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JULIANNA PUSKÁS

OVERSEAS MIGRATION FROM EAST-CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE 1880—1940

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(Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 191)

Fifty-five million people left Europe for overseas in the hundred years preceding the First World War, thirty-three of them heading for the United States. Small wonder, then, that the matter of "ethnic roots" is a personal issue to a great many people who never dream of actually visiting the land of their forebears.

The parameters involved in the study of mass migration—the objective causes, the personal motives, the attempts, or failure, to take root in the new environment—are complex issues requiring the best tools that comparative social science has in its methodological arsenal. Nowhere is this more true than when it comes to trying to understand the prewar "peasant exodus" from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where the multinational composition of the wave of emigrants has raised problems, and inspired passions that scholars are only now learning to handle.

The present volume—containing the papers of a symposium on emigration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe during the over half a century to 1940—is a fine indication of how well they have succeeded.

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST

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PREFACE

The hundred years preceding the First World War could well be called "the era of modern migrations". Fifty-five million people emigrated overseas from Europe, thirty-three million of them heading for the United States. But these hundred years might equally be called the period of "peasant exodus" since—though in ratios differing from country to country—peasants and agricultural workers comprised the main body of the mass migrants. By the 1880s, migration fever had spread from Western and Northern Europe to the peoples of East-Central and Southeastern Europe, so that by the first decade of the twentieth century, the majority of those going overseas came from these regions: from Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and from czarist Russia. The ethnic composition of the emigrants from the latter two multinational states was strikingly heterogeneous, with the ethnic minorities making up a higher proportion of those sailing overseas than they represented of the population of their countries.

The problem of migration was a source of preoccupation to contemporaries. Still, one can say that emigration was a political issue, its pros and cons expressed in political terms and in slogans filled with a great deal of emotion. The situation was much the same after the First World War, when, with the emergence of the new nation-states, researchers of several countries became directly interested in the migration movements that had developed within the lands of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. For many decades, thus, the theme can hardly be said to have been the subject of systematic investigation.

It was the second half of the 1960s that ushered in the new era in the study of international migration. Social and scholarly interest in the phenomenon became keener on both sides of the Atlantic. Researchers found themselves having to reevaluate historical documents, to include new types of data among the source materials to be studied, and to develop new methodologies and new theories of migration. Comparative studies have had a great impact on the new approach. As a result, Croatian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovene and Slovak historians initiated a programme of regular cooperation for the first time at the international conference on the history of Slovak emigration held in Bratislava in 1980. It was there that the special importance of international cooperation in examining the history of the East-Central and Southeastern European migration movements was recognized: since it is often only common sources that are available for the study of what was, after all, a common past, it is only coordinated effort that can yield an adequate, up-to-date migration model of the region.

The international conference held in Cracow in 1981 but highlighted the need for such coordinated research. The papers delivered on the subject of "Emigration from Northern, Central, and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research" illuminated the shortcomings of analyses that take no adequate cognizance of the wider context. The use to which statistics were put, and the grounds on which estimates were based were extraordinarily divergent. Clearly, there was a need for a more consistent use of the quantitative indicators of migration, and for a better understanding of the various types of migrations and their causes. It was decided that the next conference would be devoted to these issues.

Years of systematic international scholarly contact were, thus, behind the symposium held in Budapest under the auspices of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian World Federation in December of 1984. This volume contains the papers presented, and a brief summary of the discussions that followed.

Professor Peter Hanák, in opening the conference, emphasized that the papers submitted reflect a significant achievement of the past three decades or so, namely, that mass migration has become a special field of modern history-writing. They also reflect that a certain consensus has developed in certain areas. And as nineteenth-century migration really was a universal phenomenon which deeply influenced the dispatching countries and the receiving countries as well, it is only logical that the topic has become a joint enterprise for international cooperation, as indeed it ought to have long ago.

Fortunate in that their topic lends itself to comparative studies using the latest methods of analysis, researchers have accepted the need for cooperation as far as the exploitation and evaluation of the sources, the standardization of the statistical data basis, and the possible synthesis of the individual research areas are concerned. The individual papers, the national surveys, provide a solid basis for a comprehensive regional study, and make possible a balanced investigation of the social and historical backgrounds of the European emigrants heading for America.

Julianna Puskás

JIŘÍ KOŘALKA

SOME REMARKS ON THE FUTURE MODEL OF CZECH EMIGRATION (1848—1914)

In the 1960s, Czech historians and ethnologists initiated, in close co-operation with their Slovak colleagues, a scholarly interdisciplinary research on Czech and Slovak emigration. Professor Bedřich Šindelář (born 1917) published a pioneering article in 1953.[1] Professors Václav Husa (1906–1965) and Miloš Gosiorovský (1920–1978) were the first to advocate the importance of Czech and Slovak migration studies on the international forum.[2] It was not, however, until the Commission for History of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad was founded and attached to the Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1962 that a long-term research program was launched. Professor Josef Polišenský (born 1915) was appointed President of the Commission and is stille the chief organizer of Czech emigration research.[3] Two valuable historical volumes concerning the first period of Czech mass emigration in the 1850s and 1860s[4] have remained the most important result of that initiative as far as Czech emigration is concerned. A number of well-documented volumes and articles by ethnologists focussed primarily on the problems of the acculturation of Czech immigrants in a number of

[1] Bedřich Šindelář, "Několik poznámek k otázce našeho vystěhovalectví v epoše kapitalismu" (Some Remarks on the Problem of Our Emigration during the Epoch of Capitalism), *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, C 1 (Brno, 1953), pp. 18–44.

[2] Cf. Josef Polišenský, "Problematika studia dějin českého masového vystěhovalectví" (Problems in the Study of the History of the Massive Czech Emigration), *Vystahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete* (Emigration and the Life of Our Countrymen in the World), eds Frantisek Bielik, Ján Sirácky and Claude Baláž, (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982), p. 95.

[3] The Commission prepared and published *Bulletin Komise pro dějiny krajanů Čechů a Slováků v zahraničí* (Bulletin of the Commission for History of Czechs and Slovaks Abroad), Vols 1–3, ed. Juraj Kramer, (Praha, 1963–1965); Vol. 4, ed. Elena Jakešová, (Martin, 1966); Vols 5–6, ed. Jiří Kořalka, (Praha, 1967–1969, photoprint).

[4] František Kutnar, "Počátky hromadného vystěhovalectví z Čech v období Bachova absolutismu" (Beginning of Mass Emigration from Bohemia during the Period of Bach's Absolutist Régime), (Praha, Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd), 1964, in: *Rozpravy Československé akademia věd, řada společenských věd, Vol. 74, No. 15. — Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA. Česká a slovenská robotnicka emigrácia do USA v období I. internacionály* (Beginning of Czech and Slovak Emigration to the USA. The Czech and Slovak Workingmen's Emigration to the USA at the Time of the First International), (Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1970).

European countries.[5] After 1970, when the original Commission ceased to work, Czech historians' contribution to the growing international research on emigration and immigration was limited to a few attempts at a systematic survey.[6]

As a matter of fact, none of the Czech historians who have studied and published during the last twenty-five years about problems of Czech emigration regarded them as the only or even as the first topic of their interest. This differentiates Czech scholars (including myself) from their colleagues not only in Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, but also in Slovakia (where emigration scholars have established a research institute and are publishing a yearbook dealing with Slovaks in foreign countries).[7] Only very recently has a large-scale research program on Czech emigration been set up by the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague led by Professor Antonín Robek (born 1931); the results have not yet been completed and published.[8]

In spite of the fact that Czech research on emigration since the 1960s has been interdisciplinary, it still lacks a comparative approach with other European nations and countries. Yet we can only agree with the statement that "the problem of migration is a *par excellence* example of where the comparative approach is not only beneficial but practically necessary".[9] That is why I think it could be helpful to construct an internationally comparable model of Czech emigration in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Since there has not been sufficient analytic preparation carried out for this paper, and since not even the results of recent American publications on Czech immigration have been critically assessed by Czech scholars,[10] I must limit myself only to some remarks on the future study of Czech emigration in the 1848–1914 period.

[5] Cf. Iva Heroldová, "Život a kultura českých exulantu z 18. století" (Life and Culture of Czech Emigrants of the 18th Century), (Praha, Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV, 1971), in: *Národopisná knižnice*, Vol. 5. A number of specialized articles were published in the ethnographic journal *Český lid*.

[6] Jiří Kořalka and Květa Kořalková, "Basic Features of Mass Emigration from the Czech Lands during the Capitalist Era", in: *Les Migrations internationales de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours*, ed. Denise Fauvel-Rouif (Commission internationale d'histoire des mouvements sociaux et des structures sociales), (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980), pp. 530–525. A general history of early Czech emigration by Josef Polišenský is being prepared for publication in the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore of the Chechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague.

[7] The yearbook *Slováci v zahraničí* (The Slovaks Abroad), Vols 1—10, Martin. 1971–1984, has attained a much higher scholarly and editorial level than the Bulletin of the Commission before 1969.

[8] Some results and perspectives of this research were presented at a conference "Čeští a slovenští vystěhovalci a krajanské hnutí, dějiny a současnost" (Czech and Slovak Emigration and the Countrymen's Movement, History and Present) at the Charles University in Prague, July 1–2, 1985.

[9] Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States (1880—1914)*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), p. 9, in: Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, No. 184.

[10] There have been no thorough reviews of the books by Joseph Čada (Chada), Karel Bicha, Cyril Klimesch, Clinton Machann and James Wendl, of investigations by Josef J. Barton or Karen J. Freeze in Czech historical periodicals up to now.

1. THE SHARE OF THE CZECH LANDS IN EMIGRATION FROM THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

Many factors indicate that, from the end of the 18th century onward, the economic and demographic development of the Czech lands proceeded—perhaps with some delay—substantially along the West and Central European, and primarily the German, pattern. The rate of natural population increase remained high during the beginning and the expanding of the industrial revolution. This was due to a high birth rate, which after 1815 was accompanied by a distinct fall of the death rate; until the end of the 1830s the natural increase in population often amounted to considerably more than one per cent annually, and it remained on a relatively high level throughout the 19th century.[11] From the 1890s, however, the Czech lands experienced a decline in the birth rate (less than 36 born per 1000 inhabitants on a five-year average), and the rate of reproduction fell considerably below that of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.[12]

Another important factor was the economic and social structure of the Czech lands. They constituted the premier industrial area of the Habsburg Monarchy, ranking first among all its lands and provinces in the production of coal, iron, machinery as well as textiles. Whereas in 1900 the share of persons active in industry was almost equal to those active in agriculture (38.3 and 38.4 per cent, respectively), it was already more than 5 per cent higher in 1900.[13] It was particularly high in the agricultural regions of the Czech lands, where a relative surplus population and hidden unemployment became very burdensome. The growing surplus in free manpower could not be absorbed even by the expansion of industry in and around Prague and Brno, in the frontier districts of northern Bohemia and Moravia, or the new industrial regions around Plzeň, Kladno and Ostrava. Approximately half of the population that migrated from the Czech lands in the second half of the 19th century went to other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, mainly to Vienna.[14] Of the emigrants from Bohemia and Moravia to foreign countries, the overwhelming majority went to the United States of America.

It is estimated that probably no more than 500 Czechs arrived in North America before 1850, but some 23,000 arrived during the decade 1850–1860; more than

[11] Ludmila Kárníková, *Vývoj obyvatelstva v českých zemích 1754–1914* (The Development of Population in the Czech Lands, 1754–1914), (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademia věd 1965), pp. 332–335.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 336.

[13] Jan Havránek, "Základní data z historické demografie Československa" (Basic Dates on the Historical Demography of Czechoslovakia), in: Miroslav Buchvaldek et al., *Dějiny Československa v datech* (A History of Czechoslovakia in Dates), (Praha: Svoboda, 1968), p. 482.

[14] Antonín Boháč, "Vystěhovalectví z Československé republiky" (Emigration from the Czechoslovak Republic), *Sociální politika v Československé republice* (The Social Policy in the Czechoslovak Republic), (Praha: Sociální ústav, 1924), pp. 59—66; Cf. an analysis of the geographical background of the population of Vienna by Monika Glettler, "Die Wiener Tschechen um 1900. Strukturanalyse einer nationalen Mindenheit in der Großstadt" (München and Wien, Oldenbourg, 1972), pp. 32—44, in: *Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum*, Vol. 28.

33,000 in 1861–1870; around 52,000 in 1871–1880; and 62,000 during the decade of the 1881–1890 agricultural crisis.[15] It is not easy to find out the language or ethnic background of emigrants from the Czech lands before 1899, the date that the distribution "by races or peoples" among immigrant aliens was investigated for the first time by the US authorities. Most Czech emigrants before 1848 went to America after having lived for a short time in the non-Austrian states of the German Confederation *(Bund)*, and thus became a virtual part of the German emigration of that time.[16] Even in the following years, right until 1861, the United States data on alien passengers admitted did not register the immigrants from the Habsburg Empire separately from those of Germany (except for the Poles).[17] On the other hand, when Bohemia, as indication of the country of origin, appeared in statistics of persons embarking on emigration ships in Bremen (after 1871) and in statistics of immigrant aliens admitted to the United States (after 1882), it was by no means a merely geographical notion. Only a few Germans of Bohemia declared themselves as arriving from Bohemia (most of them indicated Austria), whereas at least some Czechs of Moravia were registered as Bohemians. This was, from the late 1860s onwards, a kind of political and national declaration.

In spite of the many gaps in the statistics of emigration and immigration, they do reveal some basic trends, particularly if various kinds of statistics are compared. For our purpose, it is not numerical values but a share of the Czech lands or of Bohemia in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy that is decisive.

The number of emigrants published by the Austrian Statistical Bureau[18] cannot be regarded as reliable, because it neglects the illegal emigration that was considerably high among young men liable for military duty. Although most of the emigrants covered by the official statistics went to the United States, other immigration countries in and outside Europe are included as well. The difference is, however, not significant, since the United States census of 1870 registered among the foreign-born population 40,289 Bohemian-born inhabitants, and in 1880 as many as 85,361 Bohemian-born residents.[19] Between 1853 and 1872, the share of the Czech lands in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy (without Hungary and Northern Italy) represented some 80 per cent, whereas their share in the population of the non-Hungarian and non-Italian parts of the Habsburg

[15] Karen Johnson Freeze, *"Czechs", Harvard Encyclopedia or Ethnic Groups in America*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 262–263.

[16] Cf. Tomáš Čapek, *Památky českých emigrantů v America* (Commemoration of Czech Emigrants in America), (Omaha, Nebraska 1889, 2nd ed. 1907), Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechů amerických* (A History of American Czechs), Vol. 1, (St. Louis, Mo.: Hlas, 1904).

[17] *International Migrations, Vol. I: Statistics*, eds Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), p. 377.

[18] Emigrants were described as persons who "sich in einem fremden Staat begaben mit dem Vorsatze, nicht wieder zurückzukehren", Mittheilungen Vol. 17, (Wien, 1870), p. 81.

[19] Freeze, "Czechs", p. 261.

Table 1

Persons to whom emigration permits were granted, 1853–1884[20]

Year	Habsburg Monarchy (without Hungary and North Italy)	Czech lands	Bohemia	Share in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy[21]	
				Czech lands per cent	Bohemia per cent
1853	4,684	3,915	3,419	83.58	72.99
1854	7,141	6,573	6,128	92.05	85.81
1855	4,005	3,555	3,021	88.76	75.43
1856	2,779	2,273	2,088	81.79	75.13
1857	2,836	2,291	2,167	80.78	76.41
1858	2,126	1,469	1,341	69.10	63.08
1859	1,431	950	842	66.39	58.84
1860	2,032	1,650	1,302	81.20	64.07
1861	2,513	2,079	1,927	82.73	76.68
1862	1,582	1,326	1,246	83.81	78.76
1863	1,515	1,205	1,124	79.54	74.19
1864	2,322	2,015	1,950	86.78	83.98
1865	2,954	2,514	2,417	85.10	81.82
1866	3,807	3,313	3,089	87.02	81.14
1867	9,299	7,927	7,430	85.25	79.90
1868	4,149	3,355	3,220	80.86	77.61
1869	5,559	4,865	4,507	87.52	81.08
1870	5,920	5,276	4,519	89.12	76.33
1871	6,169	no data for Moravia-Silesia	4,750	no data for Moravia-Silesia	77.00
1872	6,099		4,684		76.80
1873	6,927		4,632		66.87
1874	5,873		3,930		66.92
1875	10,012		3,891		38.86
1876	9,259	5,079	4,098	54.85	44.26
1877	5,877	3,495	3,066	59.47	52.17
1878	5,395	3,157	2,383	58.52	44.17
1879	5,929	3,781	2,991	63.77	50.47
1880	10,145	8,751	6,411	86.26	63.19
1881	13,341	10,651	8,517	79.84	63.84
1882	7,759	6,152	5,5566	79.29	71.74
1883	7,366	4,486	3,557	60.90	48.29
1884	7,215	4,404	3,391	61.04	47.00

[20] "Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern". *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik* (hereafter: *Mittheilungen*), Vol. 17, (Wien, 1870), pp. 79–99; "Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern", Mittheilungen, Vol. 19, (Wien, 1872), pp. 126–129, Gustav Schimmer, "Auswanderung aus Österreich 1870–1875", *Statistische Monatsschrift*, Vol. 2, (Wien, 1876), pp. 571–573; International Migrations, Vol. 1, pp. 588–589.

[21] Without Hungary and the North Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia.

