War period. This is because pressures were made by agricultural interests on Congress to keep the flow of Mexican workers because they were economically profitable; indeed, Congress renewed the bilateral agreement several times after the end of the War and in 1951, the program was made permanent until it was terminated in 1964.³⁴⁹ Up to its final year, the program succeeded to import more than 4.6 million Mexican braceros to the Southwestern region of the United States.

The significant number of imported Mexican labor explains clearly how important they were for American agriculturalists. The temporary program that was meant to operate for only the War period lasted for nineteen additional years. In fact, the reason that drove the United

³⁴⁶ Douglas Boyd et al., "Relocation of the Salvador Camarena Burial: Historical and Bioarcheological Investigations of a Mexican Migrant Worker Grave (41MV372) in Maverick County, Texas," *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State* 2014, no. 1 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2014.1.6>, 43.

³⁴⁷ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, 90.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ David Spener, *op. cit.*, 33.

States to make such a program was no longer valid after the War; the labor shortage that the farmers were afraid of ceased after the American labor force regained the war soldiers, and after the economy recovered and prospered mainly in the 1950s. Then, why would they keep the program running if there was no shortage of labor? The answer is simply because the Mexican labor was cheaper than native-born. The employers had more economic profits as they paid them much less than regular labor; Briggs goes far to say that the Mexican workers were exploited by the agricultural employers who “became addicted to cheap Mexican labor that entered under contractual terms that bound the braceros to work for them or be returned directly to their homeland.”³⁵⁰

Not only legal braceros were exploited by American employers, significant illegal Mexican workers used to cross the borders in search for job opportunities in the United States. Spener claimed that illegal Mexican workers had exceeded that of the imported braceros since 1940, and emphasized on the fact that many of them settled in Texas due to the fact that Texas was excluded from the Bracero Program agreement because of precedent anti-Mexican nativism.³⁵¹ The Texan employers used to hire them because of the nonexistence of braceros in their state. Being undocumented and subject for deportation, they were less paid and less protected. To ease the recruitment process of the undocumented Mexicans, the government issued the Texas Proviso, part of the 1952 Act, which permitted the employers to hire them without fear of any legal pursuit.³⁵² The government’s legal protection offered to employers suggested that the Mexicans were a source of cheap labor and economic profit amidst the most restrictive period in the history of the United States. Indeed, they were, as the 1911 Dillingham Commission report concluded, “less desirable as [a] citizen (s) than as [a] laborer (s).”³⁵³

In sum, the U.S. policy towards Mexicans was motivated by economic need at the beginning, and then by economic exploitation. The shortage of labor that characterized the War times turned to be an obsession with the recruitment of cheap labor. The temporary program which lasted for almost twenty-two years absorbed millions of legal as well as illegal workers. The program officially ended on December 31, 1964. It is worthy to note that the Mexicans were allowed to enter the United States as temporary workers and not as permanent residents in order not to alter the immigration restriction policy. In other words, they were desirable as economic

³⁵⁰ Vernon M. Briggs, *op. cit.*, 106.

³⁵¹ David Spener, *Ibid*, 34.

³⁵² David Spener, *op. cit.*, 34.

³⁵³ Gilberto Cárdenas, *op. cit.*, 71.

laborers, but undesirable as lawful citizens. Nevertheless, the Mexicans would be a significant source of legal and illegal immigration to the United States in the following decades after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act which changed the U.S. immigration restrictive policy that lasted for almost four decades.

4.3. New Immigrants and New Policy 1965-2002

The 1960s witnessed the culmination of the social activism known as the civil rights movement. The period was characterized by a total shift in the American view towards racism and discriminatory policies towards ethnic minorities. Immigration was no exception as there was common acceptance that the prejudiced national origins quota system was no longer the appropriate immigration policy for the country, and there was an urging need to reform it. 1965 marked the beginning of the campaign of immigration reform which started with the repeal of the 1920 restrictive measures, and the establishment of the new system based on family reunification, employment, and refugee admissions.

4.3.1. 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act and the Repeal of the National Origins Quota System

Forty years after the establishment of the controversial national-origins quota system, the United States repealed the 1920s restrictive policy. The year 1965 marked the end of the U.S. policy based on the admission of new immigrants according to their race, origin, and ideology. As seen in the previous point, there was a tense debate between the advocates of restriction and those favoring a more liberalized policy and the abolition of the discriminatory quotas. The latter had marked the history of the country until 1965. But the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act might not be as important to understand as the change in the political direction of the U.S. legislators. The shift in the political position vis-à-vis the immigration policy was the result of the political activism that had started during the era of restriction and culminated in the passage of the 1965 Act.

Among the influential figures that fully supported a reform of the immigration policy was President Truman. As discussed in the previous point, he believed in a policy free of barriers based on racial or political and ideological grounds. The veto that he used to block the passage of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act was a major sign of his determination to relax the measures before leaving office few months later. But this was not the last step he took for a change; he

appointed a Commission on Immigration and Naturalization through the executive order 10392 on 04 September 1952 with the task of evaluating the current immigration policy and providing recommendations for possible reform. On January 1953, twenty days before Truman left office, the Commission submitted its 319-page report named ‘Whom We Shall Welcome.’ The report characterized the U.S. immigration policy as “unwise and injurious to the nation.”³⁵⁴ According to the report, the policy was not suitable for the country and needed to be revised to serve the national interests of the United States.

Besides, the report provided a set of recommendations that was seen by the members of the Commission as the ground on which a reformed immigration policy would stand. Seventeen recommendations were provided on what concerns different aspects of the immigration policy, but the focus of this point will be on the recommendations made with regard to the quota system. First, the report called for the total elimination of the national-origins quota system as being the basis of the immigration policy. Second, the Commission proposed an annual quota of new admissions set at one-sixth of one percent of the total U.S. population according to the recent census; for instance, taking the 1950 as a base year, the annual quota would increase the number of new immigrants from 154,657 as allowed by the existing legislation to 251,162 under the proposed plan while emphasizing on the fact that the visas would be allocated “without regard to origin, race, creed, or color.”³⁵⁵ Third, the admitted quota should be allocated on the basis of five classes: “the right for asylum, reunion of families, needs of the United States, special needs for free world, and general immigration.”³⁵⁶ Finally, the political developments of the period necessitated that the report recommend the ban of “spies and saboteurs” and any individual who was in relation with the totalitarian regimes.³⁵⁷ The Commission’s recommendation was a reflection of the mounting fear of the Communist spread among the American society and political institutions through infiltrated immigrants during the period of the Cold War.

The report submitted by the President’s Commission on Immigration and Naturalization encouraged the establishment of a more liberal policy for it believed that immigration was “one of the reasons why it [the United States] became a great and powerful nation.”³⁵⁸ Contrary to the supporters of immigration restriction who claimed that the immigrants had negative impacts on

³⁵⁴ Harry N. Rosenfield, *Whom We Shall Welcome; Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization* (Washington, U.S. Govt. Print Off., D.C., 1953), 263.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Harry N. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 264.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

the earnings of the native-born and were the cause of the high unemployment rates, the Commission responded by emphasizing on the fact that immigration had benefitted the U.S. economy and that there was no evidence that the newcomers had had any influence on the nation's joblessness or poverty throughout the century and a half of open-door policy.³⁵⁹ Besides, the report claimed that the prosperous regions in the country were those which witnessed the flow of significant numbers of immigrants during the previous years; it, thus, sustained the claim of many renowned economists who believed that the restrictive policy was the main factor that caused the 1930s Great Depression.³⁶⁰ Hence, a relaxed immigration policy was believed to be of great importance to provide the country with the sufficient labor supply to strengthen the expanding economy. But Congress, still dominated by fervent opponents to immigration reform, did ignore the report and its recommendations, and restriction would continue for little more than a decade after.

Immigration reform was also an important subject in the agenda of the next U.S. administration led by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.³⁶¹ The latter sent several messages to the U.S. Congress on the issue of immigration. Each time, he urged the legislative power to review the restrictive policy over immigration and substitute it with a liberal one to keep pace with the world developments in terms of politics and economy. He believed that the economic conditions of the country necessitated an increase of 65,000 immigrants in the annual quota in addition to less restrictive policy with regard to the admission of political refugees.³⁶² In his last message to Congress on the issue on 17 March 1960, Eisenhower focused on the need of the United States to revise its immigration laws to keep up with world developments. Besides an act which intended to absorb a considerable number of political refugees fleeing oppression, he proposed another act which would increase the total annual admitted number twofold from 154,000 to 316,000.³⁶³ In his message, he criticized the system of quotas as being unfair and called for the termination of any racial and discriminatory policy and its substitution with a liberalized one based on the following recommendations:

³⁵⁹ Harry N. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 26.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁶¹ Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890 – 1969): he was the 34th president of the United States. He served for two terms from 1953 to 1961.

³⁶² Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Special Message to the Congress on Immigration Matters," Special Message to the Congress on Immigration Matters. | The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley January 31, 1957, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-immigration-matters>).

³⁶³ Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Special Message to the Congress on Immigration," Special Message to the Congress on Immigration | The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, March 17, 1960), <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-immigration>.

- The elimination of the limit of 2,000 directed to immigrants from the Asiatic-Pacific triangle.
- The replacement of the census year used as a base for the national origins quota system from 1920 to 1960 to allow the admission of more immigrants from disproportionate regions.
- The increase in the maximum per year quota to one-sixth of one percent of the overall U.S. population.
- The substitution of the principle of admission based on the percentage of a given group in the population by a pattern of calculation centered on the number of admitted newcomers from the same group between the years 1924 and 1959.
- The redistribution of the unfilled quotas of some countries on the immigrants of other nations whose annual quotas were fully used.³⁶⁴

Eisenhower's requests to amend the existing immigration laws were not taken seriously by the restrictionist-dominated Congress. He left office in 1961 without reaching his aim of establishing a more liberalized policy. The attempts would carry on with the coming of a new president who was ardently committed to the immigration reform project.