Monarchy was less than 38 per cent.[22] Taking Bohemia alone, its share of more than 70 (in thirteen out of twenty years, more than 75) per cent came to around 20 per cent of the total population. In comparison, the emigration from Styria, Carinthia and Carniola did not amount to 1 per cent of the all-Austrian number until 1870, compared with their share of more than 9 per cent of the population.[23] This outstanding population of the Czech lands, above all that of Bohemia, was slightly moderated during the 1870s, but it was not matched by any other crown land or province of the Habsburg Empire before 1880.

In order to define the share of the Czech lands in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole, it would be desirable to include the figures for the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. It would, however, not change essentially the general outline of the emigration trend until 1880. The United States statistics of immigrant aliens admitted (the statistics are probably not complete because many immigrants from the Habsburg Monarchy were registered, at least before 1871, as arriving from Germany) comprise only 484 immigrants from Hungary during the ten-year period of 1861—1870 and 5,597 immigrants in the following nine years 1871–1879, i.e. 6.71 per cent and 10.05 per cent of the total sum for the Habsburg Monarchy, respectively.[24] A distinct shift in the share of the two parts of the dual Monarchy that occurred from 1880 onwards is confirmed by statistical data from the two most important German ports, Bremen and Hamburg. For my investigation, those years were chosen where separate figures are available concerning emigrants from Bohemia.

Bremen as a port of embarkation retained the first place among all European ports for emigrants from Bohemia during the whole period of mass emigration. For other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, however, Hamburg was at least of similar significance.

Immigrant statistics of the United States registered for the first time persons arriving from Bohemia separately in 1882 and continued to do so until 1898, when ethnic and racial criteria were given preference. Compared with the data from German emigration ports, the same decrease of the share of the Czech lands in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy from the mid-1880s is evident.

The same diminishing trend continued from the end of the 19th century until the First World War. At that time, the emigration of Slovaks, Ruthenes, Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Romanians, Jews, and even of Magyars and Germans from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States was, in both relative and absolute terms, more numerous than that of the Czechs.[25]

[22] Cf. table 1 by Peter Urbanitsch, "Die Deutschen in Österreich. Statistisch-deskriptiver Überblick", *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. III/1: Die Völker des Reiches, eds Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), p. 38 ff.

[23] *International Migrations*, Vol. 1, p. 588.

[24] *Ibidem*, pp. 377, and 384–385.

[25] *International Migrations*, Vol. 1, pp. 483–484.

Table 2

Persons embarking on emigration ships in Bremen, 1871–1891[26]

Year	Country of origin			Share in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy	
	Habsburg (Dual) Monarchy	Non-Hungarian parts	Bohemia	Non-Hungarian parts per cent	Bohemia per cent
1871	8,328	8,240	7,273	99.30	87.33
1872	7,307	7,169	5,921	98.11	81.03
1873	7,822	7,624	5,789	97.47	74.01
1874	7,179	6,953	5,439	96.85	75.76
1875	4,839	4,561	3,621	94.26	74.83
1876	4,203	4,079	3,287	97.05	78.21
1877	3,428	3,271	2,636	95.42	76.90
1878	3,229	3,087	2,261	95.60	70.02
1879	5,975	5,505	3,093	92.18	51.77
1880	14,406	13,786	9,287	95.70	64.47
1881	13,545	12,741	9,392	94.06	69.34
1882	11,197	9,737	7,429	86.96	66.35
1883	13,329	9,968	no data	74.78	no data
1884	14,662	9,352	6,312	63.78	43.05
1885	15,429	7,260	4,352	47.05	28.21
1886	19,627	6,654	3,953	33.90	20.16
1887	19,481	10,808	6,809	55.48	34.95
1888	19,946	10,495	5,934	55.62	29.75
1889	27,596	10,419	4,551	37.76	16.49
1890	34,885	13,035	5,701	37.37	16.34
1891	34,370	17,081	7,557	49.70	21.99

Table 3

Persons embarking on emigration ships in Hamburg, 1879–1882 and 1886–1889[27]

Year	Country of origin			Share in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy	
	Habsburg Monarchy	Non-Hungarian parts	Bohemia	Non-Hungarian parts per cent	Bohemia per cent
1879	3,179	1,887	901	59.36	28.34
1880	14,233	6,087	2,571	42.77	18.06
1881	21,971	11,518	2,797	52.42	12.73
1882	23,694	7,634	1,759	32.22	7.42
1886	24,447	12,271	3,474	50.19	14.21
1887	18,278	8,680	2,850	47.49	15.59
1888	21,963	13,784	2,530	62.76	11.52
1889	15,722	10,849	289	69.01	1.84

[26] *Ibidem*, pp. 593 and 716.

[27] *Ibidem*, pp. 593 and 716; "Auswanderer-Beförderung über Hanburg". Tabellarische Übersichten des Hamburgischen Handels, zusammengestellt von dem Handelsstatistischen Bureau, Vol. 1887, p. IV/6; Vols 1888—1891, p. IV/3.

Table 4
Immigrants admitted to the United States, 1882–1898[28]

Year	Country of origin			Share in the emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy	
	Habsburg Monarhy	Non-Hungarian parts	Bohemia	Non-Hungarian parts per cent	Bohemia per cent
1882	29,150	20,221	6,602	69.37	22.65
1883	27,625	16,385	5,462	59.31	19.77
1884	36,571	21,773	8,239	59.54	22.53
1885	27,309	17,926	6,352	65.64	23.26
1886	28,680	16,260	4,314	56.69	15.04
1887	40,265	25,009	4,579	62.11	11.37
1888	45,811	30,011	4,127	65.51	9.01
1889	34,174	23,207	3,085	68.91	9.03
1890	56,199	34,137	4,505	60.74	8.02
1891	71,042	42,676	11,758	60.07	16.55
1892	76,937		8,533		11.09
1893	57,420		5,548		9.66
1894	38,638	data not available	2,536	data not available	6.56
1895	33,401		1,607		4.81
1896	65,103		2,709		4.16
1897	33,031		1,954		5.92
1898	39,797		2,478		6.23

It can be said that several thousand Czechs from Bohemia (and, to a lesser degree, from Moravia and Austrian Silesia) emigrated to the United States each year from the early 1850s until the First World War, but the same number represented 80 per cent or more of the entire emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy at the beginning, and 5 per cent or less at the end of the period.

2. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF CZECH EMIGRATION OVERSEAS

During the second half of the 19th century, the regions of Tábor, České Budejovice, Písek and Plzeň in southern and south-western Bohemia possessed a higher rate of emigration than any other area within the Czech lands.[29] This

[28] *International Migrations*, Vol. 1, pp. 386–388; Vojtěch Mastný, "Statistika vystěhovalectví českého proletariátu do Spojených států" (Statistics of the Emigration of the Czech Proletariat to the United States), *Demografie*, Vol. 4, (Praha, 1962), pp. 209–210, based upon Annual Reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor for 1893–1896, and Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General on Immigration for 1897–1898.

[29] *Mittheilungen*, Vol. 17, (Wien, 1870), pp. 83–84, Jaromír Korčák. *Vylidňování jižních Čech. Studie demografická* (Depopulation of Southern Bohemia: A Demographical Study), (Praha, Spolek péče o blaho venkova 1929).

Table 5
Immigrants admitted to the United States, 1899–1914[30]

Year	Country of origin		Czechs from the Habsburg Monarchy[31]	Share in the Habsburg Monarchy	
	Habsburg Monarchy	Non-Hungarian parts		Non Hungarian parts per cent	Czechs per cent
1899	62,491	data not available	2,382	data not available	3.81
1900	114,847		3,056		2.66
1901	113,390		3,766		3.32
1902	171,989		5,589		3.25
1903	206,011		9,577		4.65
1904	177,156		11,911		6.68
1905	275,693	111,990	11,593	40.62	4.20
1906	265,138	111,598	12,958	42.09	4.77
1907	338,452	144,992	13,363	42.84	3.95
1908	168,509	82,983	9,899	49.26	5.87
1909	170,191	80,853	6,609	47.51	3.88
1910	258,737	135,793	8,162	52.48	3.15
1911	159,057	82,129	8,673	51.63	5.45
1912	178,882	85,854	8,031	47.99	4.49
1913	254,825	137,245	10,541	53.86	4.14
1914	278,152	134,831	9,352	48.47	3.36

territory of record emigration, inhabited almost entirely by a Czech-speaking population, was not the poorest region of the country. More impoverished were, for example, the densely populated regions in the north Bohemian mountains, where a decaying cottage labour system left families of hand weavers just short of famine; quite unable to raise enough money to pay for their fares, they could not even think of setting out on a voyage overseas.[32] Health and nutritional conditions among the south Bohemian emigrants were better, but hardly satisfactory. Districts of the most extensive emigration either had no large industry or no industry at all. Geographical and climatic conditions were unfavourable to an intensive development of agriculture. Land ownership was mostly divided between large estates of aristocratic landlords and very small holdings that could not be split up any more. The belated construction of railways did not contribute to the economic advancement of the region but, on the contrary, made emigration easier.[33]

It can, therefore, be accepted that the majority of the Czechs emigrating overseas were not the most pauperized and desperate individuals, but large groups of

[30] *Ibidem*, pp. 389–392, and 483–484.

[31] The total number of Czech immigrants to the United States between 1899 and 1914 was higher, because 4,354 Czechs arrived from other countries than the Dual Monarchy, above all from Germany and Russia. *International Migrations*, Vol. 1, pp. 432–439.

[32] Cf. František Kutnar, "Sociální otázka tkalcovská v polovině 19. století" (The Social Questions of Hand Weavers in the mid-19th Century), *Sborník historický*, Vol. 2, (Praha, 1954), pp. 186–232.

[33] Kárníková, *Vývoj obyvatelstva*, pp. 180–186, 270–277.

relatives and friends who, in spite of having lost their economic and social chances at home, still possessed enough physical and mental strength to start a fresh life in an entirely different environment. In most cases, whole families emigrated from Bohemia, including old people dependent on their adult children. The first Austrian statistics of the 1850s and 1860s demonstrated that 51.2 per cent of Czech emigrants at the time were men and 48.8 per cent were women. In the years of highest emigration, such as 1855, more females than males made up emigrating families.[34] From the very beginning, no return to their homeland was intended. They arrived in America when land in the Midwest was still cheap and plentiful, and founded their new settlements in the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska, close to the areas of German and Scandinavian immigration. Thus the Czechs became the only large Slavic farming population in the United States.[35] Many Czech settlers who remained to work in American agriculture had originally been artisans, crafts workers, or other small-town elements before their emigration.[36]

The second and third large waves of Czech emigration (with their peaks in 1891/92 and 1904/07) brought a mostly skilled labour force to the United States.[37] During the ten-year period from 1902 to 1911, more than 41 per cent of Czech immigrants were skilled workers, whereas less than 17 per cent were peasants. Very low was the share of professionals (only 1.33 per cent, compared with 3.15 per cent among the Germans).[38] Very informative are the numbers of illiterate persons among emigrants from the Habsburg Monarchy: for every 100 immigrants the Czechs had only 1.3 illiterates (compared with the Germans' 4.4; Italians, 9.8; Magyars, 10.1; Jews, 19.8; Slovaks, 20.6; Poles, 32.3; South Slavs, 34.5; Romanians, 35; and Ruthenians with a 50.6 per cent illiteracy rate among immigrants from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States between 1902 and 1911).[39] The rate of return migration among the Czechs was relatively low, only 11 per cent in the years 1908–1910.[40]

The internal situation exercised, as a rule, a decisive influence upon the future life and activities of the immigrants. From the 1890s onwards, many of the newcomers had to work in factories or mines, although they came from an agricultural background. Thus the needs of adjustment often made it necessary for immigrants to the United States to change their professions.

[34] *Mittheilungen* Vol. 17, (Wien, 1870), p. 85.

[35] Freeze, "Czechs", p. 261.

[36] Cf. Jaroslava Hoffmannová, *Vystěhovalectví z Polné do Severní Ameriky ve druhé polovině XIX. století* (Emigration from Polná to North America in the second half of the 19th century), (Havlíčkův Brod: Vysočina, 1969), pp. 21–33.

[37] Freeze, "Czechs", p. 263.

[38] Hans Chmelar, "Höhepunkte der österreichischen Auswanderung. Die Auswanderung aus den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern in den Jahren 1905–1914", in: *Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, Vol. 14, (Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), p. 113.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 116.

[40] Freeze, "Czechs", p. 263.

3. POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CZECH MASS EMIGRATION

From the mid-19th century on, the constant level of mass emigration from the Czech lands was caused primarily by socio-economic factors. Political conditions and events did influence Czech emigration before 1938–39, but only in a few definite cases. The escape of Czech political radicals to the United States after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848/49 was, even in percentage terms, less numerous than that from Germany. Some leading and militant participants in the trade union and socialist labour movements emigrated after unsuccessful strikes. Police harassment and judicial persecution of Czech socialist leaders in the early 1880s, too, drove a number of them into exile in the United States.[41] It was not by chance that the only Czech-speaking section of the International Workingmen's Association was established in New York in 1870.[42] For many Czech emigrants, latent dissatisfaction with the unequal position of Czechs in the Habsburg Monarchy and with the activities of leading Czech politicians in Bohemia, who, they felt, were not radical enough, acted as an added reason for emigration. This was relevant, above all, to young men subject to draft and military duties in the Austrian army. The fact that political factors played a substantial role even during the last decade before 1914 can be shown by the example of Germans emigrating from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States: in 1910, more than 72 per cent of them and, in 1914, more than 68 per cent of them were recruited from among the Germans of Hungary.[43]

From the 1850s onwards, Czech immigrants to the United States took with them quite different social concepts than their religious predecessors of the pre-1848 period. It was symptomatic that the political leaders of the American Czechs tried to transform political trends and ideas which they knew from Bohemia into something more radical. The attitudes of the more numerous liberal rationalists were strongly anti-Catholic, while the Catholic groups among the American Czechs were much more aggressive than in the Czech lands.[44] Until 1917–18, when both currents sought reconciliation in joint support for the Czechoslovak struggle for

[41] Josef Polišenský and Jan Staněk, "Počátky české dělnické emigrace a české sekce I. Internacionály ve Spojenych Státech Amerických" (The beginnings of the Czech Labor Emigration and the Czech Sections of the First International in the United States of America), *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA*, (Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1970), pp. 97–124.

[42] Zdeněk Šolle, "Tschechische Sektionen der Internationale in den Vereinigten Staaten in Amerika", *Historica*, Vol. 8, (Praha, 1964), pp. 101–134.

[43] *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 483–484.

[44] Cf. Thomas Čapek, "The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: A Study of their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic, and Religious Life", in: *The American Immigrant Collection;* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920; reprint New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969); Čapek, *Naše Amerika. Kritické posouzení hospodářského a sociálního stavu amerických Čechů a Slováků* (Our America: A Critical Appreciation of the Economic and Social Conditions of American Czechs and Slovaks), (Praha: Národní rada československá, 1926).

independence, their co-operation in America had been minimal or even nonexistent. By 1917, both factions joined in the Czechoslovak National Council in America and carried on a public campaign for the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic.[45] In spite of various difficulties hindering their assimilation, American Czechs were much quicker to accept the way of life of their new environment than their cousins in the closed agricultural communities in some countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

4. A PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

On the strength of some characteristic features, I think the future model of late nineteenth—early twentieth century Czech emigration studies should probably be more closely related to the German and Scandinavian models than to the Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, or Russian ones, although it will not be identical with any of these.

[45] Vojta Beneš, *Československá Amerika v odboji* (The Czechoslovak America in Revolt), Vol. 1, (Praha: Pokrok, 1931); Karel Pichlík, *Zahraniční odboj 1914–1918 bez legend* (The Revolt Abroad 1914–1918 without the Myths), Praha: Svoboda, 1968), pp. 59–68, 372–387; Freeze, "Czechs", pp. 269–270.

DIRK HOERDER

MIGRATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MARKETS IN THE ATLANTIC ECONOMIES*

While few scholars continue to speak of American exceptionalism in regard to the formation of the working class and its class consciousness, even fewer have attempted deep-going comparative studies.[1] Were the North American working classes international? Was the recruitment of successive waves of peasant immigrants who had to be conditioned to industrial work specific to the North American labor force? In the 1870s, and in some cases earlier, economic structures, industrial development and economic cycles were basically similar in the two North American economies and those of the various European states. An „Atlantic economy" had come into existence. Within its confines social mobility, both upward and downward, differed only by a few percentage points in areas of comparable industrial development and urbanization.[2] Real wages, taking into account consumption patterns, were relatively similar for unskilled workers in Birmingham and Pittsburgh, while skilled workers earned considerably more in Pittsburgh.[3] Inequality in the United States had reached German and English levels by World War One.[4] Within the "Atlantic economy" labor markets were partly internationalized. The concept of a segmentation of these labor markets has considerable explanatory value for ethnic fragmentation and solidarity as well as

* This paper has also been read at the conference "The Future of American Labor History: Toward a Synthesis", Norhern Illinois University, DeKalb, 10th—12th October, 1984. While the first sections of this essay i.e. labor migration in Europe and in the Atlantic economies and the development of international labor markets are based on well-documented research which merely lacked a synthesis, the application of labor market theories to particular industries, locations and to ethnic groups is a relatively new field which needs further empirical testing. I am grateful to Bruno Cartosio for a reference to and translation of the interview with Frank Majority. I am also grateful to I. Weber—Kellenmann, G. Rosenden and H. Fassmann for their permission to reprint their maps.

[1] Walter Galenson, ed., *Comparative Labor Movements* (1952), repr. New York, Russell & Russell (1968) is a stimulating but heavily biassed study of the union's potential "for promoting social stability" in Western Europe and Russia.

[2] Hartmut Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility. Western Europe and the USA in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (German ed. 1977; English translation, New York, Columbia University Press, 1981).

[3] Peter R. Shergold, *Working-Class Life: The "American Standard" in Comparative Perspective 1899–1913*, (Pittsburgh, 1982).

[4] Jeffrey Williamson and Peter Lindert, *American Inequality: A Macroeconomic History* (New York, Academic Press, 1980).

for specific working-class cultures. We will first deal with labor migration and labor markets in Europe and then discuss particular structures of labor markets in the Atlantic economies.

1. MOBILIZATION OF LABOR

With few exceptions research on the whole of the "proletarian mass migration" has come to a standstill since the publication of Willcox's and Ferenczi's pioneering compilation in 1929/1931.[5] The numerous detailed studies of specific migratory movements that go far beyond Willcox/Ferenczi have not yet been integrated into a new frame of reference.[6] The term "proletarian mass migration" adequately reflects the character of the migration even though the background of large sections of the migrants was agrarian or artisanal and though some migrated temporarily to return with their savings in the hope of avoiding permanent proletarianization in their culture of origin. It distinguishes labor migration from settler migration both to the American West and the Russian South and East. As a concept it is vastly superior to the classic distinction between old and new migration, a term originally loaded with racist overtones. Countries of origin of the (supposedly agrarian) "old immigration" sent workers in increasing numbers after the 1880s. To give but one example, 2.9 million Germans came from 1820 to 1879, followed by another 2 million during the next fifteen years, most of them landless agricultural workers from the eastern provinces of the Reich. After the turn of the century German migrants possessed an average of $41.00 upon arrival.[7]

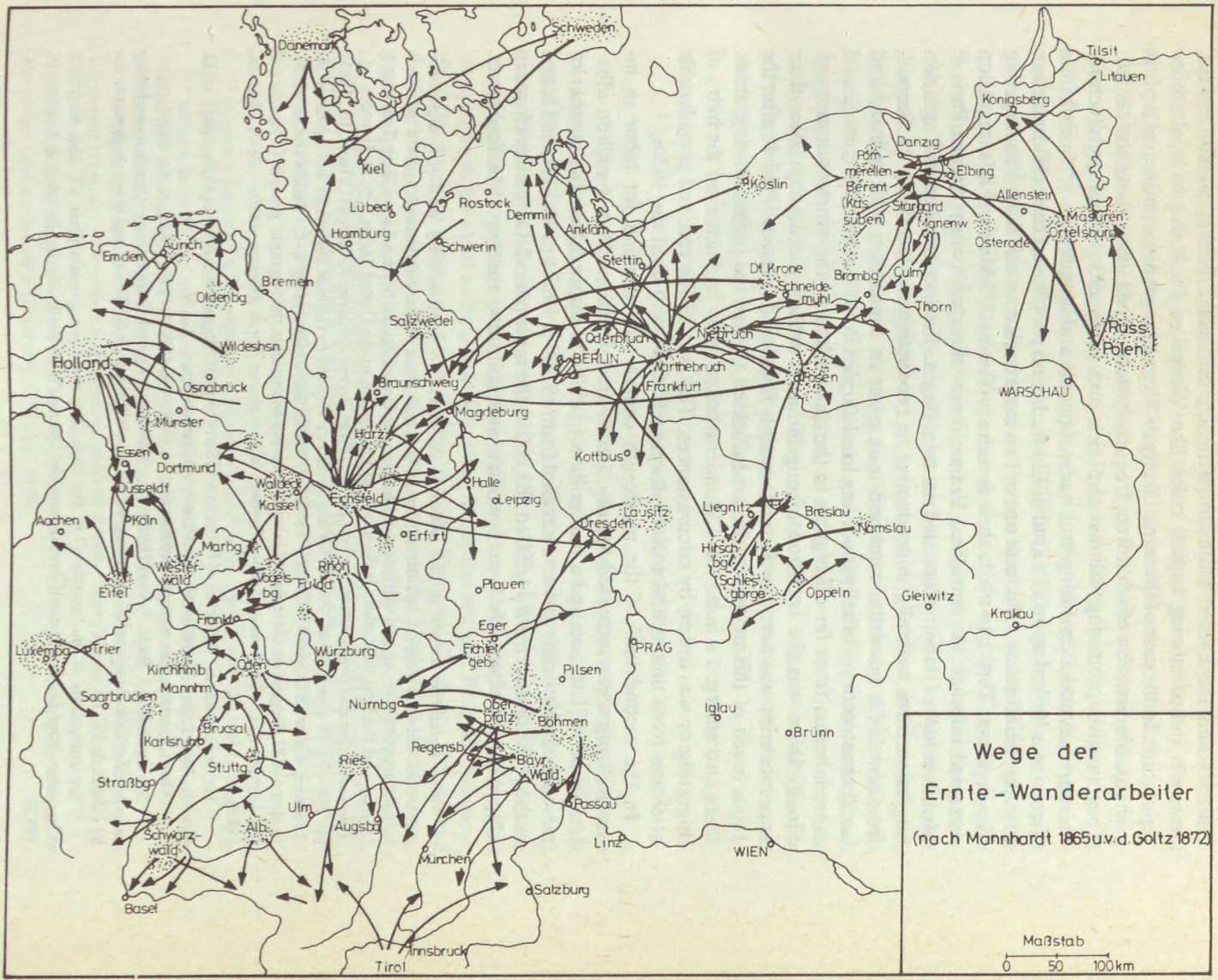
Parallel to the east- and westward movement of settlers, intra-European labor migration had attained high levels in the first half of the nineteenth century and it increased during the second half. Quantitatively it was considerably larger than the trans-Atlantic flow, though it has received less attention: distances—for the observer[8]—were shorter and less spectacular, the complex network of movements precluded easy generalizations, none of the receiving areas attained the world-wide renown of the "land of the free" with its "unlimited opportunities" that North

[5] Walter F. Willcox and Imre Ferenczi, *International Migrations*, 2 vols, (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929, 1931).

[6] An additive compilation is *Les migrations internationales de la fin du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980). See also Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization*, (Westport, Ct., Greenwood Press, 1985).

[7] Commissioner of Immigration, *Reports*, quoted in Frances Kraljic, *Croatian Migration to and from the United States, 1900–1914*, (Palo Alto, Cal., Ragusan press, 1978), p. 22.

[8] For the migrant short distances were not necessarily easier to cover. The Italian agricultural workers, who migrated to Argentina each year for the grain harvest, refused offers to come to the eastern sections of Germany—travel was more difficult and more expensive and the wages were lower. A. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen, *Die italienischen Wanderarbeiter* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 13, 20, 22, 27.



Map 1. Routes of Seasonal Laborers during the Harvest Period in Central Europe

Source: Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Erntebrauch in der ländlichen Arbeitswelt des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Grund der Mannhardtbefragung in Deutschland von 1865* (Marburg, 1965), Map 3.

America and the United States in particular achieved.[9] Within certain regions, however, industrializing capital cities like Vienna or Paris did have a similar reputation. In the case of the imperial city of Vienna biographies and travel reports give some impression of what were frequently stereotyped ideas about the capital. They involve promising visions of a rich and lively city full of architectural masterpieces and a confusing multitude of people and languages... "In Bohemia Vienna was looked upon as a kind of Eldorado and people sent their children there to make their fortune. Of course one or two came back on a visit from Vienna acting like cavaliers. They had made their fortune in Vienna."[10] Much of this migration remained internal: in centralized France it was directed mainly toward Paris.[11] Mobilization of labor proceeded in two stages. First came seasonal agrarian migration from naturally unproductive to productive regions (Map 1). Second, from the 1840s onwards, migration took place in connection with railroad and canal construction, initially involving local surplus labor but attracting more and more laborers from far-off regions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Finally there was the tradition of migration of artisan journeymen after their apprenticeship was over as well as of—mainly female—domestics.[12] While after the 1860s much of this movement became directed toward the industrializing areas, there also emerged a hobo-like "Wanderarbeiter" who had acquired the habit of migrating or was driven by circumstances. This way of life received considerable attention from unions and social reformers in Germany until the 1920s.[13]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the demand for labor in industrializing areas increased rapidly. Berlin grew from less than a million inhabitants in 1871 to two and a half million in 1900, in upper Silesia the number of miners and industrial workers increased from 18,700 in 1852 to 193,500 in 1913, and in the Ruhr district from 14,300 to 383,000 in the same period. Of the workforce in Upper Silesia about 10% were women and children, another 10% foreigners,

[9] This reputation merits further research. A variety of contemporary accounts, diplomatic dispatches, consular reports, industrial commission and trade union publications, gave a relatively realistic account of living and working conditions in the United States. See e.g. Lars-Göran Tedebrand, "Strikes and Political Radicalism in Sweden and Emigration to the United States," in: D. Hoerder, ed., *American Labor and Immigration History, 1877—1920s: Recent European Research* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), pp. 228–229; D. Hoerder, ed., *Plutocrats and Socialists, Reports by German Diplomats and Agents on the American Labor Movement 1878–1917* (Munich, 1981): See the essays by L.-G. Tedebrand, J. H. M. Laslett and H. Siegrist on the image of labor-importing countries in the migrants' press in C. Harzig and D. Hoerder, eds., *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s—1930s* (Bremen, 1985).

[10] Heinz Fassmann, "A Survey of Patterns and Structures of Migration in Austria 1850–1900", in: D. Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, chap. 3.

[11] Abel Chatelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*. 2 vols, (Lille, 1976).

[12] See e.g. Klaus J. Bade, "Altes Handwerk, Wanderzwang und Gute Policey: Gesellenwanderung zwischen Zunftökonomie und Gewerbereform," *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 69 (1982), 1–37.

[13] See discussions of the "problem" in *Die Neue Zeit* and *Correspondenzblatt*. Cf. also *Wohnsitz: Nirgendwo. Vom Leben und vom Überleben auf der Strasse* (West Berlin, Verlag Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 1982).

mainly Poles from the Russian-occupied territory and Ruthenians. However, much of the local population was Polish, too: about 50% of the workers in the metal industries and most of the miners.[14] Many of the latter were recruited for work in the Ruhr district where they concentrated in the "Polish mines". After World War One a large number of them moved on to French and Belgian mines.[15] An average of 54% of the urban population in Germany at the turn of the century were in-migrants. The percentage was the same for Vienna.[16] This answers the question of the composition of the working classes. In Europe one half or more of the emerging proletariat in the industrial areas were first generation in-migrants coming largely from an agrarian surplus population that had to be trained for industrial work-routine. These in-migrants were set off from the native population by dialect but not necessarily by foreign language. Where languages rather than dialects differed, bilingualism was a common phenomenon. Germans and Poles, Slovenians and Hungarians, Czechs and Germans, Slovaks and Hungarians frequently spoke both languages and sometimes even published periodicals in two languages. The newspaper of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, *Népszava,* published a German supplement, *Volksstimme,* and strike calls or announcements of mass meeting in Budapest were often published in four languages.[17]

2. TYPES OF LABOR MIGRATION IN EUROPE

In the nineteenth century the Atlantic economies became divided into an industrialized western European and North American part and a predominantly rural eastern and southern European part. To be more exact, the industrializing parts consisted of islands of industries in rural areas, which were able to draw a considerable proportion of their new labor force from the surrounding areas. The eastern parts also had some labor-importing industrial centers: Prague, Budapest, St. Petersburg, to name only a few. Within Europe, England, Germany, France and Switzerland were the main labor importing countries. England and Germany exported labor to North America at the same time, while emigration from France and from late-nineteenth-century Switzerland was low. England drew workers mainly from its Irish colony, Switzerland from Italy and Germany, Germany from Poland and Italy, France from most of its neighboring countries and—after 1900—

[14] Lawrence Schofer, *The Formation of a Modern Labor Force—Upper Silesia, 1865–1914* (Berkeley, Cal., University of California Press, 1975).

[15] Wilhelm Brepohl, *Der Aufbau des Ruhrvolkes im Zuge der Ost-West-Wanderung* (Recklinghausen 1948); Krystyna Murzynowska, *Polskie wychodzstwo zarobkowe w Zagłębiy Ruhry w latach 1880–1914* (Polish Labor Migrants in the Ruhr District), (Wrocław 1972; German transl. 1979).

[16] Wolfgang Köllmann, *Bevölkerung in der industriellen Revolution* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht 1974), p. 117; Reinhard E. Petermann, *Wien im Zeitalter Franz Joseph I.* (Vienna, 1908), pp. 143–144.

[17] *History of the Hungarian Labour Movement. Guide to the Permanent Exhibition of the Museum of Hungarian Labour Movement* (Budapest, 1983), pp. 31 ff.

Poland. Belgium and the industrializing sections of Austria, particularly the Vienna area, attracted considerable numbers of migrants, but experienced heavy out-migration at the same time. The Scandinavian countries and Southeastern Europe exported labor to other European countries and North America, but attracted skilled workers whenever demand exceeded supply in certain occupations. Sweden, a labor importer in the seventeenth century during its Age of Greatness, exported settlers and workers in large numbers during the 19th century, but was to become an immigration country again in the 1930s.[18] In order to understand emigration it is not sufficient to point to a relative surplus population in the agrarian sector. To take the example of colonial Ireland, migration came from the eastern modernizing areas where commercialization of agriculture was accompained by growing unemployment. Collapse of the domestic textile industry, which had provided supplementary income, and the introduction of agricultural "machinery" as simple as the plow forced parts of the population below subsistence levels. The penetration of the cash economy into subsistence farming areas and tax collection in cash also forced people into wage labor. The more traditional areas of non-commercial farming resisted the pull of British jobs at least in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Later these areas of family farming with only a limited surplus of labor provided seasonal laborers for Britain, while the other areas provided permanent migrants to Britain and North America. The selection of the area of destination was partly determined by financial resources: the fare to Britain was cheaper. It was also regulated by tradition: once a seasonal job had been taken in Britain there was a strong likelihood of regular return. By 1851 about half a million Irish people had settled in Britain and a decade later more than 180,000 first and second generation Irish lived in London alone. Though there was no language barrier—except for the Irish who spoke their native tongue, Gaelic—they suffered as much from labeling by the dominant "race" as in the United States. While their acculturation was comparatively easy, an Irish working-class subculture remained a part of British society.[19] While the character of emigration was mainly determined by economic factors, with governmental decisions on such matters as whether to tax or to further commercial farming and large estates, playing at best a secondary role, the character of immigration was determined by both economic factors and governmental policies. France and Germany for example adopted opposing policies. France, where internal migration was a way of life for up to one fifth of the population, became the European immigration country par excellence. The number of foreigners in a population that ranged between 35 and 40 million increased from 381,000 in 1851 to 1,160,000 in 1911, a figure which included more than 400,000 Italians, 287,000 Belgians, 117,000 Germans and Austro-Hungarians, 110,000 Spanish and Portugese, as well as Swiss, Russian(-Jewish), Dutch and other people.

[18] This part is based on D. Hoerder, "An Introduction to Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies, 1815—1914," in: same, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, chap. 1.

[19] Lynn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin. Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Ithaca, N. Y., and Machester 1979); John Archer Jackson. *The Irish in Britain* (London 1963).

The distribution of foreign workers in 1920 was: 29.6 percent in agriculture, 18.6 percent common laborers, 18.2 percent building and construction, 12.6 percent mining, 5.7 percent metal-working trades and 15.3 percent in miscellaneous trades. Some of the immigrants rose to the level of skilled workers and a few into the lower middle class as shopkeepers, tavern owners and the like, serving mainly their immigrant countrymen. Acculturation was expected of the migrants but not forced on them.[20]

In Germany, from the late 1870s onwards, the demand for agricultural and soon for industrial workers increased beyond the supply. In the East, the natural recruiting areas were the overpopulated Polish territories under Russian and Austrian control. However, in 1885 the borders were closed in a nationalist and racist Germanization move that included a heavy dose of anti-Catholicism. Polish in-migrants working in Silesia and the eastern agricultural provinces were deported. By 1890 pressure from a coalition of East-Elbian Junkers and "industrial barons" (the German form of exceptionalism) brought about a reversal of the policy. In-migration was permitted again under tight governmental control on condition that Polish migrant laborers leave Germany in winter. This meant a saving on wages during the slack agricultural season, but it was mainly intended to prevent acculturation and permanent settlement. Jobs were to rotate: new sets of temporary migrants each year. Renewed pressures from industrial interests led to the suspension of this rule for mining and industry where work was less seasonal and involved the cost of training newcomers. The industrial and mining interests also tried to recruit Ruthenians and Russians who were not subject to any restriction of their period of stay. In addition, Italian workers came in large numbers. Their migration was "naturally" seasonal since most of them found jobs in construction, a sector in which workers are traditionally laid off in winter. Swedish workers and ethnically heterogeneous workers from the Austro-Hungarian empire also migrated to Germany. Efforts to redirect Italian and —racially desirable—Flemish agricultural workers to Germany failed because the cultural and economic attraction of the customary labor markets proved superior to German offers and because migratory traditions could not be overcome.[21]

This resistance (to new pull factors) proves that potential migrants were not simply pawns of economic forces. They calculated the comparative advantages offered by various labor-importing areas. They established patterns of migratory living and stuck to their customs. In the towns, villages and estates of origin personal factors also played an important role. Within the economic constraints (push factors) decisions to migrate were made in view of strong parental authority,

[20] Nancy Green, "Filling the Void: Immigration to France Before World War I" in: Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, chap. 6; Willcox and Ferenczi, *International Migrations*, vol. 2, pp. 201–236. At this time immigration from the North African colonies was negligible.