John F. Kennedy³⁶⁵ had started his immigration reform activism long before he became president of the United States. In fact, JFK backed Truman's veto against the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act when he was senator in 1952. He was against the restrictive immigration policy established in the 1920s. He made his ideas concerning an immigration reform known by publishing a book in 1958 entitled "A Nation of Immigrants." Ira Mehlman wrote that even though the book was not publically well-noticed, it "ultimately became the basis for the immigration reforms of 1965 which, to this day, stand as the foundation of US immigration policy."³⁶⁶ In the book, Kennedy proposed to end the national origins quota system and substitute it with a new open policy.

In his book, Kennedy overtly criticized the fact that Congress issued legislations that repealed the ban on Asian immigrants, granted symbolic quotas to them, and allowed husbands

³⁶⁴ Dwight D. Eisenhower, op. cit..

³⁶⁵ John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963): he was the 35th president of the United States. He served as president from 1961 until he was assassinated on 22 November 1963.

³⁶⁶ Ira Mehlman, "John F. Kennedy and immigration Reform," *The Social Contract*, 1991, pp. 201-205, <https://www.thesocialcontract.com/pdf/one-four/Jfk.pdf>, 201.

and wives to reunite but did nothing with regard to the existing policy based on quotas.³⁶⁷ The immigration restriction transformed the United States from a nation welcoming immigrants and oppressed people to one that put barriers and limitations on the admitted races and numbers. In this context, JFK described that the country had shifted from its fundamental ideals and principles with the establishment of the quota system. He even suggested extending the famous Emma Lazarus's words written on a bronze plaque on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty which says "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," because they no longer symbolized the country as it departed from its role of helping the poor and oppressed unconditionally; he proposed to add to Lazarus' quote "as long as they come from Northern Europe, are not too tired or too poor or slightly ill, never stole a loaf of bread, never joined any questionable organization, and can document their activities for the past two years" to show that the restrictive policy filtered the origins, social status, and political orientations of immigrant candidates.³⁶⁸

Kennedy was totally against an immigration system based on racial and geographical quotas. He rather proposed a policy favoring individuals with the skills that the United States needed, family reunification, in addition to a humanitarian side devoted to the admission of the politically, religiously, and racially persecuted people and the people suffering from natural calamities. Besides, JFK urged Congress to consider the repeal of the Asia-Pacific Triangle provision implemented by the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act that granted the countries of the region a small quota of 100 persons which affected heavily the process of family reunification.³⁶⁹ It is worth noting that Kennedy did not want an unrestricted policy, but rather a "fair" and "flexible" one that strengthens the role of the United States as a haven for the oppressed and persecuted.³⁷⁰

Kennedy was politically committed to the issue of immigration reform and the repeal of the national origins quota system. He made of this topic one of his campaign themes when he ran for president of the United States in 1960. When he became president, he kept his plan to reform the immigration system of the country. On 23 July 1963, JFK sent a presidential letter to Congress on the issue of immigration reform. He proposed a legislation that would end the system based on national origins quota and install a system that served "the national interest and

³⁶⁷ John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 77.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁷⁰ John F. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 82-83.

reflects in every detail the principles of equality and human dignity.”³⁷¹ Kennedy recommended in his letter that a new system should be established based on the following three grounds:

- Immigrants’ skills needed in the job market.
- The family reunification.
- First come, first served.³⁷²

In other words, Kennedy preached for a law that guaranteed the supply of skilled individuals that the country needed in the different domains. Allowing the already established immigrants to reunite with the families was encouraged. And finally, priority would be given to the first registered applicants in case of equivalent applications. It is important to point out that these measures were operational under the McCarran-Walter Act but the only difference was that they were disproportionately distributed under limited quotas. Daniels pointed out that it was not easy to see Congress abandon its control over immigration policy to any president; therefore it blocked the passage of any legislation that altered the existing system.³⁷³ Kennedy was assassinated few months after his letter to Congress; he did not witness any immigration reform as he had actively longed for, but his successor did follow the same path towards a new immigration system.

It was apparent that the immigration reform needed much more than a political motivation; the social developments of the era were responsible for the shaping of a national political and public opinions about the need to revise the current system. The 1960s was an era of civil rights movement par excellence. In fact, the coming of an old-new administration did not change much the strategy adopted by JFK. Lyndon B. Johnson,³⁷⁴ Kennedy’s Vice-President, became the thirty-sixth president of the United States in 1963, and then he was elected in the 1964 presidential elections. Soon after his inauguration, Johnson showed his support for an immigration reform that should accompany the civil transformation of the U.S. society. Johnson’s speech in his first State of the Union Address in 1964 reflected the impact of the social movement on the way the immigration revision would occur; he insisted on the fact that the decision makers “must abolish not some, but all racial discrimination” and that they “must also lift by legislation the bars of discrimination against those who seek entry into our country,

³⁷¹ John F. Kennedy, “Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Revision of the Immigration Laws,” The American Presidency Project, July 23, 1963, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/letter-the-president-the-senate-and-the-speaker-the-house-revision-the-immigration-laws>.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Roger Daniels, *Guarding*, 132.

³⁷⁴ Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908-1973): he was the 36th president of the United States of America. He served from 1963 to 1969.

particularly those who have much needed skills and those joining their families.”³⁷⁵ The national origins quota system was no longer a suitable policy for the American government; it became obsolete and not compatible with the societal developments triggered by the civil rights movements of the early 1960s. It was time to end the four-decade period of immigration restriction based on racial and geographical discrimination. In fact, the White supremacist ideology that prevailed for more than three centuries was under ardent criticism and needed to be reformed and substituted by one which preached equality and justice between all Americans as called for by civil rights advocates. Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all eyes were on the immigration reform that had long been sought; commenting on the Act, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey said “We have removed all elements of second-class citizenship from our laws by Civil Rights Act ...We must in 1965 remove all elements in our immigration law which suggests there are second-class people.”³⁷⁶

Finally, on 3 October 1965 President Johnson, on Liberty Island and under the Statue of Liberty, signed the Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the Hart-Celler Act, which officially put an end to the controversial national origins quota system. The Act was named after Senator Philip Hart and Representative Emanuel Celler who proposed the bill and who were backed by Johnson and his administration. The Act’s main purpose was to repeal the national origins quota system that allocated racial and discriminatory quotas to certain peoples; the 1965 Law, thus, insured that “no person shall receive any preference or priority or be discriminated against in the issuance of an immigrant visa because of his race, sex, nationality, place of birth, or place of residence.”³⁷⁷ The Act established a quota of 170,000 immigrants per fiscal year from the Eastern Hemisphere with a maximum country quota not exceeding 20,000 a year. As far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned, unlike the previous provisions which had not set any quota limit on immigration from the region, the Hart-Celler Act imposed an annual ceiling of 120,000 immigrants.³⁷⁸ The Act installed a preference-based system favoring family reunification and employment based immigration. The following table gives more information about the admitted classes of the 1965 legislation:

³⁷⁵ Lyndon B. Johnson, “January 8, 1964: State of the Union,” Miller Center, May 3, 2017, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-8-1964-state-union>.

³⁷⁶ Edward J. Erler, Thomas G. West, and John A. Marini, *The Founders on Citizenship and Immigration: Principles and Challenges in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 166.

³⁷⁷ “H.R. 2580 (89th): An Act to Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for Other Purposes,” U.S. Government Information, October 3, 1965, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg911.pdf>, 911.

³⁷⁸ Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 174.

Total Preferences	290.000 ^a
Per-country limit	20.000
Unlimited	Immediate family members (spouses, children, and parents) of U.S. citizens ^b
Family Preferences	74% of total preferences
1 st Preference	Unmarried sons and daughters ^c of U.S. citizens 20% (58.000)
2 nd Preference	Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters ^d of permanent resident aliens 20% (58.000)
4 th Preference	Married sons and daughters ^e of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children 10% (29.000)
5 th Preference	Brothers and sisters ^b of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children 24% (69.600)
Skill-based Preferences and Refugees	26% of total preferences
3 rd Preference	Members of the professions of exceptional ability in sciences and arts and their spouses and children 10% (29,000)
6 th Preference	Skilled or unskilled workers in occupations in which labor is in short supply and their spouses and children 10% (29,000)
7 th Preference	Refugees ^f 6% (initially 10,200, increased to 17,400)

Note: A “child” is defined as an unmarried person under 21 years of age, unless otherwise noted.

^a The 1965 Immigration Act set a ceiling of 170,000 on Eastern Hemisphere immigration. It also limited Western Hemisphere immigration, effective July 1, 1968, to 120,000 annually without per-country limits. The 1976 Immigration and Naturalization Act Amendments applied the 20,000 per-country limit to the Western Hemisphere. The 1978 law set a single world-wide ceiling of 290,000, and the Refugee Act of 1980 set the worldwide ceiling at 270,000.

^b To sponsor parents or siblings, the petitioning U.S. citizen must be aged 21 or older.

^c Aged 21 or older.

^d The second preference “unmarried sons and daughters” included both minor and adult children.

^e Married sons or daughters are persons who have recognized parent-child relationship and are married, regardless of age.