[21] Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Central European History* (Dec. 1980), pp. 348–377, repr. in: Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, chap. 5.

after unsuccessful courtship, in consequence of conflicts with social norms, because of hopes for an independent self-determined way of living, even if the move involved no material improvement. The economic push and pull factors explain the trends, the individual move was a personal decision.

Two types of labor migration do not fit the model of the proletarian mass migration. Firstly, skilled workers and technicians from industrializing countries migrated to Great Britain, Germany and the United States—usually for several years—to improve their skills and upon return advance in their own country.[22] This transfer of technology was paralleled by a transfer of organizing skills through migrating unions members. In parts of the South Slavic territories the in-migrating industrial workers formed the first labor organizations in Southeastern Europe. Out-migrating unskilled workers came under the influence of the strong social-democratic movements in Western Europe and upon return brought back this increased political awareness.[23] Secondly there was forced recruitment and transport of labor into the war economies of France[24] and even more so of Germany after 1914. The continuity between voluntary and forced migration, disputed by West German historians, has been documented by East German historians. It was one of the German war aims in 1914 for the period after the expected victory to open the East European labor supply to German demand upon conditions dictated by the Germans.[25]

To summarize: the high percentage of internal migrants in the European economies was supplemented by foreign workers, but their relative size never reached North American proportions. In the United States 12.9% of the population were foreign-born in 1920. In France this figure reached 2.8% in 1911 (and climbed to 7% in 1930), while rates for Germany and Belgium oscillated between 2 and 4%. Swiss figures refer to the industrial labor force only: 12.7% of the industrial workers were foreigners in 1895, 22.3% in 1911. In most European countries residential segregation was less marked than in the United States, with increasing indices after World War One and ghettoization of Polish and Italian labor migrants in France and Belgium. While the European proletariat can hardly be described as international, it included internationally mobile segments whose goals were personal advancement. Frequently, however, the migrants could achieve wage increases or improvements of working conditions only through class

[22] Research by Hannes Siegrist (West Berlin) on Swiss technicians' migration, by Claudius H. Riegler (West Berlin and Sweden) on Swedish technicians and skilled workers.

[23] This transfer of class consciousness and organizing experience will be one of the themes of a research project presently being discussed by East and West European scholars.

[24] Gary S. Cross, "Toward Social Peace and Prosperity: The Politics of Immigration in France during the Era of World War I," *French Historical Studies* 11 (1979/80), pp. 610–632.

[25] Lothar Elsner "Ausländerbeschäftigung und Zwangsarbeiterpolitik in Deutschland während des Ersten Weltkrieges," pp. 527–583 in: Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Auswanderer-Wanderarbeiter-Gastarbeiter: Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern 1984). Cf. also the series edited by Prof. Elsner and his institute at Rostock University, *Fremdarbeiterpolitik des Imperialismus* (1975 onwards).

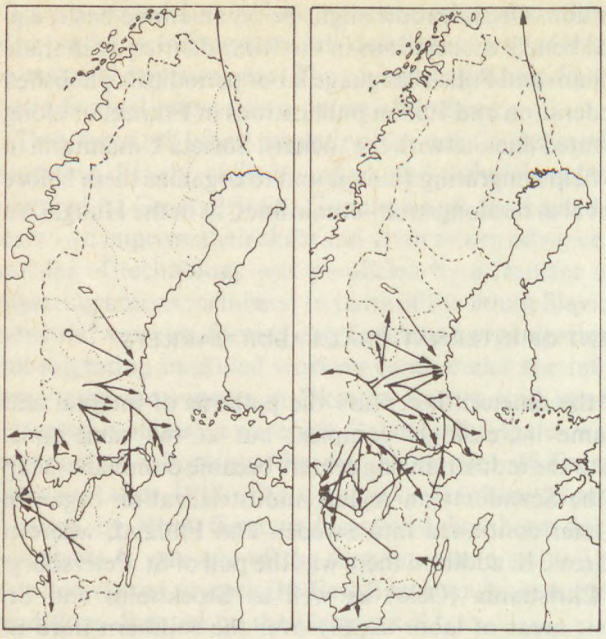
organization and collective action. Organization might be on an ethnic basis, e.g. the Polish political and mutual benefit associations in the Ruhr district; or in trade unions, as indicated by the Italian- and Polish-language labor periodicals published by the German trade union federation and Italian publications in France; or along political as well as welfare-oriented lines, as with the socialist Società Umanitaria in Milan, which was founded to help emigrating Italians and to organize them before departure. Organization might also be along multi-ethnic lines, as in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR MARKETS

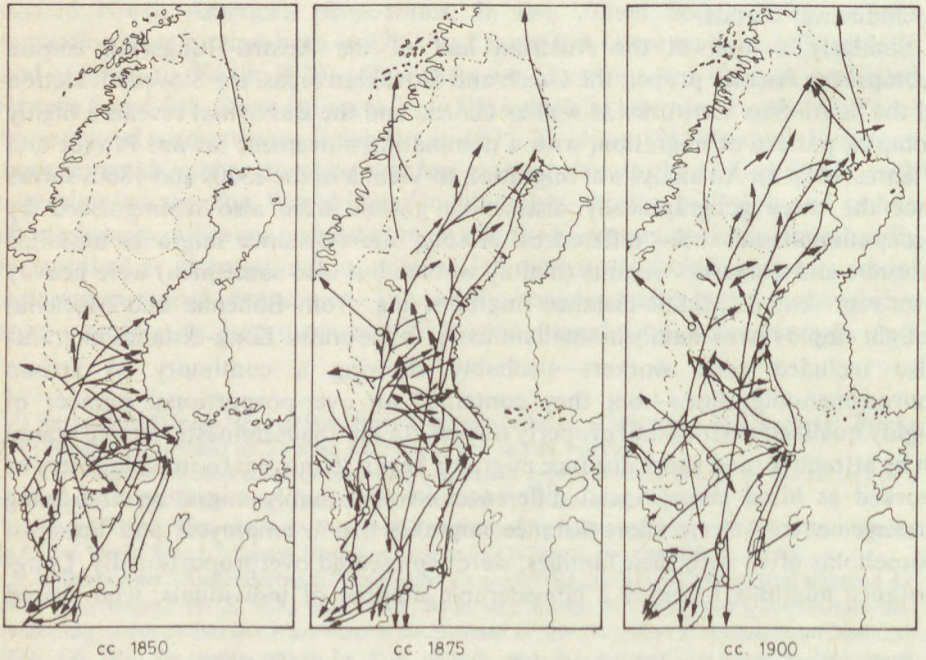
During the second half of the nineteenth century the patterns of internal and international migration became increasingly complex, but at the same time, quantitatively, the movement to the industrializing centers became dominant (Map 2). To take the example of the Scandinavian region, industrialization began in Denmark and Norway and later continued into Sweden and Finland, where it mainly affected the southern areas. In addition there was the pull of St. Petersburg. By 1880 Copenhagen and Christiania (Oslo) as well as Stockholm and St. Petersburg had expanded their areas of labor supply over the southern third of Scandinavia and of Finland. A four-state area and the Russian center on the Baltic Sea had been incorporated into one labor market, dominated by an industrial core by industrial islands.[26]

Similarly a look at the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian empire (comprising Austria proper, the Czech and Slovakian areas, the Slovenian section of the South Slav territories as well as Galicia and the Bukovina) reveals a highly complex pattern of migration, with a dominating movement toward Prague and Vienna (Map 3). An analysis of migration to Vienna in the 1850s and 1860s shows that the three geographically discernible groups were also distinguished by occupational and social differences. Among short-distance migrants unskilled laborers and domestic servants (mainly women but also some men) were heavily over-represented. Middle-distance migrants (e.g. from Bohemia and Moravia) sought employment mainly in small industry, in the crafts. Long-distance migrants also included craft workers—probably showing a continuity of artisan journeymen-migrations—but they contained an over-porportional number of highly qualified persons and property owners. In the 1880s domestic service ceased to be attractive, and short-distance migrants began to move into small industry or worked as hired labor. Social differences involve family migration and living arrangements. Among short-distance migrants live-in employees and heads of households often with their families, were represented overproportionally. Long-distance migrants included a considerable number of individuals, who shared

[26] Hans Norman and Harold Runblom, "Migration Patterns in the Nordic Countries", in: Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, chap. 2.



cc. 1750 cc. 1800



cc. 1850 cc. 1875 cc. 1900

Map 2
Seasonal Migrations in and out of Sweden, 1750-1900
Source: G. Rosander, Herrarbete (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 309, 312, 317, 319, 324.

accommodation as sub-tenants. Middle-distance migrants were usually live-in employees, especially journeymen and apprentices in small industry, for whom the masters provided lodgings. Again a change had occurred by the 1880s: the number of people living in had declined by half. The in-migrants increasingly lived in their own quarters and were thus less subject to control by their masters. On the other hand, this meant a strengthening of ethnic ties since segregation increased from the 1880s to World War One, thus offering new bases for organization along ethnic lines.[27]

Many of these migrants, who could not permanently be absorbed by the labor market of the growing European cities, continued on to the United States in a further stage of movement. Furthermore, people from areas distant from industrializing centers in Europe often moved directly overseas. Thus North America received a mixture of experienced laborers and an agrarian surplus population unused to industrial work and urban living.

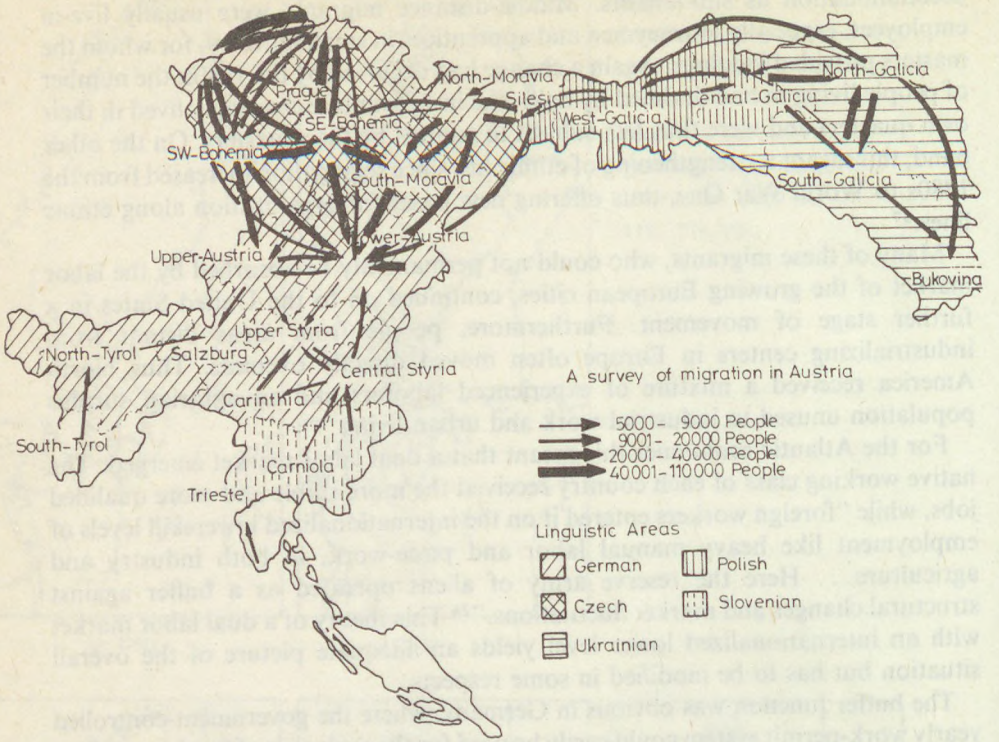
For the Atlantic economies this meant that a dual labor market emerged. The native working class of each country received the more stable and more qualified jobs, while "foreign workers entered it on the internationalized lowerskill levels of employment like heavy manual labor and piece-work, in both industry and agriculture... Here the reserve army of aliens operated as a buffer against structural changes and market fluctuations."[28] This theory of a dual labor market with an internationalized lower level yields an adequate picture of the overall situation but has to be modified in some respects.

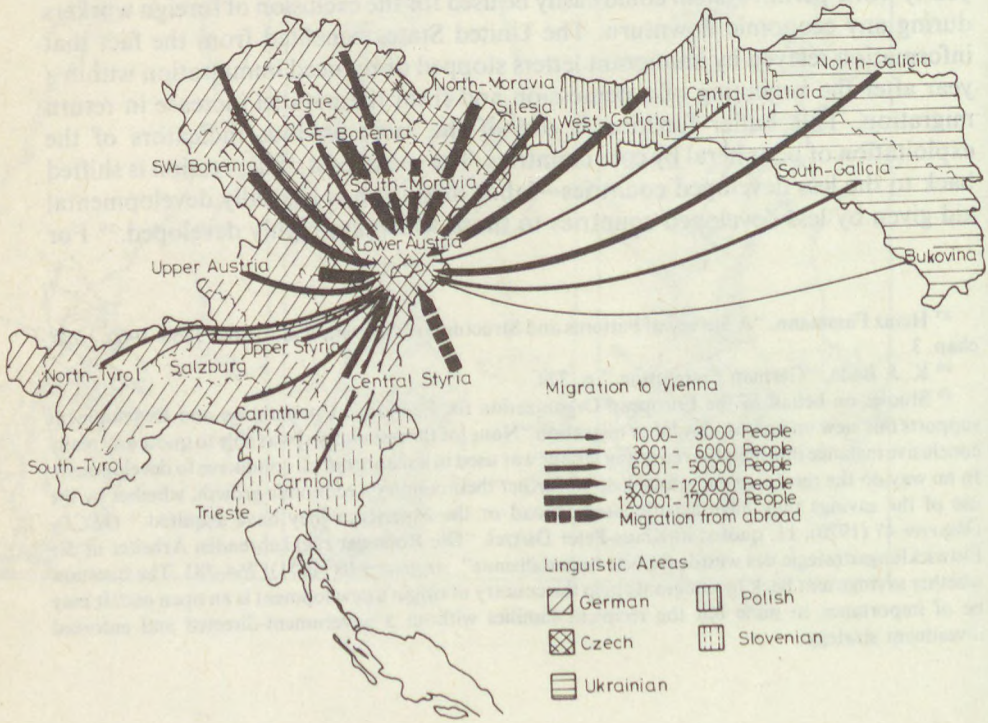
The buffer function was obvious in Germany, where the government-controlled yearly work-permit system could easily be used for the exclusion of foreign workers during any economic downturn. The United States benefited from the fact that information relayed by immigrant letters stopped or reduced immigration within a year after the beginning of a depression and from the parallel increase in return migration. This buffer function is one of the most obvious indicators of the exploitation of peripheral by core countries. The social cost of depression is shifted back to the less developed countries—labor migration is basically developmental aid given by less developed countries to those which are highly developed.[29] For

[27] Heinz Fassmann, "A Survey of Patterns and Structures of Migration in Austria 1850–1900," *ibid*, chap. 3.

[28] K. J. Bade, "German Emigration," p. 374.

[29] Studies on behalf of the European Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development supports this view on present-day labor migration "None [of the researchers] was able to quote any really conclusive instance in which the returning labour was used in a manner at all conducive to development. In no way do the returning emigrants help to further their country's economic growth, whether by the use of the savings they have accumulated abroad or the experience they have acquired." *OECD-Observer* 47 (1970), 11, quoted in Klaus-Peter Dietzel, "Die Rolle der rückkehrenden Arbeiter in der Entwicklungsstrategie des westdeutschen Imperialismus". *Argument* 68 (1971), 764–781. The question whether savings sent back by emigrants help the country of origin's development is an open one. It may be of importance to none but the recipient families without a government-directed and enforced investment strategy.