^f The seventh preference category of the 1965 act reserved 6% of Eastern Hemisphere immigrant visas to refugees. As the ceiling for the Eastern Hemisphere visas was initially set at 170,000, the number for the category was 10,200. It increased to 17,400 when the 1978 law set a single worldwide ceiling of 290,000. By the 1980 Refugee Act, refugees were admitted separately and were not under the preference system. The 6% preference for refugees from 1965 was added to the second preference, increasing it from 20% to 26%.

Table 4.7. Hart-Celler Act of 1965³⁷⁹

The new system permitted the entrance of immigrants under two categories: quota-limited immigrants and quota-exempted immigrants. Under the annual permitted quotas, the following categories were admitted:

³⁷⁹ Catherine Lee, “Family Reunification and the Limits of Immigration Reform: Impact and Legacy of the 1965 Immigration Act,” *Sociological Forum* 30, no. S1 (2015): pp. 528-548, <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12176>, 541.

- a slot of almost three-quarters of the total number (exactly 74%) was dedicated to the adult children and the siblings of the U.S citizens or permanent residents
- One-fifth was dedicated to high-skilled individuals or persons whose jobs were needed in American labor market and who were sponsored by U.S. firms.
- A proportion of 6%, or approximately 10.000 immigrants, was devoted to refugees, asylum seekers, and those displaced by natural disasters.³⁸⁰

On the other hand, the new law allowed the entrance of certain categories on a non-quota basis; this was the most important provision that would later affect the flow of immigration to the United States. The minor children, spouses, and parents of American citizens and lawful permanent residents were admitted outside the imposed annual quotas.³⁸¹ It is worthy to note that the number of such categories was subject to no numerical limitations. The impact of the 1965 Act on the U.S. demographics was judged not important by President Johnson and the law makers as they expected no dramatic alteration in the ethnic composition of the U.S. society, but the impact, which will be discussed in the following section, was much more important than what they expected. The Act transformed the country from a black/white society into a multi-ethnic one few decades after the Act went into effect.

4.3.2. Post-1965 Immigration Legislations

In the years that followed the passage of the groundbreaking Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Congress issued many other acts. These laws treated three main subjects: the issue of refugees, legal immigration to the United States, as well as undocumented immigration (which will be discussed in the next section). As far as the refugee legislations are concerned, three acts were passed in the years 1966, 1975, and 1980. The subject was a hot one due to the period of Cold War which witnessed many conflicts and resulted in the displacement of many people. In fact, refugees had long been a subject for debate especially during the era of restriction; as seen in the previous section, there was strong opposition in Congress to allow the entrance of big numbers of European refugees under a non-quota basis. It was not until the post-WWII period that the measures were relatively relaxed and the number of admitted refugees increased.

³⁸⁰ Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, op. cit., 175

David Scott. Fitzgerald and David Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses. The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 120.

³⁸¹ "H.R. 2580 (89th): An Act to Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for Other Purposes," Ibid.

One year after the Hart-Celler Act was issued; Congress passed the Cuban Adjustment Act on 2 November 1966. The law was adopted amid the rising tensions with the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. The Act was directed to aid the anti-Castro escapees by granting them permanent residence in the United States. The Act provided that any individual “who is a native or citizen of Cuba and who has been inspected and admitted or paroled into the United States” after 1 January 1959 and who proved a two-year residence³⁸² in the United States was granted along with their spouse and children the status of a lawful permanent resident of the United States.³⁸³ In addition, immigrant visas were to be issued to eligible Cubans desiring to travel to the United States and get the permanent residence. The Act did exempt the Cuban refugees from the requirements imposed on the other immigrants; they were accepted whatever the way they entered the country was. Cuban immigrants were admitted even if they reached the American shores illegally and without any travel documents or issued visas. Had they entered illegally to the United States, immigrants from other countries would have been subject to deportation.

The second legislation dealing with the subject of refugees was passed almost a decade following the Cuban Adjustment Act. After the United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War (1955-1975) ended, the issue of the refugees who supported America and who feared for their safety came to be the hot subject of the post-war period. As a sign of recognition, calls for the admission of such war refugees increased. Congress reacted by passing the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 which admitted almost 130.000 refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia.³⁸⁴ In fact, the source of the issue came from the U.S. intervention in Vietnam amid the Cold War. The Americans were supporting the South Vietnamese against their Northern Communist compatriots. With the United States losing the War, a big number of Vietnamese were displaced due to the Communist domination of the nation. The Americans believed that assisting those refugees who fled Indochina was necessary and represented “the finest tradition of America.”³⁸⁵

However, the two acts that were passed were special legislations that targeted particular cases. The United States did not have any legislation that treated the refugee issue comprehensively because, as seen previously, the existing laws made it very difficult to treat

³⁸² The period was reduced to one year in the 1976 immigration and Nationality Act amendments.

³⁸³ “Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act, Public Law 89-732,” govinfo (U.S. Government Publishing Office, November 2, 1966), <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/COMPS-5291>.

³⁸⁴ “INDOCHINA MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1975,” Central Intelligence Agency (Central Intelligence Agency, May 12, 1975), <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp77m00144r001100130006-3>, 3.

³⁸⁵ Ibid, 2.

refugee requests as they granted a small number annually. Demands for a new broad legislation culminated in the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 which set a new and comprehensive system for the admission of more displaced persons from no specified countries or period. The Act which was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter³⁸⁶ on 17 March 1980 raised the annual ceiling from the 17.400 allowed by the previous laws to 50.000 refugees per fiscal year.³⁸⁷ As stated in the Act, its purpose was to provide assistance to persecuted people and urge all the other nations to admit the refugees on a purely humanitarian basis.³⁸⁸ Moreover, the law did not set a fixed ceiling of admitted refugees, it rather left it open for the President of the United States to raise the number of annual admissions of a given year “after appropriate consultation” with Congress, and that would be “justified by humanitarian concerns or is otherwise in the national interest.”³⁸⁹ In other words, the Act anticipated future refugee crises and avoided any subsequent legislation by allowing the increase of the annual limit through the aforementioned process.

The 1980 Refugee Act provided a definition of who would be considered as a refugee. In fact, the Act stated that a person could be regarded as refugee and, thus, benefit from the U.S. refugee program if this individual was outside or within the country of their nationality or

in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion³⁹⁰

This definition was inspired by the United Nations’ definition of refugees provided in the 1951 Refugee Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. The latter defines the refugee as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” The United States adhered to the policy of the United Nations and the international community with regards to the refugee issue.³⁹¹ The Act granted the refugees the right for permanent residence after one year stay and made them eligible for

³⁸⁶ Jimmy Carter (1924-present): he was the 39th president of the United States from 1977 to 1981.

³⁸⁷ “Public Law 96-212(96th): Refugee Act of 1980,” U.S. Government Information, March 17, 1980, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-94/pdf/STATUTE-94-Pg102.pdf>, 103.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 102.

³⁹¹ Doris M. Meissner, “The Refugee Act of 1980: What Have We Learned?,” *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales* 6, no. 1 (1990): pp. 129-140, <https://doi.org/10.3406/remi.1990.1231>, 130.

citizenship after five years of residence in the United States.³⁹² In fact the Act has been an important piece of legislation in the U.S. history and constitutes now the basis of the American refugee program.

Besides the laws dealing with refugee issue, Congress passed two acts that amended the Immigration Act of 1965. The legislations did not make a significant change in the immigration policy; it modified the annual and per country ceilings especially for countries of the Western Hemisphere. The 1976 Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments set the annual ceiling of 20,000 immigrants per country and applied almost the same system of preference and employment-based immigration that was used for immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere on those coming from the Western Hemisphere.³⁹³ The Act uniformed the conditions of admission for the countries of both hemispheres. In 1978, the Immigration Act was further amended by setting an annual ceiling of 290,000 on worldwide immigration to the United States.³⁹⁴ In fact, there was no differentiation between immigrants coming from different parts of the world as the same preference system was imposed on the overall applicants. The 1978 Act established the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy with the duty to “study and evaluate ... existing laws, policies, and procedures governing the admission of immigrants and refugees to the United States and to make such administrative and legislative recommendations to the President and to the Congress as are appropriate.”³⁹⁵ The report had a significant impact on the immigration legislation of the country a few years after being submitted in 1981.

The major immigration legislation after the 1965 Act was the 1990 Immigration Act which was signed into law by President George H. W. Bush³⁹⁶ on 29 November of the same year. It served as an amendment to the provisions of the previous immigration laws and tackled several categories such as immigrant admission, family-based system, employment-based immigration, and the creation of the Diversity Visa Lottery Program.³⁹⁷ It is worthy to note that it was the first significant reform legislation with regard to legal immigration after the 1965 Act.

³⁹² Doris M. Meissner, *op. cit.*, 130.

³⁹³ “H.R. 14535 (94th): Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments.” <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov>, 20 October, 1976. <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0055/1669712.pdf>, 2.

³⁹⁴ “H.R. 12443 (95th): Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments.” <https://www.govinfo.gov>, 05 October, 1978. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-92/pdf/STATUTE-92-Pg907.pdf#page=3>, 907.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 908.

³⁹⁶ George Herbert Walker Bush (1924-2018): he was the 41st president of the United States. He served for one presidential term from 1989 to 1993.

³⁹⁷ In addition to the aforementioned categories, the Act included a category of Exclusion and Deportation with regard to illegal immigrants; this category will be dealt with in the next section when tackling undocumented immigration.

In the twenty-five-year period, Congress issued acts which dealt mainly with either refugees or illegal immigrants. The Act operated major reforms on immigration legislation but it did not alter the basic principles of the 1965 reforms based on annual limitations, family reunification, and high skilled employment-based principle. Similar to the Dillingham Commission's report of 1907 which constituted the bedrock of the U.S. restrictive immigration policy for forty years, the roots of the 1990 legislation go back to the recommendations of the Report of the aforementioned Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy submitted to Congress on 1 March 1981.

The report recommended Congress to review the annual ceiling by raising the total admissions from 270,000 to 350,000 a year; the commission justified its choice by the fact that higher legal immigration rates would improve the U.S. economy and strengthen the national interest.³⁹⁸ On the other hand, no numerical limits were recommended for "refugee, immediate relative and special immigrant admissions."³⁹⁹ The commissioners urged the policy makers to keep the system of family reunification and the admission of immediate relatives to U.S. citizens and recommended to expand the categories to include "adult unmarried sons and daughters and grandparents of U.S. adult citizens."⁴⁰⁰ As far as the refugees are concerned, the Commission favored keeping the presidential consultation with Congress to determine the annual admissions. Besides, persons not meeting the criteria of refugee admission were recommended to be excluded and deported no matter how big their number was.

In fact, the 1990 Act did not depart from the 1965 legislation's basic principles: the Act did build its structure on the firm basics of family reunification and skillful immigrants needed in the nation's economy, and endorsed it with a new diversity program that allocated a fixed quota to individuals from countries that had been poorly represented in the immigration flow to the United States by the provisions of the 1965 Act. The 1990 Act was highly supported by the Bush Administration for it was judged beneficial for the country; President Bush stated when he signed the Act into Law that it "accomplished what this administration sought from the outset of

³⁹⁸ "The final Report and Recommendations of the Select Commission on immigration and Refugee Policy with Supplemental Views by Commissioners," www.files.eric.ed.gov, 1March, 1981, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED211612.pdf>, 107.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 105.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 113.

the immigration reform process: a complementary blending of our tradition of family reunification with increased immigration of skilled individuals to meet our economic needs.”⁴⁰¹

The 1990 Act kept the same system of worldwide immigration as implemented by the 1978 Immigration Act Amendments, and which was based on a non-discriminatory policy with regard to race, gender, origin, or place of residence. It reviewed upwards the overall immigration ceiling to reach 675.000 admissions per fiscal year distributed as follows:⁴⁰²

- A slot of 480.000 immigrants directed to family reunification.
- A slot of 140.000 dedicated to employment-based immigrants
- A quota of 55.000 immigrants devoted to the new diversity program.

It is worthy to note that no country was allowed by the new law to exceed 7% of the total admitted ceiling.⁴⁰³ The number of family- and employment-based immigrants was increased to reinforce the family reunification principle and value the economic contribution of the skilled immigrants to the country’s economy. The details of the allocated number for each category are provided in the following table:

⁴⁰¹ George H. W. Bush, “Statement on Signing the Immigration Act of 1990,” Statement on Signing the Immigration Act of 1990 | The American Presidency Project (Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, November 29, 1990), <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-signing-the-immigration-act-1990>.

⁴⁰² “Pub. L. 101-649 (101st): Immigration Act of 1990,” www.justice.gov, 29 November, 1990. <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2009/03/04/IMMACT1990.pdf>.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

Category	THOSE QUALIFIED	Numerical Limit
TOTAL FAMILY-SPONSORED IMMIGRANTS		480.000+
IR	Immediate relatives: spouses, unmarried minor children, or parents of U.S. citizens	Uncapped
F	Family-based immigrants	226.000 (Minimum)
F1	Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens (21 and over), and their minor children.	23.400
F2A	Spouses, minor children (under 21) of LPR	87.900
F2B	Unmarried sons and daughters (21 and over) of LPR	26.300
F3	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens	23.400
F4	Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens	65.000
EB	EMPLOYMENT-BASED IMMIGRANTS	140.000
EB1	Priority workers: persons of extraordinary ability in the arts, science, education, business, or athletics; outstanding professors or researchers with at least 3 years of experience; and managers and executives subject to international transfers to the United States	40.000 ⁴⁰⁴
EB2	Professionals holding advanced degrees (PhD., master's degree, or at least 5 years of progressive post-baccalaureate experience) or persons of exceptional ability in sciences, arts, or business	40.000
EB3	Skilled workers, professionals with bachelors, and unskilled workers	40.000
EB4	Certain special immigrants- ministers, religious workers, current or former U.S. government workers, etc.	10.000
EB5	An investor that invests between \$500.000 and \$1.000.000 in the United States which creates at least 10 new full-time jobs	10.000
DV	DIVERSITY VISA PROGRAM	55.000
TOTAL		675.000

Table 4.8. Permanent Legal Immigration System (Immigration Act of 1990)⁴⁰⁵

As mentioned before, the Immigration Act of 1990 created a new system of admission of permanent residents called the Diversity Visa Program. The program, which is still effective,

⁴⁰⁴ In the original source, the author used proportions, but I replaced them with numbers as detailed in the original text of the Act.

⁴⁰⁵ "Immigration in Two Acts," Bipartisan Policy Center, November 2015, <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/immigration-in-two-acts/>, 9-10.

grants a slot of 55,000 to immigrants from nations which were affected by the provisions of the 1965 Act. The latter adopted a family-based reunification system which penalized many countries that had had low immigration representation in the recent years. With the goal of promoting diversity, immigrants from countries which sent low numbers of immigrants to the United States were allowed to participate in this program which is based on a random lottery process. Each immigrant should have “at least a high school education or its equivalent, or has, within 5 years of the date of application for a visa, at least 2 years of work experience in an occupation which requires at least 2 years of training or experience.”⁴⁰⁶ Each country is attributed a number of admissions with a not-to-exceed 7% of the total Diversity Program quota for a single country. Though the DV Program constituted only 8.1% of the total annual ceiling, but it contributed along with the other admitted categories of the Act to shape an immigration policy which was initiated in 1965 to have drastic impacts on the U.S. society. No one could imagine when adopting the 1965 Act that it would transform the ethnic composition of the country and affect its immigration policy.

4.4. The Impact of the New Policy on American Society

The adoption of the two immigration acts and the establishment of the new immigration policy had significant consequences on the U.S. society. Historians believe that the impacts of the new policy adopted in 1965 were not expected, but the adoption of the Immigration Act of 1990 supported the outcomes of the previous Act. The country’s ethnic composition was quickly altered as it was no longer referred to as a Black/White society. The new policy opened the door for new source countries to send huge numbers to the United States which triggered a shift in the racial and ethnic contours of the country. The new policy was also responsible for the influx of significant numbers of undocumented migrants to the United States. This section will shed light on the ethnic transformation of the U.S. society, and the impact of such transformation on the economy of the country and the economics of the native workers.

4.4.1. The Ethnic Shift of the U.S. Society

Immigration has always been an indispensable factor of belonging to the United States. No one can deny the fact that the history of the country is tightly linked to that of immigration. Practically, no individuals can claim themselves to be pure Americans because they are all part

⁴⁰⁶ “Pub. L. 101-649 (101st): Immigration Act of 1990,” op. cit.

of an immigration process that has started centuries ago. Even the Native Indians who have inhabited the land for thousands of years could not be claimed to be Americans for the simple reason that they had long been there and before the continent was dubbed the Americas. The rediscovery of the latter opened the door for massive European settlement and later immigration which totally reshaped the ethnic composition of American societies. The need for settlers and laborers to exploit the huge promising lands of the continent required the importation of millions of people from the four corners of the planet which resulted in multiethnic societies observable until the present times.

Unsurprisingly, the American society was no exception; the ethnic diversity in the country draws its root from the colonial period when big numbers of British, European, and African immigrants, voluntary or forced, settled in the country. As seen previously, for more than three centuries after the establishment of the first colony on what is now the United States, the doors were open to receive millions of diverse immigrants who left their countries and established themselves in their new home. Then, the period of restriction arose and halted the flow of immigrants in response to the growth of nativism and rejection of foreigners. One important factor that shaped the American restrictive philosophy was the growing concern about the impact of the foreigners on the ethnic composition of the American society. The flow of immigrants was drastically altered and the ethnic transformation of the country was successfully frozen, but with the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act, the old concerns about diversity have been revived after immigration sharply rose especially from new parts of the world which were undesirable a few decades ago.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and the policymakers did not expect the 1965 Immigration Act to have a significant impact on the U.S. society. In his speech at the signing of the Act into law, Johnson said that it was a very important piece of legislation for it would “repair a very deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice.”⁴⁰⁷ It was quite clear that the era which was marked by heavy movements against racism, discrimination, and social injustices was a major push factor towards the abolition of the discriminatory national origins quota system. He and his administration underestimated the impacts that such legislation would have on the immigration policy and on the number of immigrants as he stated that the Act was not “a revolutionary bill” and would not “affect the lives of millions ... reshape the structure of our

⁴⁰⁷ Lyndon B. Johnson, “President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Remarks at the Signing of the Immigration Bill,” LBJ Presidential Library, October 3, 1965, <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/timeline/lbj-on-immigration>.

daily lives, or really add importantly to either our wealth or our power.”⁴⁰⁸ In fact, the new system which was based chiefly on family reunification and on employment generated an unintended era of massive immigration that would last for a long time.