Prague
North-Moravia
Silesia
North-Galicia
Central-Galicia
SE-Bohemia
West-Galicia
SW-Bohemia
South-Moravia
South-Galicia
Lower-Austria
Upper-Austria
Bukovina
Upper Styria
North-Tyrol
Salzburg
Central Styria
Carinthia
South-Tyrol
Carniola
Trieste
A survey of migration in Austria
5000- 9000 People
9001- 20000 People
20001- 40000 People
40001-110000 People
Linguistic Areas
German
Polish
Czech
Slovenian
Ukrainian


Prague
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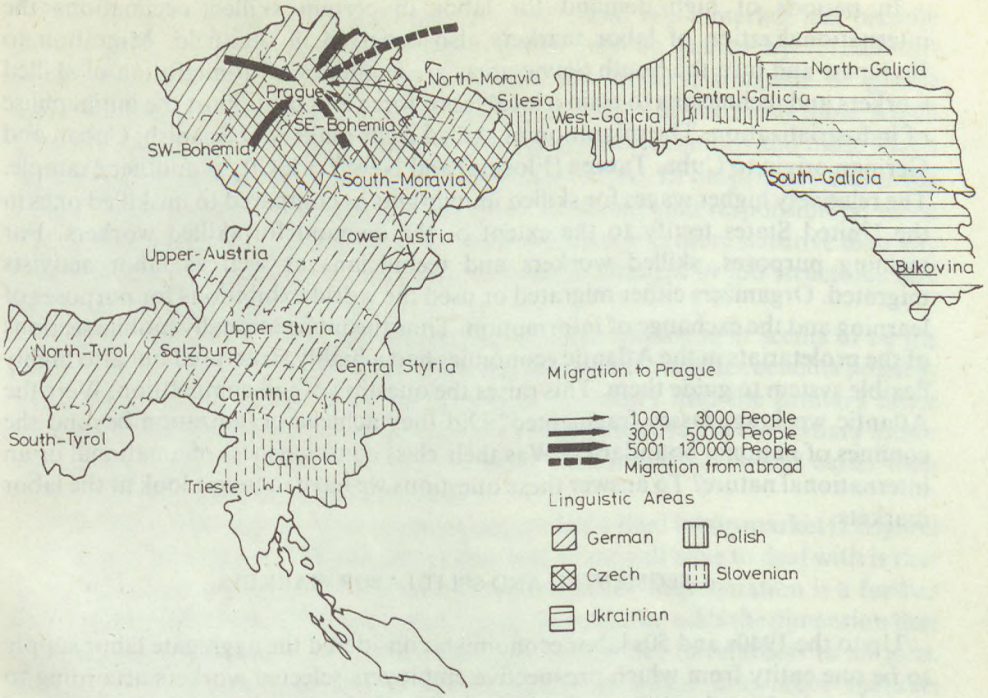
SE-Bohemia
West-Galicia
SW-Bohemia
South-Moravia
South-Galicia
Lower Austria
Upper Austria
Bukovina
Upper Styria
North-Tyrol
Salzburg
Central Styria
Carinthia
South-Tyrol
Carniola
Trieste
Migration to Vienna
1000- 3000 People
3001- 6000 People
6001- 50000 People
50001-120000 People
120001-170000 People
Migration from abroad
Linguistic Areas
German
Polish
Czech
Slovenian
Ukrainian



Map 3. Migration in Austria at the End of the 19th Century

Source: Heinz Fassmann, "A Survey of Patterns and Structures of Migration in Austria 1850–1900", in: Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, ch. 3.

lower-skill work the labor market was not permanently internationalized. Industrializing centers first drew on the agrarian surplus populations in their immediate neighborhood. Only when this was insufficient did they turn to labor supplies further off, whether national or foreign. To draw on such a labor supply connections had to be established, often by recruiting agents from among a firm's workforce. Once a migratory movement had been initiated, however, the network of information relays (letters, travels, return) to those remaining in the area/culture of origin took on self-generating aspects, including a screening of potential migrants: "let him not risk coming, for he is too young", "too weak for America", "America for the oxen, Europe for the men".[30]

[30] Quotes taken from Herberg Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815–1919," in: same, *Work, Culture, and Society*... (New York 1976), p. 30, and Ewa Morawska, "'For Bread With Butter': Life-Worlds of Peasant Immigrants from East Central Europe, 1880–1914," *Journal of Social History* 17 (1983–84), 392. Cf. David Brody, *Steelworkers in America, The Nonunion Era* (New York 1960, repr. 1969), p. 99; Wolfgang Helbich, ed., *"Amerika ist ein freies Land..." Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland* (Darmstadt 1985); William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecky, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Boston 1918–20).

In periods of high demand for labor in certain skilled occupations the internationalization of labor markets also occurred in this field. Migration to Budapest and into the South Slavic areas are examples of in-migration of skilled workers and technicians to train a local labor force and to support the initial phase of industrialization. The migration of skilled cigar makers of Spanish, Cuban and German origin to Cuba, Tampa (Florida) and New York City is another example. The relatively higher wages for skilled immigrants as compared to unskilled ones in the United States testify to the extent of the demand for skilled workers. For training purposes, skilled workers and technicians as well as labor activists migrated. Organizers either migrated or used the world exhibitions for purposes of learning and the exchange of information. Thus the internationally mobile sections of the proletariats in the Atlantic economies had a highly structured but also highly flexible system to guide them. This raises the question of job competition. Were the Atlantic working classes fragmented? Did they achieve organization beyond the confines of national boundaries? Was their class consciousness of a national or an international nature? To answer these questions we have to take a look at the labor markets.

4. SEGMENTED AND SPLIT LABOR MARKETS

Up to the 1940s and 50s labor economists considered the aggregate labor supply to be one entity from which prospective employers selected workers according to their marginal productivity, trainability and cost. In the 1960s and 70s models of "balkanized" or segmented labor markets were developed (Kerr). The first step was to distinguish between the initial hiring of a worker and his promotion into more qualified positions within a firm: i.e. the external and internal labor markets. The latter did not conform to the orthodox model. Instead of supply, demand and productivity subjective factors such as customs and favoritism were important. So were formal procedures imposed by management in open shops, and by collective bargaining procedures in unionized shops. Immigrant workers in this situation did not necessarily benefit from unions unless they were open to them. An (arbitrary) foreman of one's own ethnic group could certainly provide easier job or promotion access than a union of Anglo-American workers. Furthermore, substantial promotion in internal markets was likely to depend on language skills.

In a second step the labor market model was refined by dividing the economy and the jobs available into a growing, capital-intensive, concentrated or monopoly primary sector and a stagnating competitive secondary sector (Doeringer and Piore). Jobs in the primary sector (core, center) offered relatively high wages and good working conditions, stability of employment and wages, potential for promotion and protection against work hazards. Jobs in the secondary sector (periphery) were characterized by irregular employment, low pay and hazardous or unpleasant work situations. Letters from immigrants about long lay-offs, poor working conditions and slow advancement establish beyond doubt that the vast majority of them were employed in the secondary sector.

Though this model of a dual economy and a dual labor market has become commonplace theory, empirical validity could only be gained by further differentiation: a third sector has been added, the tertiary, irregular or ghetto economy; the primary and secondary sectors have been divided into those which provide industry-specific on-the-job training (internal orientation) and those which do not necessitate specific training (external orientation). In the primary sector the internally oriented jobs provide considerable autonomy and responsibility, while the whole internally oriented part of the secondary sector is more sensitive than any other to technological innovation and consequent changes in job structures and employment opportunities.

Thus the distinction between stable and unstable employment seems to be the most important dividing line in the labor market, with most other benefits possibly accruing to workers once stable employment, i.e. entry into the primary labor market, has been secured. The flexibility of persons employed in the tertiary sector may, however, explain their ability to weather economic downswings better than workers in the secondary labor market.

A critique of the model of a dual economy and of a dual labor-market is beyond the scope of this paper.[31] The concept labor historians will have to deal with is that of a segmented, segregated and stratified labor market. Segmentation is a further differentiation of the dual labor market model. Segregation adds the dimension that women, colored workers and some ethnic groups do not have access to all jobs. Finally: "The urban economy is systematically stratified into labor markets between which the mobility of labor is severely constrained." This finding of Harrison for the 1970s seems to have validity for the late nineteenth century too. Even though Gordon, Edwards and Reich argue that on the macro-level technical innovation in this period led to a homogenization of jobs, the micro-perspective reveals persistent stratification according to gender, ethnic group and skill. For

[31] The model of a dual economy has raised many important questions but it is neither based on a coherent theory nor has it been subjected to any kind of rigorous empirical test. While the organizational structure of capital and the supply and demand situation are highly important for the analysis of whole labor markets as well as of the opportunities for specific groups of workers, it has to be emphasized that capital-intensive production sometimes relies on low-skilled, lowpaid, unstably employed workers while stagnating sectors continue to employ highly qualified personnel in relatively stable positions. Furthermore, the argument that core firms need stable employment to reduce labor turnover and thus costs to train new workers is not necessarily true. The postulated necessity for on-the-job training assumes an external labor market with untrained workers. In economies where apprenticeship systems exist, i.e. most European economies, on-the-job training and resulting internal advancement are not the rule. Finally high wages may be paid simply because large firms in a monopoly sector can pass the cost on to the consumer and not because of any interest on their part to pay high wages. Randy Hodson and Robert L. Kaufman, "Economic Dualism: A Critical Review", *Am. Soc. Rev.* 47 (1982), pp. 727–739; Walter Licht, "Labor Economics and the Labor Historian". *ILWCH* 21 (1982), pp. 52–62; F. C. Valkenburg and A. M. C. Vissers, "Segmentation of the Labour Market: The Theory of the Dual Labor market—The Case of the Netherlands", *Netherlands, Journ. of Soc.* 16(1980), pp. 155–170.

example, in some occupations primary sector workers controlled access to these jobs (seniority etc).[32]

It has been argued in most standard studies of the United States labor movement that the skilled/unskilled, native/ethnic, male/female competition in the labor markets led to antagonism within the working class or to its fragmentation. But the fragmentation thesis relies on the orthodox view of the labor market: all workers compete for the same jobs. The concept of segmented labor markets suggests that workers compete only for a limited number of jobs. Immigrant workers arriving in Vienna, Berlin or New York did not consider all jobs open to them. They sought employment in fields which matched their skills or lack of skills, which were customarily open to foreigners and which permitted—in the ideal case—on-the-job socializing with fellow immigrant ethnics. Rather than fragmentation, we could postulate a dichotomy: competition with that segment of the working class aspiring to the same jobs and cooperation or joint interests with all other segments.

Fragmentation may occur in split labor markets where at least two groups compete for the same jobs—each being equally qualified and desirable from the employers' point of view—but differ in their price of labor (or would differ if they did the same work). Demands for exclusion of immigrant workers or racially/ethnically/gender-based caste systems assigning inferiority to one or several groups may result.[33] In fast-growing economies the displaced native or migrant workers who arrived earlier may find equally-paying positions elsewhere or move up into better jobs. Also, new low-paying jobs may develop and set in motion a process of "substratification", a movement of one or more new groups into a labor market at the bottom level.

To summarize: while segmentation usually decreases competition, split labor markets usually increase it. Conflicts occur only when a segment of the labor market cannot accommodate the potential workers and when these try to enter a new segment or expand their segment. This interpretation assumes that existing segmentation is accepted by all participants in the labor markets. When emloyers change the composition of the labor force in a segment, conflict is likely to occur not only with the workers involved but also between the job-"owners" and job-"aspirants". If job allocation is by skill, ethnicity, and gender, conflict will occur only when dequalification threatens the position of the skilled group, when departments held by one ethnic group are "encroached" upon by another or when the expectation and skills of a subordinate group increase and lead to demands for better positions. Employers, conscious of this segmentation, have deliberately used mechanization to open segments of the labor market with hitherto restricted access

[32] B. Harrison, "Human Capital, Black Proverty and 'Radical Economics'", *Industrial Relations* 10 (1971), 285; David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers. The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (Cambridge, 1982).

[33] Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market". *Am. Soc. Rev.* 37 (1972), 547–559; John B. Christiansen, "The Split Labor Market Theory and Filipino Exclusion: 1927—1934," *Phylon* 40 (1979), pp. 66–74.

to unskilled ethnics. In theory the labor movement has the option to preclude this kind of conflict by organizing all workers and treating them equally, an option which most European unions in recent years have chosen *vis-à-vis* guestworkers (not always successfully). In practice keeping a reserve army of unemployed workers for each segment of the labor market has decreased the pro-solidarity effect of segmentation.

5. ASPECTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS' CONSCIOUSNESS

Having placed segmentation (the objective side) and fragmentation (the subjective side) in perspective, the question of class consciousness in relation to nationalism or internationalism remains open. This dichotomy is in need of reconceptualization in view of the cultural approach to working-class history. Ethnicity (a cultural category) rather than nationality (a political category) an international labor market rather than a nation-state system and a connecting migrant culture rather than a transport or migratory movement between two national cultures are elements of a new paradigm.

In view of the scholarship of the last twenty years little needs to be said about nationality; ethnicity and class rather than nationality and class are the interacting factors. The European nation states were to a considerable degree political constructs that did not and do not match with ethnicity. The preoccupation with nationality was a consequence of political "realities", of a dicourse shaped both by bourgeois economists of the nineteenth century and by Karl Marx, and of the statistical categories resulting from this discourse. Exceptions are, of course, reaction of ethnic/national groups in situations charged with national political significance: the German-American working-class community split over support for the unification of the Reich and the War against. Austria in 1866–71. East and Southeast European ethnic groups combined across class-lines on the demand for independent states at the time of World War One.[34] If nationalism is not a valid category, it might be asked why internationalism was an important category at the turn of the century in the debates of labor organizations, at least of those involving socialists and social democrats. "Political realism" is only part of the answer; the whole trade union discourse was shaped in Western European countries where national and ethnic borders overlapped and where homogenization of cultures developed further than in the East. Even for these countries, distinctions exist: Welsh, English and Scottish migrants, Swabian, Hessian and East Elbian migrants. Within the framework of nation states and national employer organizations, unions could not afford such differentiations. But they could not achieve deep-

[34] David Montgomery, "Nationalism, American Patriotism, and Class Consciousness among Immigrant Workers in the United States in the Epoch of World War One", in: D. Hoerder, ed., *"Struggle a Hard Battle"—Working-Class Immigrants* (DeKalb, Ill., 1986).

rooted internationalism either. At the international congress of trade unions in Stuttgart of 1907, the internationalists won over the nationalists: unions were to cooperate beyond national boundaries. It had been union and class practice to show solidarity in exceptional situations like mine disasters, fires and strikes. But temporary solidarity could not easily be translated into organizational behavior when interests differed. Thus the unions were slow to develop an international organizational framework and continued to rely mainly on nonbinding international consultations during congresses of national craft unions. Work culture was the connecting link.

Migrating workers do not only move into and out of ethnic communities relatively easily, knowing that at the point of arrival they will find a similar community, they also move into and out of certain jobs easily because skill and work-experience are shared. Migrant culture has been studied for the artisan journeymen-migrations and for those workers who made (or were forced to make) migration into a creed: the hoboes. But, it has to be emphasized that this concerns all labor migrants. For some workers both community and work remain similar at the point of departure and the point of arrival. German cigarmakers emigrating to the United States moved from e.g. the Bremen area to New York where they did not only find an ethnic community, but also found a class or at least a craft or shop-floor community that could easily accommodate them, a community which exerted no pressure for "assimilation" because most of the basic tenets were shared ones anyway.

Problems occurred when the migration ended where either no ethnic community or no job community was available. This was the case for the peasants and agrarian laborers moving into unskilled industrial jobs. The testimonies they left show the break they experienced, the deafening noise of the machines, the alien customs, the speed and danger of the work:

> "My father came from a small town near Naples. When he landed in New York they put him on one of those trains that were called 'green trains', because they had their windows painted in green so that the immigrants could not see where they were going. He arrived in West Virginia at night. He could see only the fires burning in the furnaces and black men that seemed giants to him who were shoveling coal into the furnaces. He had never seen a black man before. He thought he had arrived in hell." (Frank Majority, Interviewed by Alessandro Portelli in Whitesburg, W. Virginia, 1983; from *I giorni cantati*, n. 5, 1985).

However, some aspects of these changes have been overstated. The transition from agriculture to industry need not demand a totally new socialization to industrial time and work routines. The seasonal character of agricultural work in the area of origin was frequently tempered by additional tasks that could be taken up whenever agricultural work proper could not be done—be it for a day because of rain, or for a season. In other words, people—men, women, children—gained steady employment and had regular work habits whether enforced by inter-

nalization, customs, family or patriarchs. If it were not for lack of various skills they would have been likely applicants for jobs in the primary labor market. In fact many under-employed peasants and farm laborers chose migration to achieve steady employment. At the other end of the spectrum were those seasonal workers for whom no jobs were available outside of the harvest season, who were without work in the literal sense for most of the year. They would be ideal workers in the stagnating secondary sectors of the economy, where employment was unstable and chances for promotion low. Since even growing and concentrating sectors like the steel industry could or would not offer regular employment, the differences between agricultural and industrial time patterns may have been small: workers were laid off because of rain or machine repairs, because of slack winter seasons or recessions. (The one—big—difference, of course, was that against rain and seasons there was no remedy, against employers, though not against economic cycles there was the possibility of direct action and organization.) The flexibility of a peasant-worker[35] may have been his asset just as skill was an asset to experienced industrial workers. The peasant/agricultural worker used to doing all the chores on the farm substituted one kind of labor for another: the quintessential boarding-house culture in which the peasant-workers raised pigs, tended vegetable gardens, built fences, sheds and sties or went hunting. Skilled (native) workers on the other hand went to the skilled butcher to get meat; skill and regularly earned money replaced work flexibility. To overstate the argument somewhat: if objective conditions permit a semi-peasant lifestyle, peasant-workers can afford unemployment but no craft-consciousness, while skilled workers have to rely on craft consciousness but cannot afford unemployment.

If prior steady and unsteady work habits of immigrant workers could be matched with the respective jobs of the primary or secondary sectors, little adjustment to industrial routines would be necessary. From the immigrants' letters and their references to the inexorable clock we know that many had to adjust to rigorous time-keeping. What has been left out of consideration is that the reverse process, adjustment to unsteady work availability, was also necessary:

> "To meet its need for workers, a secondary industry frequently has to depend on those with weak positions in the labour market, e.g. young people, women, nonwhites, and foreign workers, a state of affairs which usually results in a fluctuating workforce."[36]

A weak position in the labor market increases the propensity to migrate, with the result that the position remains weak. Neither seniority, nor—in the case of foreign workers—citizenship or voting rights (residence requirements) can be achieved.

[35] The evolvement from peasant to peasant-worker to worker-peasant to industrial worker is traced in an impressive essay ba Ewa Morawska, "The Modernity of Tradition: East European Peasant Immigrants in an American Small Town, 1890–1940" (forthcoming in *Amerikastudien*).

[36] Valkenburg and Vissers, "Segmentation," pp. 158–159.