Johnson and the advocates of the 1965 Act miscalculated the immigration growth engendered as they expected no more than 50,000 or 60,000 new arrivals per year,⁴⁰⁹ but that was very far from the real numbers. In his PhD thesis on the development of the modern policymaking, Philip E. Wolgin pointed out that unlike the expectations of the Johnson Administration, immigration increased rapidly after 1965; it increased by 40 percent in 1970s and in the following decade, the numbers were twice the 1965 rate and most of them coming from South America, Africa, Asia and the Caribbean.⁴¹⁰ In fact, the issue lies in the uncapped category of immigrants allowed under the Act and without any numerical limitation. As seen in the previous section, family reunification preference took the lion’s share of the total annual ceiling of immigration; besides, immediate relatives of U.S. citizens were admitted outside the imposed annual quotas which constituted an important source of immigration. Under this system, immigrants and U.S. citizens could sponsor their relatives and the latter could also sponsor their family members after they establish themselves and become eligible by the current laws. Once started, the process could no longer be stopped as it became the main scheme of immigration for millions of people. Daniels referred to this type of migratory movement through which “related immigrants follow one another as links in a chain” as a “chain migration” that would remain intact as far as the laws in the United States and the conditions in the sending countries persist and do not change.⁴¹¹

The post-1965 period witnessed a growth in the immigration numbers which were much higher compared with the previous decades.

⁴⁰⁸ Lyndon B. Johnson, op. cit.

⁴⁰⁹ Philip Eric. Wolgin. Thesis. *Beyond National Origins: the Development of Modern Immigration Policymaking, 1948-1968* (UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2011), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1vr7k843>, 55.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Daniels, *Guarding*, 137.

Years	Numbers
1965-1970	2.168.062
1971-1975	1.932.975
1976-1980	2.466.197
1981-1985	2.788.650
1986-1990	4 467 306
1991-1995	5 228 126
1996-2000	3 852 402
2001-2002	2.118.258
Total	25.021.976

Table 4.9. Immigration to the United States, 1965-2002⁴¹²

Immediately after the passage of the Act, there was a steady increase in the overall immigrant admissions to the country. The period 1965-2002 saw more than twenty-five million people establishing themselves on the American soil with the year 1991 reaching a peak of 1.8 million newcomers.⁴¹³ We can say that the post-1965 changes constitute another era of mass migration almost similar to the ones of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries. Briggs attributes this spectacular growth to four factors related to the core of the immigration legislation; he believes that the increase is due to the high refugee admissions permitted by the laws, the rise of undocumented immigration, the family reunification process, as well as the high number of temporary work permits granted by the United States.⁴¹⁴

The new immigrants differed from those of the previous streams as the Europeans no longer dominated the scene. The new system altered the ethnic composition of the U.S. society and transformed it into a more diverse one. In the period following the 1965 legislation and until 2000, European immigrants comprised almost 15% of the total immigration to the United States (see table 4.10).

⁴¹² The yearly data was taken from: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2018/table1>

⁴¹³ Reynolds Farley, *The New American Reality Who We Are, How We Got Here, Where We Are Going* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 156.

⁴¹⁴ Vernon M. Briggs, Op. cit., 136.

Region	Number	% of total
Africa	683.121	3.12
Asia & Oceania	7.696.170	35.10
Europe	3.194.045	14.56
North America	9.009.824	41.09
Caribbean	2.565.455	11.70
Central America	1.102.988	5.03
Other N. Amer.	5.341.381	24.36
South America	1.342.426	6.12
Total Immigration	21.925.586	

Table 4.10. The Regional Origins of U.S. Immigration, 1968-2000⁴¹⁵

On the other hand, arrivals from Asia and Oceania exceeded one-third of the overall immigrants throughout the aforementioned period. In fact, the most striking increase was made by Northern American migrants (including Mexicans and Canadians for “Other Northern Americans) who counted little more than two-fifths of the total admitted number.

As shown in table 4.10, immigrants from the American and Asian continents largely dominated the fourth big wave of immigration initiated in 1965. Mexico sent the biggest number of immigrants to the United States in the period (see table 4.11).

	Countries	Number	% of total
1	Mexico	4.534.426	20.68
2	Philippines	1.427.607	6.51
3	China	1.361.648	6.21
4	Vietnam	1.005.243	4.58
5	India	840.379	3.83
6	Korea	800.863	3.65
7	Dominican Republic	769.822	3.51
8	Cuba	746.246	3.40
9	USSR	645.427	2.94
10	Jamaica	576.422	2.63
11	United Kingdom	458.576	2.09
12	El Salvador	465.038	2.12
13	Canada	431.338	1.97
14	Haiti	391.824	1.79
15	Colombia	352.575	1.61
	Total Immigration	21.925.586	

Table 4.11. The top fifteen sources of U.S. immigration, 1968-2000⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, op. cit., 181.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, 182.

The Mexicans accounted for one-fifth of the overall number of admitted immigrants. In fact, the 4.5 million Mexican newcomers were not only regular immigrants, but the number increased sharply after a 1986 legislation which regularized the status of big numbers of undocumented migrants (the act will be discussed in the following point). Philippines and China followed in the second and third place respectively but with a number three times less than that of Mexico. The USSR and the United Kingdom were the only European countries in the top fifteen sources of immigration with only 1.1 million immigrants in the last three decades of the twentieth century. This can only mean that the new era of mass migration was similar to the previous ones only in the size, but the sources were totally different. Consequently, the American ethnic structure was altered in its core as diversity increased.

The impact of the new immigration stream on the American ethnic composition is immense and persistent. Ron Hayduk pointed out that the ethnic and racial effects that the post 1965 immigrant stream had on the U.S. society is attributed to the big numbers that the country received every year, in addition to the high fertility rates especially among the two leading immigrant groups: Hispanics and Asians.⁴¹⁷ This resulted in a rapid increase of such groups which affected the U.S. population.

1960 ⁴¹⁸			2001 ⁴¹⁹		
Race	Number	% of total	Race	Number	% of total
White	158.832	88.6%	White	196.219	68.9%
Black	18.872	10.5%	Black	36.247	12.7%
Other	1.620	0.9%	Asians	10.983	3.9%
			Latinos	36.972	13%

Table 4.12. U.S. Population by Race, 1960 and 2001

Table 4.12 draws a comparison between the ethnic composition of the American society at the eve of the 1965 immigration reforms and 2001. It is important to note that there was a rapid increase of some groups especially Latinos and at a lesser extent the Asians with an important decline of the white share of the total population. In 1860, the U.S. society could be fairly identified as white and black, but after four decades the nation became a multiethnic society

⁴¹⁷ Ron Hayduk, "IMMIGRATION, RACE AND COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION," Aspeninstitute.org, accessed September 11, 2020, <https://assets.aspeninstitute.org/content/uploads/files/content/upload/Hayduk.pdf>, 7.

⁴¹⁸ Numbers only were found at: US Census Bureau, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1965," The United States Census Bureau, July 24, 2015, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1965/compendia/statab/86ed.html>.

⁴¹⁹ Numbers only were found at: US Census Bureau, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2002," The United States Census Bureau, September 26, 2015, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2002/compendia/statab/122ed.html>.

where Hispanics surpassed the African-Americans as the largest ethnic group. Hayduk believes that such growth would continue to affect the U.S. demographics for the coming decades due to fertility and would not be impacted by future changing policies.⁴²⁰

The changing composition of the U.S. population revived the old concerns about diversity and its impact on U.S. society. In fact, the same ethnic issues were behind the rise of xenophobic and nativist attitudes towards the foreigners and culminated in the adoption of the discriminatory national origins quota system of 1920s. What fueled such reactions was, in addition to the significant flow of regular immigrants, the high number of undocumented immigrants that entered the United States on a yearly basis. The following two points will deal with the issue of illegal immigration in the country, and on the impact of both documented and undocumented immigration on the economic status of the Americans as it had always been claimed that immigrants had had a negative impact on the economics of the native-born.

4.4.2. The Rise of Undocumented Immigration

The post-1965 era witnessed not only significant regular immigration, but also a spectacular rise of undocumented immigration to the United States. The rise of the issue was one among the unexpected consequences that were caused by the new immigration system. Unsurprisingly, the main source of such illegal flow was Central and Latin America and notably Mexico. This latter country's large borders with the United States facilitated the unlawful border crossing of millions of people throughout the twentieth century and especially the last decades following the adoption of the new immigration policy. It is hard to make exact statistics about unauthorized immigration, but the estimations are shocking; it is estimated that more than 36 million people were apprehended when trying to immigrate illegally to the United States in the period from 1965 to 2000,⁴²¹ whereas 8.7 million undocumented immigrants physically present in the country were registered in 2000.⁴²² Briggs notes that the unauthorized immigrants did not only cross the borders and settle illegally in the United States, but a big number came with temporary visas and were meant to stay for a limited period of time, but they overstayed their visas and remained in the country as undocumented residents.⁴²³

⁴²⁰ Ron Hayduk, *op. cit.*

⁴²¹ Number counted according to the data provided in: Vernon M. Briggs, *Op. cit.*, 175.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

The issue of illegal immigration was not new to the Americans since the country had received waves of undocumented immigrants in the pre-1965 period. In fact, the WWI and the 1920s witnessed the flow of Mexican workers, legal and illegal, to work in the United States when the economy flourished. The period's restrictive policy did little to halt Mexican legal immigration due to, as noted before, the fact that the Southern economy depended heavily on the Mexican labor, but instead illegal immigration was sanctioned. In 1924, Congress established the U.S. Border Patrol through issuing the Labor Appropriation Act with the duty of guarding the borders against illegal immigration mainly from Mexico. Five years later, Congress passed the Undesirable Aliens Act which ordered for the deportation of illegal immigrants declaring that it was a felony crossing the U.S. borders without authorization and criminalized entry after deportation.⁴²⁴ But with 1929 Crash and the beginning of the Great Depression, nativist concerns about the Mexicans competing with native-born workers amid the period of high unemployment grew and an immediate reaction was highly requested. Spener mentioned that "hundreds of thousands of Mexican immigrants as well as the illegal round-up of a large number of U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry" were deported in the period between 1929 and 1939, which resulted in the decline of the Mexicans living in the United States from 639,000 in 1929 to 377,000 in 1939.⁴²⁵

The second wave of Mexican illegal immigrants occurred by the end of the WWII when the United States opted for the Bracero program to recruit temporary Mexican workers who were needed especially in the Southwestern plantations. The same period saw big numbers of Mexicans crossing the borders illegally searching for job opportunities in the Southwestern states. As mentioned before, most of the Mexican illegal workers went to Texas which was excluded from the Bracero Program due to precedent anti-Mexican nativism. In the absence of available Mexican legal temporary workers, Elizabeth W. Mandeel stated that the wetbacks⁴²⁶ were hired easily by the American cultivators who took advantage of abundant workers who were "unattached" and "to whom no safeguards nor conditions applied."⁴²⁷ In fact, before 1954, the Mexican illegal workers were encouraged by American farmers to cross the borders because they were needed in the labor market. Cárdenas supports this claim and states that the United

⁴²⁴ David Spener, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid*, 32.

⁴²⁶ Wetback: used to refer to the Mexican illegal immigrants who avoided the Border Patrol by crossing the Rio Grande River swimming, and get to the other side of the border wet. Elizabeth W. Mandeel, "The Bracero Program 1942-1964." *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 4, no. 1 (January 2014): 171-84. http://www.aijcrnet.com/journals/Vol_4_No_1_January_2014/17.pdf, 174.

⁴²⁷ Elizabeth W. Mandeel, *op.cit.*, 174.

States allowed the illegal wetbacks in order to provide the sufficient laborers to complement the Bracero Program, and that as far as they were economically beneficial to U.S. economy, they were desired and accepted.⁴²⁸ The following table shows how illegal immigration from Mexico increased after the WWII and during the Bracero Program:

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1941	6.082	1949	278.538	1957	44.451
1942	DNA	1950	458.215	1958	37.242
1943	8.189	1951	500.000	1959	30.196
1944	26.639	1952	543.538	1960	29.651
1945	63.602	1953	865.318	1961	29.818
1946	91.456	1954	1.075.168	1962	30.272
1947	182.986	1955	242.608	1963	39.124
1948	179.385	1956	72.442	1964	43844

Table 4.13. Mexican illegal Aliens Reported, 1941-1964⁴²⁹

The numbers of the Mexican wetbacks were much higher than the regular Braceros in the period from 1946 to 1954 (see table 4.6 for comparison). In the same period, almost 4.2 million Mexican wetbacks were apprehended crossing the borders compared with near 1.2 million braceros which suggest that the American employers favored the recruitment of illegal rather than legal workers. The illegal workers were hired by American farm owners for a given set of reasons; in addition to the availability and contract-requirements-free labor, the other reason behind their choice, as Spener noted, was the fact that the growers did not accept “the \$15 contract fee and \$25 bond they had to pay for each bracero, as well as the 4-month minimum length of contract they had to respect.”⁴³⁰ Indeed, the wetbacks were of big economic importance for the Southwestern regions in the absence of the European flows as a result of the immigration policy. But growing criticism of the negative impact they had on native-born wages pushed both the employers and the local and federal authorities to react and halt the influx of Mexicans.

With the illegal immigration reaching its highest figures, the Mexican labor became a burden on the economies and societies of the hosting regions. In 1954, U.S. Border Patrol launched Operation Wetback in response to the spectacular growth of Mexican illegal border crossing. It was, as Kelly Lytle Hernandez quoted S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, “an intensive and innovative law enforcement campaign” in which “eight hundred Border Patrol officers swept through the southwestern United States performing a series of raids, road blocks,

⁴²⁸ Gilberto Cárdenas, op. cit., 79.

⁴²⁹ Ibid, 91.

⁴³⁰ David Spener, op. cit., 34.

and mass deportations.”⁴³¹ The campaign occurred in summer of the same year and succeeded in deporting a massive number of 1.075.168 illegal immigrants, especially from Mexico (see table 4.13). McLemore noted that many of the deported Mexicans rapidly returned either legally or illegally, but their number was not influential.⁴³² The Mexican illegal immigration went down after 1954 as the Border Patrol continued its job of watching the borders. Simultaneously, the Braceros’ numbers increased during the decade following the Operation Wetback until 1964 which marked the termination of the Bracero Program.

Despite the fact that the Bracero Program came to an end in 1964 and Mexicans were no longer allowed to be legally recruited to work in the United States, illegal immigration resumed after the passage of the 1965 Act which limited the overall immigration from the Western Hemisphere to 120.000. The legislation was responsible for the rise of undocumented immigration because of such numerical limitation; the Mexican workers used to work in the United States in considerable numbers during the previous decades when there were no quotas imposed, but with the new measures, their number fell dramatically. Though the Act imposed no country quota, but Mexico’s share of the total quota was much less than the number of Mexicans desiring to settle in the United States. The 1976 Immigration and Naturalization Act Amendments which set a per-country quota of 20,000 a year left practically no chances for many Mexicans but to cross the borders illegally. Spener pointed out that the two legislations had a dramatic impact on Mexican legal immigration since it granted permanent residence to only 20.000 individuals compared with the Bracero Program which permitted an average of 400.000 visas to Mexican workers in the 1950s.⁴³³ The unauthorized migration increased steadily in the post-1965 legislation; the following table gives an idea about the estimated number of Mexican border apprehensions:

⁴³¹ Kelly Lytle Hernández, “The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943 to 1954,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2006): pp. 421-444, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25443415>, 421.

⁴³² Dale S. McLemore, op. cit., 251.

⁴³³ David Spener, op. cit., 45.

Fiscal year	Apprehensions	Fiscal year	Apprehensions
1965	52.422	1984	1.138.566
1966	79.610	1985	1.262.435
1967	94.778	1986	1.692.544
1968	123.519	1987	1.158.030
1969	172391	1988	969.214
1970	231.116	1989	891.147
1971	302.517	1990	1.103.353
1972	396.495	1991	1.132.033
1973	498.123	1992	1.199.560
1974	634.777	1993	1.263.490
1975	596.796	1994	1.031.668
1976	696.039	1995	1.324.202
1977	812.541	1996	1.549.876
1978	862.837	1997	1.412.953
1979	888.729	1998	1.555.776
1980	759.420	1999	1.779.010
1981	825.290	2000	1.676.438
1982	819.919	2001	1.266.214
1983	1.105.670	2002	955.310

Table 4.14. Illegal Alien Apprehensions in the United States, 1965-2002⁴³⁴

The data presented in the table describe the upsurge in illegal immigration to the United States after the adoption of the 1965 Act. The numbers started to increase steadily in the 1970s, but the jump occurred in the 1980s and continued to the 1990s; in the two decades, the numbers crossed the bar of a million illegal immigrants per year in half of the 1980s and all the 1990s with a peak of almost 1.8 million apprehensions in 1999 (see table 4.14). The rising number is explained by the American employers' need for cheap labor to meet their economic demands which urged them to hire illegal workers. The latter still constituted an important source of labor despite the American laws which prohibited such immigration. Unsurprisingly, with such increasing numbers, legislative reactions from Congress were inevitable in the hope of curbing the rising cadence of unauthorized migration.

In 1986, Congress issued the first legislation that dealt directly with the issue of illegal immigration in the history of the United States. The Immigration Reform and Control Act,⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ "U.S. Border Patrol Fiscal Year Southwest Border Sector Apprehensions (FY 1960 - FY 2019)," Stats and Summaries | U.S. Customs and Border Protection, accessed May 16, 2020, https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2020-Jan/U.S.%20Border%20Patrol%20Fiscal%20Year%20Southwest%20Border%20Sector%20Apprehensions%20%28FY%201960%20-%20FY%202019%29_0.pdf.

⁴³⁵ The Act is also known as the Simpson–Mazzoli Act in reference to Representative Romano L. Mazzoli and Senator Alan K. Simpson who proposed the bill.

best known as IRCA, was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan⁴³⁶ on 6 November 1986. The Law addressed three main subjects with regard to undocumented immigration: the U.S.-Mexican border enforcement, penalization of American employers hiring unauthorized workers, and the legalization of a certain category of illegal immigrants. First, the IRCA called for strengthening the Border Patrol mission to apprehend the illegal border crossers at the border with Mexico. The main objective was to reduce the number of undocumented aliens and to curb their increase. Second, it inflicted severe penalties on any employer who knowingly hired unauthorized workers, or continued to employ them after the Act went into effect. Third, in response to employers' needs for labor especially in the agricultural field, the Act legalized the status of a big number of unlawful residents. It granted amnesty to approximately 2.7 million undocumented immigrants who proved their constant residence in the United States since 1 January 1982, and out of which almost 2 million were Mexicans.⁴³⁷

The purpose of the 1986 legislation was to reduce the number and impact of illegal immigration. In addition to the soaring records of illegal border crossers, Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut mentioned that what drove the U.S. government to react and issue the IRCA was the widespread idea among the media and the public opinion that the country was “losing control of its borders.”⁴³⁸ In fact, the law did little to solve the issue as the numbers; despite the first years that followed the Act and during which the numbers fell down to the half (see table 4.14), they quickly resumed their increase after 1990 to more than 1 million a year for the whole decade. Besides, the law proved to be unsuccessful on what regards employers/workers section since, as Portes and Rumbaut pointed out, the law was against the interests of both of them, and they would “seek for ways to bypass the new legislation.”⁴³⁹ Moreover, increasing the border security had a reversed impact on the flow of illegal migrants as it encouraged them to not return to Mexico and, instead, bring their families and relatives to the United States.⁴⁴⁰

The issue of undocumented migration remained a hot one for Congress during the 1990s. Establishing more measures to control it was the goal of the 1996 legislation which was signed

⁴³⁶ Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911-2004): He was the fortieth President of the United States from 1981-89.