This is the reverse side of the migrant culture outlined above: "negative" acculturation.

> "Workers in this [secondary] sector who were originally quite stable in their habits often adapt to the inconsistent living and working patterns that apply to these industries. This gives rise to a socialization process in which the employee loses his original identity (spoiled identity). Ultimately, therefore, we do not only have a dualism of the employment structure and of labor market behavior between primary and secondary industries, but also between workers. On the one hand those workers who are accustomed to work security and advancement and, on the other hand, secondary workers whose living and work patterns are unsteady and less oriented toward success now or in the future."[37]

At this point borderlines between labor market segments become insurmountable: fragmentation because of skill and work habits occurs.

The concept of a segmented and sometimes split labor market thus has several ramifications for the history of the working class and its consciousness: segmentation helps to understand the possibilities for class solidarity because of reduced competition for jobs. Segregated and stratified labor market decrease antagonisms temporarily but increase the potential for lack of solidarity in periods of change or crisis. Split labor markets explain intra-class antagonisms or fragmentation. The situation of a particular segment of the labor market in the dual (or multiple) economy determines whether work habits acquired in the culture of origin can be retained or have to be adjusted to more or to less steady time routines. Just as the ethnic culture in the by now classic model determines strategies of resistance to employer demands, employer demands may also undermine stable ethnic cultures by unstable work availability. The geographical expansion of the labor market strongly influences the migration range of workers. International labor markets facilitate migration and in conjunction with functioning ethnic communities at both ends of the migratory path make migration much less of a break in many workers' lives than traditionally assumed. The question of consciousness may be tentatively answered: in addition to the primary socialization in a) an ethnic group and b) a nation state or empire, class consciousness is determined by the extent of the labor market: it may be regional, it may comprise a national area, and it may have international limits. It is, however, usually not connected with an abstract all-embracing notion of class but with the experienced part of it, the specific work context, from which generalization then is possible.

[37] *Ibid.*

6. CONCLUSION

The migration of workers in the interregional and international labor markets of the Atlantic economies has been explained as resulting from a concurrence of push and pull factors. Recently several historians have attempted to put the migrants back into the decision-making process. In her study of a Hungarian village, Julianna Puskás followed the migrants to their new labor markets: West Virginia coalfields for the men, New Brunswick, N. J., tobacco factories for the women. In addition to considering objective push factors she inquires into subjective factors. She asks why one man left, but his brother stayed, why one woman went, but her best friend remained. The push and pull factors explain the migratory potential, personal factors determine who moves to a new or a different geographical section of the same labor market.[38] Peter Shergold has undertaken a complex comparison of living standards and has thus demonstrated the sophisticated calculations prospective migrants had to undertake to evaluate their opportunities elsewhere.[39] German trade union journals as well as the Swedish social democratic newspaper regularly published information on prices and wages in the United States, so workers planning to leave had the information necessary for a rational choice.[40] Objective push and pull factors, personal circumstances, relative income advantages in the receiving society and information about them as well as about living and working conditions in general have been considered the variables that explain migration. There is, however, a different variable, that has not often been explored: labor militancy and strategies of resistance. The first argument implies that strong labor organizations or a great potential for spontaneous protest permit workers to improve their situation in the area of origin. Thus they do not have to migrate. The reference to strategies of resistance implies that migration is a withdrawal of labor to protest unsatisfactory working conditions. J. S. MacDonald has demonstrated for Italy that areas with strong labor organizations experienced less out-migration than areas where lack of militancy suggests an acceptance of the status quo. This argument can also be found in form of exhortation in European trade union journals: migrants are considered as deserting the common struggle.[41]

On the other hand in times of employer strength, labor migration may be considered as a temporary strategy of resistance by workers to avoid exploitations. C. H. Riegler shows for Sweden that labor emigration declined and finally came to a

[38] Julianna Puskás, "Hungarian Migration Patterns 1880–1930. From Macro-Analysis to Micro-Analysis" (unpublished paper).

[39] Peter R. Shergold, *Working-Class Life* (cf. note 3).

[40] *Correspondenzblatt* of the central German trade union federation: D. Hoerder and Hartmut Keil, "The American Case and German Social Democracy at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, 1878–1907" (unpublished paper); *Socialdemokraten* of the Swedish social democratic party: Lars-Göran Tedebrand, "Strikes", pp. 228–229 (cf. note 9).

[41] J. S. MacDonald, "Agricultural Organization, Migration and Labour Militancy in Rural Italy", *Journal of Economic History* 2. 16 (1963–64), 61—75.

total stop when the organized struggles via trade unions began, increased and became the norm. "In Scandinavia it can be observed that emigration led to a scarcity in labor supply in the labor exporting countries which favored a redistribution of incomes..." The wage differential between Sweden and other European countries as well as the United States was perceived and individual decisions to migrate were made. Decreasing standards of living were met by individual and collective moves to more promising labor markets.[42]

A number of personal testimonies by migrants show that they did indeed plan to make living difficult for governmental and capitalist exploiters. Southern textile workers in the United States migrated from one factory to the other, highly valuing their "independence" from arbitrary foremen and other industrial plagues.[43] German workers and peasants suggested that if everybody migrated the governmental locusts would have to think of other ways to survive.[44] Swedish, Italian, and German labor militants left after lost strikes, in order to fight where they were not blacklisted, where their socialist leanings and militant past was not—yet—an obstacle to earning a living.[45]

The moves of peasants, laborers and workers as well as petty craftsmen and others, male and female, in the historian's perspective often seem to be a flight from bad or intolerable living conditions. In the minds of the migrants it often was a protest or included an element of protest. The notion of resistance implies a conscious intent to fight employer strategies and thus it may be the wrong term for a move to withdraw one's labor from a certain labor market when the primary intent is to sell it elsewhere under structurally similar but practically better terms. Nevertheless, even with this limitation in mind, it seems worthwhile to add the concept of working class resistance to the anonymous push- and pull-factors as determinants for migration as well as to individual choices determined by personality and personal conflicts. The importation of cheap labor into a labor market has always been considered a deliberate employer strategy. Cannot workers by exporting their own cheap labor to better paying markets also follow a deliberate strategy? And even if—as many migrants' letters suggest—conditions on the new labor market were not that much of an improvement, migrants took pride in deciding on their own where and how to struggle.

[42] Claudius H. Riegler, "Emigrationsphasen, Akkumulation und Widerstandsstrategien. Zu einigen Beziehungen der Arbeitsemigration von und nach Schweden, 1850–1930", in Hartmut Elsenhans, ed., *Migration und Wirtschaftsentwicklung* (Frankfurt/M. 1978), pp. 31–69, quote p. 32.

[43] Jacquelyn Hall, Robert Korstad, Jim Leloudis, "Like a Family": Class, Community, and Conflict in the Piedmont Textile Industry, 1880–1980, paper prepared for the Future of American Labor History Conference, Oct. 1984.

[44] Wolfgang Helbich, ed., *"Amerika ist ein freies Land..."—Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland* (Darmstadt 1985), e.g. pp. 32–33, 37, 43—44, 53, 116.

[45] J. S. MacDonald, "Agricultural Organization"; L.-G. Tedebrand, "Strikes"; cf. studies of German emigration under the anti-Socialist law 1878–1890.

JULIANNA PUSKÁS

SOME RESULTS OF MY RESEARCH ON THE TRANSATLANTIC EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY ON THE BASIS OF MACRO- AND MICRO-ANALYSIS

THE AVAILABLE HISTORICAL SOURCES

I believe that once again we have to consider the question how the available historical sources can be put to use. We have already dealt with the problem why we are in such a difficult position as regards statistical sources. Our statistics are incomplete or at least quite a bit poorer than those available in the Northern European countries. Furthermore, our quantitative analysis is hindered by the multinational composition of the emigrants, as well as the frequent frontier rearrangements within the areas of the East-Central-European and the South-eastern European countries.

It is timely to consider the characteristics of non-statistical sources as well. To understand them, we have to take note of the fact that the period of intensive emigration from this part of Europe coincides with the time when a number of social problems surfaced here. (Serious tensions developed simultaneously at the turn of the century, the causes being the surviving remnants of the feudal past, the conflicts arising from the multinational movements, the difficulties of modernization and mass emigration.) Though no European country or ethnic group was indifferent—or insensitive—to the population loss due to emigration, the above-mentioned circumstance made for a particularly emotional official public reaction to this social movement in East-Central and Southeastern Europe.

Emigration was a much-debated social issue everywhere at the time, and nowhere more than in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The mass of extant written sources to this effect leaves us in no doubt about that.[1] Emigration as a negative social phenomenon was a most convenient political tool: one could relate to it every social problem of the age. Mass emigration, the flight of the masses, was used as evidence that a nation or an ethnic group was in danger of extinction. Political dependence, national discrimination, bad government policy were all likely culprits in the tragedy emigration was perceived to be. Consequently, we have different versions and different interpretations of overseas migration from the various interest groups. (For instance, the Hungarian Parliament and the Croatian *Sabor* dealt practically simultaneously with the issue at the very beginning of the wave of mass emigration: in the one, it was the Hungarian people, in the other, the Croatian

[1] See Imre Barcza, "Magyarországi kivándorlások irodalma" (Literature of Hungarian Emigration), Offprint, *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 1938.

nation that was held to be threatened with extinction if emigration from the Monarchy continued at the then existing rate. There is practically no end to similar types of contemporary statements from various social, political and national groups.) Contemporary estimates of the scope, causes and effects of emigration were, thus, much more influenced by social and political goals than by an objective analysis of the facts of the situation.

It is, thus, no easy task to devise an appropriate method of source-criticism to deal with all this information. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the value-judgements of the contemporaries have become the axioms of the popular history of the period. Particularly effective have been those interpretations of emigration which were used as weapons in struggles for social reform or national independence. None of us can, thus, afford to remain indifferent to the need for working out a method of source-criticism adequate to the task; and a first step, as far as I can see, would be to study the various group interests involved, or, more precisely, to approach the statements made on emigration as a function of these group interests.

In emigration research, too, we cannot help but consider as more valuable those written sources which originated with some administrative body or office: for instance, the reports of the county sub-prefects, of the county prefects, the various ambassadorial and consular memoranda, or the minutes of Parliament. The study of these sources has convinced me that their usefulness from the point of view of emigration research stands in no direct correlation to the value traditionally assigned to them. The fact that a document originated from "higher up" does not necessarily mean that it gives more, or even more objective, information. If, therefore, we want to get to the bottom of a whole series of emigration-related issues, we must look for alternative sources: For historical sources that have directly to do with those involved in the migration process, i.e. the migrants themselves. (Our concern should be to collect and process data which permit a person-by-person analysis of, say, an area or a community.)

There can be no doubt that, as regards migration statistics, the general scepticism is justified. But that it should be such a wholesale scepticism is only partly due to the shortcomings of the statistical sources themselves. Of no less weight is the fact that the dramatic formulations of the contemporaries still have more of an impact than the dry data. True, we have no statistical sources which give precise and adequate information for all the questions we want to ask concerning overseas migration. Patient comparative study of the statistics we do have, however, will give us a basis for making if not accurate, then certainly at least much better-founded and more realistic estimates than those commonly accepted.

The more the respects in which we can make comparative studies of the processes and characteristics of migration, the more precise and realistic our picture as a whole will be. The comparative approach is our only hope for the peoples of East-Central Europe to stop considering mass emigration as their own peculiar national tragedy, but to see it for what it really was: part of an overall European movement.

I cannot claim to have taken advantage of all that the comparative approach has to offer. Still, I think that the main features of the Hungarian emigration model are already taking shape.

THE MIGRATION PATTERN ON THE BASIS OF MACRO-ANALYSIS

Large-scale overseas emigration from Hungary began in the 1880s and headed for the USA. Sporadic cases had occurred before, and these may also be regarded as precursors of the later mass movement, but emigration was not a characteristic demographic feature in Hungary prior to the 1880s. The distribution of the number of emigrants indicates that the process had three phases: the initial phase, until 1890; the growth phase, until the years 1905–1907; and the saturation phase, from 1908 to World War I.[2] Emigration from Hungary was cut off in full swing by the outbreak of the war.

By the early 1920s, i.e. by the time the unrest due to the war, the revolutions and the territorial changes had abated and migration from Hungary could again have resumed, the United States had shut its doors to the "undesirable" peoples of East-Central Europe. The "push" factors of emigration, however, continued to operate in the new, territorially smaller, Hungary too. In the 1920s, the emigrants headed for theretofore less popular places: Canada and South America, and those who stayed in Europe, to France and Belgium.

The Great Depression effectively put an end to all opportunities for mass emigration. Between 1930 and 1940, overseas migration (but also emigration in general) was to be counted in the hundreds, not the thousands.[3]

The examination of the method of compilation of the various statistical sources and their comparative analysis had shed light on a striking fact: the data for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and within this, for Hungary, show significant differences between the migration traffic, i.e. the number of people actually moving about and the number I found for the migration balance. To give just one example: between 1890 and 1910, the migration traffic for Hungary was 1,433,172 (seaport statistics) while the net migration balance was 813,280.

One reason for the difference—as I see it—was that quite a few people made the trip to America and back a number of times. The fact that the shipping companies and the immigration offices naturally registered them every time led to the cumulations in the migration data, which thus give us only an approximate indication of the scale of gross migration.[4]

[2] About the growth phases, see S. Ackerman, "Theories and Methods of Migration Research", in: H. Runblom and H. Norman (eds), *From Sweden to America* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 19—75.

[3] See the statistical data in: Julianna Puskás, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban, 1880–1940* (Emigrant Hungarians in the United States, 1880–1940), (Budapest, 1982), pp. 169—170. = J. Puskás: *Kivándorló, 1982.*

[4] *A magyar szent korona országainak kivándorlása és visszavándorlása, 1899–1913* (Emigration and re-migration in the countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown), Magyar Statisztikai Központi Hivatal: Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, New Series Vol. 67, Table 98, p. 97. = *MSK vol. 67.*

Another and most decisive reason for the difference was, in my opinion, the great number of re-migrants. American immigration statistics give data for re-migration from 1908 on. The numbers are strikingly high, especially in the period to 1924. To that date, 63.9 percent of the Magyars, 55.6 percent of the Slovaks, 50.7 percent of the Croatian-Slovenians, and 66 percent of the Romanians returned to their country of origin.[5] No less interesting are the re-migration data in the official Hungarian statistics: here, 30.9 percent of all emigrants are registered as having returned, though it is common knowledge—and something that the editors of the statistics also emphasized—that the re-migration records are the weakest point of the statistics. For the same years, the U.S. figures give a 37.8 percent rate of re-migration. In my estimate, at least 35–40 percent of all emigrants returned to Hungary after spending some years in the United States. Comparative studies reveal that a high ratio of re-migration is typical of all "new immigrants" (except for the Jewish immigrants from Russia). At the same time, to this day, we have not got over identifying the net migration loss with the gross migration figures. What mention is made of re-migration is not commensurate with its significance. The scale of re-migration is generally estimated to have been smaller than even the official statistics will show.[6] (Yet even the U.S. census figures indicate the great differences between net and gross immigration.) We cannot afford to ignore these differences, as they are shown by the striking discrepancy between the immigration figures to 1910, and the figures for the foreign-born population of the U.S., as shown in the 1910 census.

A just appreciation of the significance of re-migration is, thus, a *sine qua non* of a better understanding of the nature of overseas migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe. We have yet to answer the question as to why it was among the new immigrants that the re-migration ratio was so high. Was it because those who sailed from this part of Europe satisfied their expectations less than those who had set out from the Western half of the continent? Did they return disappointed in their dreams? Or was it because they had already set out planning to stay in the U.S. only temporarily?

A great many contemporary accounts indicate that emigrants from Hungary did not leave for America with the intention of settling there for good. The emigrants regarded their stay abroad as temporary, and only wanted to improve their economic position at home with the money earned abroad. The hopes and plans of the emigrating agrarian population centered around an independent existence in Hungary, to be realized after their return with the money earned in America.[7]

[5] See the statistical sources about remigration in: S. Thornstrom (ed.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 1036.

[6] *MSK vol. 67*, p. 91, the chapter on "Visszavándorlás a tengerentúlról" (Remigration from overseas). This was emphasized by the compiler of the statistics.

[7] The officials of the counties affected by migration kept emphasizing this in reports sent to the Ministry of the Interior. See the documents compiled by F. Bielik and E. Rákos, *Slovenské Vyst'ahovalectvo* (Bratislava, 1969).

As time went by, the influence of the new environment or their failure to achieve their initial goals gradually undermined their plans to return home, pushed the decision to do so further into the future, and made the hopes for it more and more illusory. For most emigrants, then, the decision to settle for good was not made at the time of their departure. Often, they returned to Hungary before finally settling in the United States, for it took the conflicts of readjustment to the old environment for these emigrants to decide to leave their homeland for ever.

Comparative studies have permitted a more realistic evaluation of the frequency of emigration from Hungary, and have exploded the myth that, next to Ireland, it was Hungary that suffered the greatest population loss through emigration. A comparison with other European figures has shown that the frequency-index of emigration in proportion to the total population for Hungary as a whole fell short of the indexes for Sweden, Norway and Italy. The national averages for Hungary, however, conceal those particularly great differences that existed among the various regions of the country in respect of emigration frequency.