⁴³⁷ Kevin O'Neil and Betsy Cooper, “Lessons from the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986,” migrationpolicy.org, August 12, 2005, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/lessons-immigration-reform-and-control-act-1986>, 3.

Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, op. cit., 178.

⁴³⁸ Alejandro Portes and Rumbaut Rubén G., *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1990), 222.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, 236.

⁴⁴⁰ Alejandro Portes and Rumbaut Rubén G., *Immigrant America: a Portrait*, Fourth Edition (University of California Press: Oakland, 2014), 176.

into law by President Bill Clinton⁴⁴¹ on 30 September of the same year. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) increased the surveillance of the US-Mexican frontiers through augmenting the number of the Border Patrol agents and tightened the border crossing process. In addition, it adopted new measures that could make even lawful residents subject for deportation in case they commit certain crimes. In fact, this measure expanded the categories of legal immigrants who were eligible for deportation. The Act also sanctioned any activity to help illegal immigrants cross the borders, and banned them from reentering the United States legally for a period of ten years. The Act meant to decrease the rising number of illegal migrants, but as mentioned before, their influx remained high. The subject of unauthorized migration was added to that of high rates of legal immigration to constitute an important subject of debate over their impact on the economy of the country and economics of the native-born Americans.

4.4.3. The Economic Implication of the New Immigration Policy

Before 1965, the U.S. immigration policies were tightly impacted by the economic developments of the country. The open-door policy that was adopted for all the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth centuries was motivated by the large need for labor to increase the country's productivity and expand the nation beyond its borders to reach the Pacific coastline. Millions of immigrants were pulled by the economic opportunities that the United States offered. But when the new immigrants were accused of having economic impacts on the native-born workers, nativist calls for halting their influx rose which resulted in the 1920s restrictive measures. Contrary to the previous immigration policies, the new one, which was initiated by the 1965 Act, was rather fueled by social and political upheavals; the era of the civil rights movement brought the discriminatory and racist system of national origins to an end. The new policy was not intended to have serious changes on the number or the structure of the country, but it did institute a new open policy which had tremendous impact on the immigration system.

Though there was no clear economic motivation in the 1965 legislation, but the fact that the Act created a new category for admission based on some special skills that the United States needed is in itself an new economic orientation towards different immigration objectives. This detail was retained and even strengthened by the 1990 Immigration Act; the latter established a

⁴⁴¹ William J. Clinton, best known as Bill Clinton (1946 - present): He was the forty-second President of the United States from 1993 to 2001.

preference-based system and increased the number of immigrants with skills that were not available in the country. The purpose behind the new system was expressed by President Bush in the signing of the 1990 Act when he stated that his Administration sought after “increased immigration of skilled individuals to meet our economic needs.”⁴⁴² The policy of the nation turned into the promotion of a more competitive economy to strengthen America’s status in a developing world. The purpose was to make the United States an important player in the fast developing global economic competition. In addition, unlike the immigration of low-skilled individuals who are believed to impact on the wages of the native-born, the admission of high skilled immigrants is believed benefit the country. Abdurrahman Aydemir pointed out that “skilled immigrants increase the receiving country’s human capital stock, boost returns on physical capital, and may spur research and innovation that increase the country’s long-term economic growth prospects.”⁴⁴³ In fact, world economy shifted from mass productivity relying on low-skilled labor to advanced technological industries relying on the highly-skilled individuals provided mainly by immigration.

The U.S. immigration system does not only attract immigrants with high skills, but it also permits the coming of low-skilled workers to settle in the country (see table 4.8). In fact, the U.S. economy, like any other country, requires a combination of both categories of hands. Hayduk mentioned that “U.S. immigration policy tends to reflect economic interests that need cheap and abundant labor or particular professionals and skills.”⁴⁴⁴ The high-skilled labor serves as a lifebuoy for the American economy to survive the ruthless competition with other nations, whereas the low-skilled labor completes the economic pattern and covers the labor shortages in some fields.

One important question is asked when dealing with the impact of the new immigration policy: What impact did it have on the economy of the country and the economics of the Americans? It is hard to evaluate the impact of the new policy on the economy of the country, but analyzing the short-term economic developments in the 1990s reflects a positive implication. The American economy witnessed a boom and rapid growth during the decade that followed the 1990 Act. Kurt Anderson mentioned that the country witnessed a yearly economic growth

⁴⁴² George W.H. Bush, “Public Papers - George Bush Library and Museum,” George Bush Presidential Library and Museum, November 29, 1990, <https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/2514>.

⁴⁴³ Abdurrahman B. Aydemir, “Skill-Based Immigration, Economic Integration, and Economic Performance,” IZA World of Labor, June 24, 2020, <https://wol.iza.org/articles/skill-based-immigration-economic-integration-and-economic-performance/long>, 2.

⁴⁴⁴ Ron Hayduk, *op. cit.*, 1.

increase of 4% in the period from 1992 to 1999, which resulted in the creation of 1.7 million work opportunities a year and the decline of the unemployment level to reach a historic 4% in 1999.⁴⁴⁵ The economic growth had a positive impact on the American families as they saw their income grow by 10% during the same period.⁴⁴⁶ In fact, the overall economic aspects experienced unprecedented progress which might be partly attributed to the rise of the high-skilled immigration. There is practically no exact evaluation of the impact of immigration on the economy of the United States in the post-1990 Act, but the positive evolution of the economy gives the impression that the new immigrants, at least, did not have a short-term negative economic impact on the nation.

If there is little debate over the impact of the new immigrants on the nation's economy, economists do have divergent opinions over their impact on the labor market and the native-born workers. The adoption of the new immigration policy which opened the gates for new and diverse sources of immigrants revived the old concerns about the negative effects of the foreigners on the earnings of the Americans and the competition over jobs. In fact, the famous American economist George J. Borjas points out that there are two contrasting opinions about the effect of immigrants on the American job market; the first view goes to claim that the immigrants compete with the native-born and take their jobs which has negative impacts on them, whereas the other view claims that they both have equal chances in the labor market and there is no reason that makes an immigrant worker displace a native-born especially when they have the same qualification.⁴⁴⁷ Borjas assures that there is no evidence about the impact of immigrants on the earnings of the American workers, and that "the presumption that immigrants have an adverse impact on the labor market continues to be used as a key justification for policies designed to restrict the size and composition of immigrant flows into the United States."⁴⁴⁸

In fact, the advocates of immigration restriction have always used the impact of immigration on the economics of the native workers as a justification to their strategy. But could they succeed to influence the policymaking to halt immigration as it happened in 1920s? By going back to the context of the passage of the restrictive acts of the beginning of the previous

⁴⁴⁵ Kurt Andersen, "The Best Decade Ever? The 1990s, Obviously," *The New York Times* (The New York Times, February 6, 2015), https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/08/opinion/sunday/the-best-decade-ever-the-1990s-obviously.html?_r=0.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ George J. Borjas, "The Impact of Immigrants on Employment Opportunities of Natives," in *The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publ., 1998), pp. 217-230, 218.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, 217.

century, we figured out that the conditions are different. Even though the ethnic diversity by the end of the twentieth century was almost similar to that of the beginning, but the political setting was different. Immigration then was managed by the Department of Labor which explains the restrictive measures taken in 1920s as a reaction to the economic impacts that immigration had on the labor force. Immigration lasted under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor until 1947 when it was transferred to the Department of Justice.

It was not a surprise to see immigration managed by the Department of Justice due to the changing political and social conditions in the United States. The post-WWII era witnessed two major events; first, there was a rise of the War refugees which persuaded the American politicians to reconsider the restrictive barriers put to block even humanitarian admissions which was against the new role that the country played as the world leader. Second, the era witnessed the escalation of the social activism as part of the civil rights movement. The changes made in 1960s with regard to immigration and civil rights were not possible without the major transition in the immigration management made in 1947. Margaret Sands Orchowksi pointed out that such a move made “the focus of immigration law one of justice—family unification and antidiscrimination instead of about work, jobs, and labor development of the country.”⁴⁴⁹ Thus, amid the social movements of the era, immigration was no longer a question of labor and workers, but rather “a civil right and a matter of justice for immigrants.”⁴⁵⁰

The event that immigration restriction would occur due to the claimed negative impact of immigration on the labor market and native workers would not be expected because of a couple of reasons. First, the American employers would be the first to oppose such measures given the fact that they would fight to preserve their economic interests as they were themselves behind the increase of immigration levels in the 1990 Act (see previous points). Third, the immigration management was no longer under the labor department; the calls for an immigration restriction based on negative impact on labor would not gain support among Congress as other issues received more importance. Finally, the shift of the immigration control to the Department of Homeland Security in 2002 as a result of the terrorist attacks that the United States was opposed to made it quite difficult to rely on labor issues to alter the immigration policy. The rise of terrorism in the beginning of the twenty-first century impacted on the way immigration would be handled; any measures with regard to the admission or restriction of immigrants would be

⁴⁴⁹ Margaret Sands Orchowksi, *The Law That Changed the Face of America: the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965* (Lanham: Rowman et Littlefield, 2015), 49.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

influenced by national security perspective rather than economic or civil ones. The shift of immigration management to the jurisdiction of the Department of Homeland Security would mark a new era in the evolution of the U.S. immigration policy.

4.5. Conclusion

The 1920s national origins quota system which was established as a response to the nativist calls based on the claim that immigration hurt native-born earnings and job opportunities soon proved its loopholes. It not only prevented the country from playing its historic role as a place of refuge for the distressed and persecuted, it also deprived the labor market of the needed workers which pushed the American government to rely on the temporary Mexican Braceros to fill the labor shortages. The social developments of the 1950s and 1960s made it indispensable for the U.S. decision makers to repeal the discriminatory and racial system and replace it with a new one that matched the social transformation of the U.S. society.

Thus, the new system was not driven by economic motives at the beginning because no one expected its impacts on the country. But with the revival of mass immigration and the developments that occurred to the world economy, the immigration policy was adapted to suit the national economic interests as it favored the importation of highly skilled individuals who were needed in the American job market. In fact, the immigration goals shifted from encouraging the coming of big numbers of unskilled workers, like what happened with the previous streams, to the promotion of the migration of talented people who could benefit the U.S. economy qualitatively to be able to compete with other powerful and developed countries. The United States did not alter the 1965 upsurge because it was beneficial for the country's economy and, it rather strengthened it with the 1990 legislation.

Conclusion

The United States of America has always been a refuge for millions of immigrants seeking religious tolerance, political freedom, and better economic conditions. Immigration constitutes an important chapter in the history of the country; no American can claim himself not being an immigrant or the offspring of former immigrants. The nation is a cosmopolitan society where all nationalities of the world meet, and this was possible thanks to the immigration policies adopted throughout the four centuries of the nation's existence. We can distinguish between three different phases that marked the policy with regard to immigration; the liberal policy which lasted from colonial times to the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. This long period witnessed an ever increasing demand for labor to sustain the country's expanding borders and economy. Then, a four-decade era of dramatic decline of immigration rates caused by the restrictive measures adopted in 1920s and which were motivated by nativist activism based on claims of negative economic impacts of immigrants on American workers. The third phase was triggered by the 1965 legislation which started a new epoch of open immigration putting an end to the controversial national origins quota system.

In colonial America, the colonies adopted different immigration policies that suited their proper economic interests. All what mattered for the colonies was how to populate and expand their legacy on the new continent. They got engaged in a tough race over attracting the maximum number of workers needed for the growth of their economies because it was believed that the stability of the colonies rested on their economic prosperity. After the English labor force ceased to be the major stream by the second half of the seventeenth century, and amid the paramount progress of the British colonies in North America, the efforts were concentrated on the importation of non-English workers to keep the pace of growth. The colonists' policies relied on several advertisement techniques, land grant policy, and the notorious indentured servitude system in the goal of persuading the Europeans to join the colonies. On the other hand,

the colonies' legislatures passed laws to establish the institution of slavery and legalize the importation of forced black African slaves especially in the South. The need for more workers was the main criterion that shaped the immigration strategy of colonial America. The major purpose of such strategy was to provide sufficient workers to cover the labor shortage caused by the expanding agricultural fields. Therefore, it is unbiased to say that the colonial immigration policy was influenced and shaped by the economic developments of the colonies.

The same economic objectives of the colonial era persisted in the post-independent America, and so did the nation's immigration policy. The United States still brought in significant numbers of immigrants in the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth centuries. In this period, the country welcomed the flow of immigrant settlers and workers as they were strongly needed in its expansion towards western territories. Similar to the previous era, intensive advertising campaigns characterized much of the nineteenth century; American immigration agencies and railroad companies took in charge the duty of enticing Europeans into immigrating to the United States through organized promotion of the economic opportunities offered in America. In addition, the ambitious land grant policy which was initiated by the Homestead Act of 1862 succeeded in making of the United States a very popular destination for European immigrants. The liberal land policy, which was considered as an immigration policy more than a land law, attracted considerable numbers of immigrants who were indispensable for the westward expansionist ideology. They populated the empty territories, cultivated the vast agricultural fields, and helped prosper the U.S. economy. Most of those who benefitted from the land law were the Northern and Western Europeans who dominated the first stream of immigration that lasted until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

With the shift in the main source countries of immigration by 1890, Eastern and Southern Europeans became the bedrock of the U.S. labor force. The same period witnessed the rise of industrial economy which required large numbers of unskilled workers who were sufficiently provided by the new immigration. The latter contributed in the rise of the American Industrial revolution which gave birth to a new powerful America. In fact, the open immigration policy of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth was driven by a combination of different factors which all contributed

to shape an open strategy based on recruiting the maximum number of workers who were needed in the progress and the expansion of the country as well as the growth of the economy. In fact, the need for settlers and laborers persuaded both the government and the companies to adopt attractive measures to influence the coming of European immigrants. The liberal land policy, the advertisement made by the immigration agencies and the railroad companies, in addition to the desire of the industrialists to import cheap labor molded the U.S. immigration policy for most of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next century.

The open door policy that the United States adopted up to 1920 could not succeed in attracting the big numbers of European immigrants without the help of the bad conditions that were prevalent in the European countries. The immigrants' motives played an important role in shaping their decision for emigration; many European countries had serious issues with overpopulation, high unemployment rates, poverty, famine, and the transition of the economic patterns. Such conditions coupled with political and social restrictions influenced the movement of millions of European immigrants to the United States. The newcomers came from the four corners of Europe seeking better conditions in America. Different than the immigrants from the old countries of immigration, the rise of the Eastern and Southern European immigration triggered anti-immigrant sentiments among native-born Americans which grew rapidly through the years to become a national issue.

The ethnic diversity caused by the coming of millions of non-Western Europeans resulted in the rise of nativist and xenophobic campaigns targeting the new immigrants and criticizing the liberal immigration policy. Such nativist reactions were motivated by the economic impact that the immigrants were believed to have on American wages and job opportunities. Under the pressure of racist and discriminatory movements, Congress reacted by adopting the notorious national origins quota system of the 1920s. It is imperative to point out that the First World War was responsible for the rise of nationalism, the fear of foreign born as being potential disloyal elements, and the rise of ideological and racial discrimination against the immigrants, especially from Eastern and Southern Europe. These elements served as an accelerating factor for the adoption of immigration restriction in 1920s. The latter was sewed carefully to fit the coming of

immigrants from the old countries of immigration and exclude the maximum number of undesirable Eastern and Southern Europeans.

Soon after the adoption of the 1920s restrictive measures, immigration declined to very low levels. The restrictive measures adopted in the 1920s not only impacted on the flow of newcomers, but it also had negative consequences on the U.S. economy and the economics of the American work force. The economic crisis of 1930s opened the debate over the importance of European immigration in the country's economic expansion. The decline in population resulted in the decline of the labor force and, thus, the economic output of the sector. Nevertheless, with the economic boom caused by the war industry amid the WWII, it was crystal clear that the restrained immigration policy did not suit the economic and political developments of the post-War United States. The current laws failed in providing the economy with the sufficient labor needed to cover the shortages caused by the War especially in the Southwestern region, and which pushed the United States to issue temporary work permits to Mexican laborers as part of the Bracero Program. In addition, the laws also harmed the American historical role as a haven for oppressed people since it denied entry to war refugees and asylum seekers.

By the beginning of 1960s and amid the civil rights movement, it was agreed that the immigration system became obsolete and against the national interests of the country. A new immigration system was adopted in 1965 based on family reunification and employment-based preference. The purpose of the legislation was the repeal of the discriminatory national origins system and the establishment of a new one that guaranteed justice and fair treatment for all races and ethnic groups as preached by the period's political and social agenda. The step was only symbolic as no major changes were projected, but a huge transformation of the country resulted. The new system which encouraged the immigration of close relatives and highly skilled workers needed by the U.S. economy helped unexpected numbers of immigrants to join the United States in a steady and ascending pace. The impact of the new policy was so positive that the system was maintained and even reinforced by the 1990 Act. This latter legislation, which is still the basic ground on which the current immigration system stands, relied on the attraction of individuals with high abilities capable of making the U.S. economy more competitive with the world's major economies. The interest shifted from the

promotion of the unskilled labor to the backing of the high skilled one to keep pace with the transnational economic developments.

The economic factor played a fundamental role in the shaping of the U.S. immigration policy. It molded the policy of the colonial period when its main objective was to provide the sufficient and abundant cheap labor to keep the economy alive. Then, the same economic drive drew the contours of the open-door era from independence until the adoption of the immigration restriction; the country engaged in a fierce competition to secure its economic interests in the West and during the U.S. second industrial revolution by attracting the necessary hands from many parts of the world, mainly Europe. Moreover, and as far as the restrictive policy implemented in 1920s is concerned, the demand for restriction arose from xenophobic and nativist reactions to the probable economic impact that immigrants would have on society and native-born through job competition and decreased wages. Finally, although the shift that occurred in 1960s was not economically motivated at the beginning, it was rapidly strengthened and maintained because of the positive impact that the new policy had on the U.S. economy. In sum, the economic factors have been essential in the shaping of the U.S. immigration policy; in fact, they were a driving source of political reaction. The immigration policy has been determined by the economic needs of the country, and so did the immigrants' motivations. The evolution of the U.S. immigration policy has been a political process which was framed by economic developments.

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