As regards the occupational structure, mass emigration from Hungary was without doubt a rural movement, although it would be a mistake to overemphasize the social homogeneity of the emigrants. The social characteristics of the migrants varied somewhat from phase to phase. In the initial phase, the migrants' social composition was more differentiated in Hungary, too: it seems that, as in Western and Northern Europe, the main pioneer types were craftsmen, tradesmen and persons with broken careers. They sailed overseas, taking their families with them in the majority of the cases, with the intention of creating a new life for themselves. A detailed study of the initial phase, as well as obtaining more information about the pioneers, would therefore be very important. This, however, cannot be done safely without thorough regional research, without studying the individual actually concerned.

The second phase, i.e. the phase of growth, was characterized by the large number of agriculturalists among the emigrants. The number of independent landowning peasants among these was relatively small, most of them being agricultural day labourers. In the saturation phase, the occupational structure of the emigrants became again differentiated. The ratio of the non-agricultural emigrants grew as compared to what it had been in the growth phase, and there was a higher percentage of independent artisans, tradesmen and even of intellectuals. However, their numbers were not so great as to alter the basically agrarian character of mass emigration. Among the agriculturalists, the ratio of the propertied peasant emigrants was higher than in the previous phase, a trend clearly reflected by Hungarian emigration statistics for the years 1906–1907 and 1911–1913.

In the limited number of overseas migration cases that there was between 1920 and 1940, I found an amalgam of economic and political motives among the incentives to move. The series of political events that shook Hungary after World War I and in the 1930s made Hungarians, too, join the ranks of that special type of emigrant: the political exile, and the period saw a rise in the number of intellectuals

and tradesmen among the emigrants. In this respect, Hungarian emigration from the 1920s seems to have different characteristics than the migratory movements of the peoples who gained independence after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The age and sex composition of the emigrants from Hungary also reflect the prominence of temporary migration. Nevertheless this, too, underwent some changes. In the period of growth, the ratio of males was remarkably high. Young men predominated: many of them were married and had left a wife and family at home. In the saturation phase, there was a remarkable increase in the ratio of emigrating females and children. This was partly due to the nuclear families' being reunited in the U.S., but also to the fact that the number of unmarried girls increased. Altogether, family ties in the broad sense appear to have had a major part in recruiting emigrants: according to data from 1910, 82 percent of the immigrants from Hungary, when questioned by the Immigration Officers, stated that they were coming to join relatives already in the U.S.[8]

A further, most apparent uniqueness of the emigrants from Hungary lay in their multinational groupings. From 1898–99 on, both the Hungarian and American official statistics bear this out.[9] That is to say, there are reliable statistical data available as to the emigrants' ethnic composition, if not for the entire, but for a considerably long period of time.

Approximately four fifths, or 3,273,071 of the total 4,115,988 people who emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the U.S.A. did so from the turn of the century on. It is, therefore, only for the period 1861 to 1899 that we have to estimate the ethnic composition of all the emigrants. This can be done by studying the national data and the changing trends of emigration. We can start this by looking at the ethnic breakdown of the officially published figures of 1898–99. It is on this basis that I have attempted to establish the proportionate participation of the various ethnic groups in the emigration process from the Monarchy to the U.S. between the years 1861 and 1898. In the first phase I used these numbers to establish the ethnic distribution of all immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Slovaks represented 24.9 percent of the total number of immigrants in 1898–99. Based on this figure, we can assume the number of migrant Slovaks between 1861 and 1899 to have been 210,136. The ratio of Magyars to the total number of the Monarchy's migrants at the end of the century was 9.1 percent. Considering this percentage, we can assume the number of Magyar migrants prior to 1899 to have been 76,796. I am not listing any more estimates of other ethnic groups. These may be studied from the chart which is part of my presentation.[10] Undoubtedly, starting out from the proportions of 1898–99 figures, we can arrive at only rough estimates as to the ethnic composition of the migrants of the previous decades. As it is, mass

[8] *MSK vol. 67.* Table 48, p. 57.

[9] See the statistical sources in: J. Puskás, *Kivándorló 1982*, pp. 464–469.

[10] *MSK vol. 67*, Table 42, pp. 50—60; and the map in: Julianna Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States 1880–1914* (Budapest, 1982), p. 59. = J. Puskás: *From Hungary 1982.*

emigration did not start simultaneously with all the ethnic groups of the Monarchy. This is borne out by the trends we find for the post-1899 data. Based on the trends (and my general knowledge of the early stages of migration), I have altered the proportionate breakdown of the 1898–99 figures. I have slightly raised the figures pertaining to those ethnic groups where emigration started earlier, and reduced the figure where it began later.

In my opinion, these corrected estimates reflect more realistically, although not precisely, the ethnic composition of the migrants through the entire period of emigration. Further refinement is not only possible, but obviously necessary; for this, however, we need to pool our experiences and methods of calculation.

Looking at the ethnic composition, we must emphasize that, before 1914, the multinational composition of the overseas emigrants from Hungary did not reflect the proportions of the various ethnic groups comprising the population of the delivering country. The ratio of non-Magyars among the emigrants was higher than the proportion they comprised of the country's total population.

The two largest groups arriving in the United States from the Kingdom of Hungary were the Slovaks and the Magyars; they made up more than one half of all the newcomers from that territory. The Croats and Slovenes were less significant (16.6 percent), because most Slovenes started out from Austria. The Germans accounted for 15 percent.

If the emigrants from Hungary to the United States are divided into two groups, Magyars and non-Magyars, it becomes obvious that more than two-thirds of the emigrants were non-Magyars, though they comprised but 50 percent of the country's population at the turn of the century.

The great differences between the frequency indicators of emigration by ethnic groups naturally raise the question of to what extent the unsolved national problems in Hungary influenced the inclination of various ethnic groups to emigrate. Were national conflicts among the "push factors" that affected some groups more than others? Historians dealing with the emigration especially of the oppressed Slav ethnic groups living within the boundaries of the old Monarchy have tended to emphasize—along with the economic causes—the national problems as well. Comparative research can go a long way to clarify this issue too.

The Hungarian emigration statistics from 1899 to 1913 offer some information about the regions from which the emigrants set out. They show that emigration overseas was very intensive in some parts of Hungary and almost nonexistent in others. Emigration was most frequent from the Northeastern region of the country. There were some other emigration regions as well, which were geographically far apart. The question arises as to why the emigration centers developed in these particular areas. Although the economic and social conditions of these emigration regions showed more similarities, they were not so clear cut as to adequately explain the increased readiness to migrate. Neither the demographic, nor the economic conditions within the country varied so greatly as to account for the substantial difference which appeared in the spread of emigration.

Geographically, the most notable characteristic of the emigration centers is that they fell more or less outside the pull of Budapest, the major industrial center. Generally these regions were not in the lowlands, but in mountainous districts where nature was less benign. They were mostly districts where agriculture on peasant farms had to be supplemented by other kinds of labour.

The ethnic composition of the migration regions differed from region to region. Mass migration started among the Slovaks and the Germans in the districts bordering Galicia. It was they who transmitted the migration wave to other parts of the country: it diffused first in their immediate neighbourhood, and later among other ethnic groups living in the vicinity. While personal relationships played an important role in the spread of emigration, the migration centers of the Magyars developed in the counties of the North and the East, in the vicinity of the Slovaks. Of the Magyar emigrants, 69.3 percent came from the northeastern counties of the country.

In Hungary, among the Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenes, a way of life based on migration had been established long before overseas migration began. For at least a century, they had been migrating to the lowlands, to the central part of the country, in search of agricultural jobs.[11] The Germans were also mobile, and not only the craftsmen but also the German peasant families who grew up aware of the need for geographic mobility, owing to their special system of inheritance based on the indivisibility of the estate. The Germans were pioneers in making a certain region a migration region, although their economic and social status hardly impelled them to migrate.

The regional differences in emigration from Hungary derive from the characteristics of the inner mechanism of migration, from the necessary combination of push and pull factors. Emigration spread in the form of similar chains or centers of emigration in the ethnically more homogeneous countries of Europe too, such as the Scandinavian countries, or Italy, or Germany. Everywhere, mass emigration began in the regions far from the industrial centers, in those lacking in natural resources and in regions in some way more open to areas and peoples already familiar with migration. Since these regions in Hungary were inhabited mostly by non-Magyar ethnic groups, and since the Magyars lived mostly in the country's central, more enclosed plains, it was geographic location, the proximity of areas were migration had previously occurred, which primarily accounted for the differences in the non-Magyar population's inclination to migrate. (All this shows that in Hungary, too, even within the traditional agrarian social structure, there was a mobility which would deserve further study.)

The geographic location of the emigration regions of Hungary cannot be explained in terms only of domestic causes. The wave of European migration also exerted its influence. Our investigation proves that, just as in the case of regions

[11] See I. Katona, "Átmeneti bérformák" (Transitional wageforms), and Z. Sárközi, "A summások" (Seasonal workers) in: I. Szabó, *A parasztság Magyarországon a kapitalizmus korában* (The peasantry in Hungary during capitalism), (Budapest, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 382–406 and 321–371.

within a country, the links can be found between countries and ethnic groups, especially as some regions crossed over state borders.

The regional differences in emigration from Hungary can, thus, be explained in the terms of the mechanism of emigration as such. The differences in the readiness of the various ethnic groups to emigrate do not necessarily involve the political problem of the nationalities question. Which is not to say that certain individuals (e.g. intellectuals) did not leave for precisely this reason. But their statement to this effect, or that of their contemporaries who—as already mentioned—tried to make political capital of emigration, is not yet proof of political motives playing as large a part in the emigration of the masses as they would have us believe. Comparative study, as well as the examination of the research results for other European countries, inclines us to urge a rethinking of this issue too. For we should not forget that, in an ethnically mixed country, the regional differences that there necessarily are in how the nation's overall social and economic problems are experienced at the community level, always find expression in terms of ethnic conflicts.

That political motives had much of a part in emigration is mooted also by the high proportion of re-migrants among Hungary's non-Magyar emigrants. As Prof. Gould of New Zealand put it: "... The high rates of repatriation, characteristic of many of these groups (subject peoples in societies of mixed nationalities—my parentheses), would seem to warn against too heavy an emphasis on non-economic motives. It is easy to accept that South-Slavs should react to impoverishment by resort to temporary migration as South Italians did, but harder to believe that so many would have returned so soon, had the avoidance of a hated, but continuing, political regime been the chief motive."[12]

It is not easy to explain the causes of this very complex social movement in its historical context. Macro-level analysis, aggregate indices cannot shed light on the phenomenon of mobility in all its complexities. The research I have done on emigration from Hungary indicates that demographic, social and economic conditions give but the basic impetus to overseas migration. In general, but only in general, the most important factors in explaining migration were overpopulation in the agricultural sector and the differences between the Hungarian and the American standards of living. However, there was also undoubtedly a general increase in mobility brought about by industrialization. This—and this needs more attention than we have so far given it—led to new ways of life, broke the old ties which previously linked individuals to their old communities. All this made them open to new experiences and new ideas, which in turn fostered new wants and demands.

Thoroughgoing regional and local investigation is required to give well-founded answers as to what specific causes in the given demographic, social and economic situation turned the potential migrant into the actual emigrant. The same is necessary for a detailed analysis of how the various migratory streams interconnected, and how they presupposed or replaced one another.

[12] J. D. Gould, "European Intercontinental Emigration: The Role of Diffusion and Feedback", in: *Journal of European Economic History*, 1980, p. 271.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS' SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN THE UNITED STATES

In keeping with a broader interpretation of the phenomenon of migration, I have not confined my studies to the donor country (Hungary), but have followed the emigrants to their new environment, and studied their settlements, the formation of their communities.

For a delineation of their settlements patterns, I have relied mostly on United States census data. These indicate that almost all the immigrants coming from Hungary found jobs in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, West Virginia and Illinois, mostly in the mines and in various branches of heavy industry, in the iron foundries and the steel mills. It was here that American industry proved practically insatiable in its consumption of unskilled labour.

Within these states, the settlements of immigrants from Hungary were scattered. Pittsburgh, New York and Cleveland and their environs were the locations of a chain of larger and smaller settlements. They were to be found, moreover, in hundreds of mining camps far from any town. Comparative examination of the patterns of movement and settlement of the ethnic groups coming from Hungary shows that these were, for the most part, similar. It seems, therefore, that those coming from the same region tended to settle near one another; we cannot speak of lines of demarcation separating the various ethnic groups of new immigrants, especially those coming from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. However, if we examine the regional distribution of the immigrants coming from Hungary, we find a number of differences as well. The non-Magyar immigrants were much more likely to concentrate in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois than the Magyars, who went rather to New York and New Jersey.[13] The reason for this was probably that the Magyar immigrants formed the socially most differentiated group of the nationalities coming from Hungary: there was a higher ratio of skilled workers, artisans and intellectuals among them.[14]

[13] Some figures to illustrate the percentage distribution of Magyars and Slovaks by states:

	Magyars		Slovaks	
	1910	1920	1910	1920
New York	23.1	20.5	8.6	8.4
Pennsylvania	20.0	16.5	48.1	43.9
Ohio	19.3	20.9	12.1	11.3
New Jersey	11.1	12.0	8.2	8.0
Illinois	6.4	6.4	8.2	7.8
Connecticut	4.0	4.9	3.3	3.2
Indiana	3.4	3.2	1.0	2.0

[14] See dates in: J. Puskás, *From Hungary 1982*, pp. 39—40.

I have had opportunity to study church registers of a number of Hungarian-American parishes. The data indicate that the parishioners hailed from geographically widely scattered places. In every parish I found some who came from one particular village. They were, however, likely to have come from various communities in the same county, or from various counties in the same emigration region. But all the church registers I have looked into list other parishioners, too, from counties that fell outside these regions; for instance the members of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Chicago had come from 22 different counties.[15]

The personal accounts of those who have lived through the period, as well as the Hungarian-American newpapers, call attention to the high degree of geographical mobility among the immigrants, who were as prone to keep on moving from place to place within the United States as to return to the old country and then back again.

Macro-level research has brought to light a whole series of questions which we have little hope of answering satisfactorily on the basis of the sources generally relied on.

The efforts to know the migration phenomenon in all its complexity have led some researchers to turn to local investigations, to do micro-analyses of small regions and communities. Just what regions and communities are likely to yield representative evidence upon micro-analysis we can gather on the basis of the macro-investigations conducted to date.

For my own in-depth study, I have chosen a village (Sz.) in the emigration region of Northeastern Hungary. This community was heavily affected by overseas emigration and is a good example of it, at least as regards the Magyar community.

Emigration fever reached this village relatively late, after the turn of the century, so the old generation still has vivid memories of the emigrants. My first task, therefore, was to gather as much information as possible through oral testimony.

Relying on the recollections of the older villagers, I made a roster of the emigrants, and collected data on them and on their families. The villagers also gave me the addresses of those of the emigrants who were still alive in Canada and the U.S., or at times the addresses of their children, who still kept in touch with the relatives in the old country.

Since 1982, I spent a number of months in the U.S. on three occasions, and a month in Canada. This gave me the opportunity to get in touch with those who had left the village, or with their descendants. I tried to get them to tell me the story of their lives (and recorded what they said), and also asked them what they knew of the other emigrants from the village, or their families.

The old people in the village were more likely to recollect those who had left for overseas than those who had gone to settle in some other part of the country, or moved to town. As far as they remembered, before World War I, no one left the village to settle in a town. Whoever left, left for America. The people I talked to in

[15] B. Dienes, *A chicagói South Side-i Magyar Református Egyház Családi Albuma*, 1912–1942 (The family album of the Chicago South Side Hungarian Reformed Church, 1912–1942), Chicago.

the U.S. and Canada all told me that the villagers kept in touch with each other in their new environment, even when they moved farther and farther away from each other with time. For the most part, the data they gave me confirmed what I had learned back home in the village, and amplified on it. The roster of 228 emigrants that I had compiled with the help of my village informants grew to 270 names in the U.S. and Canada.

The question naturally arises how far the data collected through "oral testimony" can be regarded as reliable, containing as they do so many subjective elements, and the possible distortions that come with the passing of time. We can only retort that written documents are no less liable to these ills. Source criticism is something we can never afford to do without. And the comparative approach is a useful safeguard in oral history as well.

I reconstructed the emigration process itself on the basis of testimony from the villagers, and from the emigrants and their families. From them, I got an outline of the demographic and social parameters of the emigrants they knew, learned of their personal qualities, and learned also of the economic, social, and attitudinal factors making for overseas emigration.

I tested the credibility of the accounts I got by asking a number of people to tell me about one and the same person. The demographic data I was given (on the families, parents, siblings of the emigrants) I checked against church and town hall registers. I found some discrepancies between what I learned from a given family about itself and what I learned about it from others and from documents, but these differences were not significant.

The value of oral testimony, I believe, depends largely on who we ask, about what, and how. It is one thing when a politician or some other public figure gives a deliberate account of his past, one coloured by later needs and expectations, and a very different thing when a simple person is asked to recall the facts, experiences and lessons of his past.

A great deal of data is still to be collected and its analysis is largely yet to be done. But what I already have at hand is enough to answer questions on which the national data yielded no information. Here I should like merely to mention a few findings that give us a better insight into the mechanism of the development of migration.

As I have already mentioned, U.S. immigration statistics show that, by the 1910s, 82 percent of those arriving from Hungary claimed kinship or friendship ties to those already settled there. In taking note of the role of kinship ties in the spread of immigration, however, we concentrated mainly on the heads of families, who had their wives and children join them in America, or young men, who sent the fare to their prospective wives.

In fact, however, we find that kinship ties of every kind operated in the spread of the emigration wave throughout the community. Kinship tied together practically all the emigrants who left Sz., except for the four individuals whose reason for emigration were non-economic.

There were married men, bachelors and unmarried girls among the emigrants from Sz.; couples were an exception. No entire family left the village before 1914. In most cases the nuclear family was broken up. Some adult members of a large family (of 8 or 10 children) were likely to emigrate, one after the other, at intervals of a year or more. Most of the young men and women who arrived single got married in the U.S. They often married fellow-villagers, but marriage with those who came from other villages became frequent too. Occasionally, a husband would send for his wife and children, or only his wife, entrusting the children to the grandparents' care.

I have not yet been able to discover the identity of the first emigrant from Sz.. But we know who the "pioneers" were. They were tradesmen who had always been more mobile than their fellow-villagers: the blacksmith, the brick maker, the teamster. From what I learned about the beginning of emigration among the women, especially the young ones, it appears that, initially, the villagers spoke ill of anyone who would take such a step, just as they were later to express disapproval of any girl who left for the city. Generally speaking, the young women who left for overseas were those who had come into conflict with the community's value system in one way or another.

The emigrants were mostly of the village poor, grown-up children of poor peasants with tiny plots and large families. Among them there were those who, though registered as agricultural laborers, had hopes of inheriting some property, though maybe not enough to live on. Four people left from better off peasant families—these had personal reasons for wanting to leave their families behind. Emigration was considered the prerogative of the poor, and the four financially solvent emigrants were not accepted by the rest.

How far overseas migration was an attempt to resolve financial problems and then to return home is confirmed by what we know of the emigrants from Sz. on a number of counts. All those interviewed were unanimous in claiming that "originally, everyone wanted to come home". Even those who ended up staying mentioned that the thought of returning preoccupied them for years. They would gladly have turned their backs on the hardships of the new life especially in the first few years, if only they had got the money to pay for the return—and if they had not been ashamed of doing so.

The ratio of re-migrants was also high. More than half of those who had gone to the U.S. returned within 3 to 5 years, especially the married men who had left their families behind. Those who got married in the States generally settled there for good. Of these, only 3 families returned, but these later went again back to America. Among the families which did go back to the village, there were very few who had stayed in the U.S. for as many as 10 to 15 years.

Couples who were reunited in the U.S. tended also to return to Hungary, taking with them the children born in America. These children, when they grew up, could, as American citizens, return to the U.S., even in the 1930s, when immigration had already been restricted. This was the group "born in America and brought up in the old country". In this one village, at least 18 of those returned to the United States as adults in the interwar years, travelling with their American passports. This is one

source of the discrepancy between the migration statistics and the number of people who actually left the country for good in these years, for neither the Hungarian emigration nor the American immigration statistics registered this group.

The delay in making a decision about permanent settlement is also proved by the fact that even of those who ended up staying in America for good, the majority kept on buying patches of land in the village back home. It often took decades for them to finally make up their minds never to return. So one of them put it: "When I bought the first acre of land, I said to my wife: 'Now we have three acres of land', for back home our lease said we had to cultivate three acres of land to get the produce of one. We bought the second acre of land, and said we now had six. 'We'll only stay in America and work so hard until we have 20 acres, and then we'll go home', I used to say to my wife when she'd worry about my working 72 hours a week as a longshoreman." (They, for instance, never returned to Hungary.)

We cannot categorize those who stayed abroad and those who returned home permanently by saying that mostly the successful ones stayed and the unsuccessful ones returned. Neither can we say the opposite: that the unsuccessful ones stayed, and the successful ones came home. The motivations by which they explained their decision to settle permanently or return to their village were complex and varied.

The information obtained also brought to light what economic result emigration had for the people concerned. Differences in individual ability did produce different economic situations, but it also became clear that, by depending on wages alone, no appreciable savings could be achieved. Only very few families reached a position to be able to buy 40-50 acres of land in the village, or to start an independent small business venture, to open a tavern or a butcher shop in the United States, and these were almost invariably families who secured additional income by keeping a relatively large number (10-15) of boarders *(burdos)*. We know of only nine people, or rather nine families, in this category; families where the women, i.e. the wives, had the initiative and the stamina required for the undertaking.

The majority, however, bought only small parcels of land of two to five acres. My informants also recollect re-migrants who settled in the village without acquiring any land at all; very definite ratings were given to those who had "made good", and those who had "nothing" to show for their years in America.

The information I got of Sz. also contained concrete evidence of chain-migration. "At first everybody went to West Virginia to work in the mines in Holden, but by now most of them are in New Brunswick", said the old people in the village. One of the interviewed, in recalling his childhood, supplied graphic details about the company agents recruiting the immigrants, among them the people from the village, to work in the mines. At the time the settlement had only temporary wooden buildings left there by the lumberjacks. The good opportunity for finding work soon attracted others, and the people from the village began to move to the coal mines at Holden, West Virginia. Another man remembered and told the story of why a number of people separated from the group and moved to Granttown, another mining community in West Virginia. They later urged others from the village to join them.

This information revealed the fact that, until the mid-1920s, their characteristic lifestyle was one of the migrating worker. Beside the wish of staying together and the repeated evidences of this feeling, the signs of spreading out into different directions were already present in the behavior of the immigrant generation. Only a few families from the village, for example, settled permanently in either Holden or Granttown. The others either returned home, or went on somewhere else in the U.S. In the course of their travels, a villager or two stayed behind in Cleveland, Detroit, or McKeesport. A more permanent and rather large colony was set up in New Brunswick, N. J. They were attracted by the town's growing industries, the cigar factory (this enticed primarily the girls), and especially the Johnson & Johnson company. A migration route grew up between the two mining places and the town (which was frequented by the miners, for they also looked for marriage partners there), with the families of Sz. moving back and forth between the two, as job opportunities offered themselves now here, now there. The mines provided the men with harder jobs, but also with higher wages. On the other hand, there were fewer job opportunities for the women in the mining places than in the towns. The main source of income, and that available only to married women, was the keeping of boarders.

We de not yet know who the first to settle in New Brunswick were. But there is no doubt that those who stayed behind in the village were most influenced by New Brunswick settlers; to this day, the village has the closest ties to New Brunswick. During the interwar years, with immigration to the United States restricted, people from Sz. too, started making their way to Canada: first they tried their luck in agriculture in the prairies, and then moved East, toward the Great Lakes, to settle in and around Hamilton, Ontario. Although much weaker than that between the village and New Brunswick, a sort of magnet developed between Hamilton and the village as well.

In the case of all the villagers who settled in Canada, we find either kinship ties (sibling, cousin) to villagers who had settled in America, or a tradition of migration in the family: a father or father-in-law who had been in the United States earlier on, in the years preceding World War I.

Micro-analysis cannot restrict itself to studying the mechanism of the process of migration. Its goal is to trace the generations through the decades of their adaptation and assimilation, right to the period of the ethno-cultural revival in all its various forms. Of this, I should like to speak to you another time. My purpose now was to try to show you how much detailed study is still necessary for a well-defined and truer picture of the emigration process itself.

The effectiveness of the micro-analytical approach, however, would be greatly enhanced through more systematic co-operation among researchers of the topic on both sides of the Atlantic, if, for instance, co-ordinated studies were to be conducted, seeking answers to analogous questions. Although we are in the eleventh hour, there is still time to tap the sources of oral history available on the issue of migration. They are sources we can hardly afford to waste.

The ethnic composition of the migrants to the USA from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1861–1924

Ethnics	Distribution in 1898–99 %	First estimate according to distribution in 1898–99 nos	1861–1898 Corrections in%	Second estimate, on the basis of corrections		1899–1924 Immigrants recorded in US immigration statistics		1861–1924 Estimated numbers on the basis of			
								first estimate		second estimate	
				nos	%	nos	%	nos	%	nos	%
Total	100.0	844,017		844,017	100.0	3,273,071	100.0	4,116,988	100.0	4,116,988	100.0
Slovaks	24.9	210,136	+20	252,162	29.9	476,312	14.6	686,448	16.7	728,474	17.7
Poles	18.7	157,813	+5.7	166,807	19.8	600,458	18.3	758,271	18.4	767,265	18.6
Jews	17.7	149,474	+5.7	157,887	18.7	232,312	7.1	381,686	9.4	390,199	9.5
Croatian-Slovenians	13.8	116,461	−20	93,167	11.0	451,717	13.8	568,178	13.8	544,884	13.2
Magyars	9.1	76,796	−30	53,757	6.4	472,934	14.4	549,730	13.3	526,691	12.8
Germans	6.9	58,230	−14	50,077	5.9	384,265	11.7	442,495	10.7	434,342	10.6
Bohemian-Moravians	3.8	32,069	+20	38,482	4.6	137,352	4.2	169,421	4.1	175,834	4.3
Ruthenians	2.3	19,410	−30	13,587	1.6	247,814	7.6	267,224	6.5	261,401	6.4
Italians	1.7	14,346	∅	14,346	1.7	26,313	0.8	40,659	0.9	40,659	0.9
Other South-Slavs: Dalmatians, Bosnians, Serbs, Montenegrins, (+ Bulgarians)	1.0	8.439	−60	3,376	0.4	89,990	2.8	98,429	2.4	93,366	2.3
Romanians	0.1	843	−68	269	0.0	153,604	4.7	154,447	3.8	153,873	3.7

Compiled from the immigration statistics of the USA (*Annual Reports...*)

FRANTIŠEK BIELIK

SLOVAK EMIGRATION IN THE YEARS 1880–1939 AND PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ITS STUDY

On the centenary of the start of the mass emigration of Slovaks overseas, an international conference was held on the emigration and life of Slovaks in the world. Its purpose was to expand and deepen our existing knowledge of this subject, to confront the Slovak research on the emigration and life of our compatriots and their descendants in different ethnic environments with research on other countries of emigration and immigration, and to exchange information on the state and prospects of this research.[1] Conditions are now ripe for comparing research results, and for more intensive international cooperation in studying the problems of emigration from other European countries.[2] All these questions are of great importance, particularly for the study of our national history in the 19th and 20th centuries, as emphasized by many scholars also at the 1982 conference. As the author Vladimir Minác noted: "The history of our nation would be incomplete, nay, inconceivable, without the history of our emigration, just as the history of our emigration would be imcomprehensible without the context of the old country's political, economic, social and cultural coordinates. We want to conduct research not for the sake of research alone, but for life, for our present and future."[3]

We are fully aware of the complex character of emigration, especially in view of the small numbers of the Slovak population, the drainage of so much of its blood, its overall social, economic and cultural development and in view of the positive and negative nation-wide implications of emigration that have been and continue to be felt. We are also aware, in considering these questions, that the emigration of certain members of the Slovak nation is not an isolated phenomenon, but something that must be studied in the context of the overall social, economic and political situation of the central European countries which, from the end of the 19th century onwards, supplied this overgrowing flood of emigrants.

When discussing the problems presented by the study of the emigration history and life of Slovaks the world over, we must remember the fortunes, the creative

[1] *Výsť ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*, (Martin, Matica Slovenská, 1982).

[2] Thomas D. Marzik, "K problematike americko-slovenských akademických vzťahov", *Zborník: Zahraniční Slováci a národné kultúrne dedičstvo*, (Matica Slovenská, 1984), pp. 101—106.

[3] Príhovor národného umelca Vladimíra Mináca. *Zborník: Výsť ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*. (Matica Slovenská, 1982), pp. 19—21.

efforts and social aspirations of the 620,000 people that the Slovak nation lost in the years 1880–1920 through emigration to the United States. After the initial years of adjustment to the new ethnic environment, they sought fulfilment in all shperes of human endeavour, notably in the social, cultural and political spheres. Lack of space does not permit us to analyse in detail the social or sociocultural structure of our emigrant groups, especially in the first emigration period up to 1918, the years that saw the birth of a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks, i.e. the Czechoslovak Republic.

When studying the emigration of the Slovak people, it is necessary to outline the beginnings, the causes, the actual process, and the consequences of emigration, as well as the emigrants' social endeavours.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF SLOVAK EMIGRATION

From the mid-19th century on, the Slovak peasantry's most vital problem was a shortage of land. After 1848, a substantial portion of the land continued to be concentrated in the hands of a few big landowners, while the bulk of the peasantry owned but a small part of Slovakia's total land acreage. Survivals of feudal relationships persisted in Slovakia even in the second half of the 19th century. This agricultural situation, exacerbated by natural disasters, was one of the major factors that provided the mass emigration of Slovaks. To illustrate the disproportions in land distribution, let us present a few figures. At the end of the 19th century, landowners with less than a hundred acres made up 98 per cent of all the landowners, who, between them, owned no more than 47.8 per cent of the land in Slovakia. Larger estates of over two hundred acres represented over 50 per cent of all the land under cultivation, although owned by a mere 1 per cent of all the owners. At the turn of the century, agriculture in Slovakia relied on farmers, 100,000 servants, and 210,000 agricultural labourers. In those days, Slovak farmers were hampered by their obsolete agricultural methods and tools. The system of leaving land fallow was still in use and the indebtedness of the rural population kept growing. Social and educational standards among the peasantry in Slovakia at the turn of the century were low. The Slovak village of the period offered a bleak picture of poverty.

Conditions in the Slovak countryside did not significantly improve even after the emergence, in 1918, of the Czechoslovak Republic. The long-awaited land reform, too, failed to better the lot of the peasantry. Under the circumstances, mass emigration overseas seemed to offer just about the only escape from a hopeless situation. Industry in the territory of present-day Slovakia sorely lagged behind the industrialized West, though, from the last decades of the 19th century, it could boast some growth in industries that did not have to contend with fierce competition from the Austrian parts of the Monarchy. Industrial development in Slovakia up to 1918 was intimately bound up with development in Hungary as a whole. The setting up of holding companies, banks, savings-banks, and the building

of railways towards the end of the 19th century did bring with it some growth of industrial production, but these trends were reversed as a result of overproduction in the years 1873–1879 and 1885–1888. The resulting crises led to unemployment, along with an accelerated concentration of production and capital, which, in turn, had an adverse effect on small entrepreneurs and craftsmen. In those years, however, industry provided jobs for only a small part of the Slovak population. Agriculture employed 59 per cent of the able-bodied population, whereas jobs in industry, and urban employment in general, accounted for no more than 11.2 per cent. On average, peasants, labourers and household servants represented 71.5 per cent of the Slovak population.

The performance of industry grew even more lamentable after the Czechoslovak Republic was declared. Slovakia's share was estimated at 12 per cent, though 10 per cent of all industrial enterprises were based in Slovakia and industry provided livelihood for 20 per cent of the population. Industrial production in Slovakia gradually declined to 30 per cent of its prewar level. As a result of this policy, jobs were few and far between at home, and people started leaving the country in search of job opportunities.[4]

THE GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF SLOVAK EMIGRATION

It is a historical fact that, during the decades they spent abroad, hundreds of thousands of Slovak emigrants, through sheer hard work, generated considerable economic, cultural and social resources. Possibly the most serious consequence of the emigration movement was that it depleted the numbers of the Slovak nation and adversely affected the family and age structure of the population. At the same time, Slovaks found much freer life in the USA, which enabled them to devote themselves to their national culture, establish Slovak clubs, organizations, and schools, and publish dozens of Slovak newspapers. Slovak writers at home contributed to the papers of their compatriots based in America and were, in turn, given financial assistance by Slovak associations in the USA.

The decades of emigration had both positive and negative implications for the life and the cultural, social and political conditions of the Slovak nation. It remains a historical fact that, in the period when the Slovaks as a nation were oppressed, the emigrants brought home to the civilized world just how much political, cultural, and social oppression Slovaks were exposed to in the Hungarian state. And this they did at a time when such grievances could not be voiced at home. In the more democratic ambience of the United States, Slovaks improved not just their living standards, but also their political, social and cultural opportunities. It was in the

[4] František Bielik *et al.*, *Slováci vo svete* II, Martin (1980); Ján Hanzlik, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo na prahu Imperializmu", *Geografický časopis* XIII, 1962, pp. 20–28.

United States that they were able to draw up a practicable plan of action for the future of the Slovaks, their future life in the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks, i.e. the Czechoslovak Republic.[5]

SLOVAK EMIGRATION TO THE USA

Even back in the early 1870s, when Slovaks first began to emigrate in large numbers, the United States of America was a prime favourite. As many as 98–99 per cent of all the emigrants who left the territory of Slovakia in search of jobs and bread went there. Once in the US, they settled primarily in the industrial centres of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Illinois and Connecticut. Pennsylvania, in particular, with its coal mines (the largest in the land), its steel-works, and other growth industries, continued for long years to act as a magnet on Slovak emigrants. As a result, from the late 19th century on and throughout the first three decades of the 20th, the major cities of the above states, i.e. Pittsburgh, Cleveland, New York and, to some extent, Chicago, formed the centres of Slovak national and cultural life on American soil.[6]

The exodus of Slovak people, the stream of emigration from Slovak territory over several decades grew in intensity and, before World War I, the Slovak community in the United States alone numbered 750,000. The mass emigration of Slovaks to the USA, which began in the 1870s, was virtually over by 1939, the year World War II broke out. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, the United States had been the prime importer of foreign labour for its expanding industry and mines. In the period of 1821 to 1880, around 8.5 million workers migrated to the United States. In the period 1881–1909, the figure was 15.5 million. Recent immigrants in general, and Slovaks in particular, were viewed with mistrust in the USA. Through their willingness to take on almost any job, they served as a reservoir of cheap labour.

The economic, social, political and cultural history of American Slovaks from the 1880's on can be divided into three main stages. The first lasted from the start of mass emigration up to the end of World War I. The second covers the period between the two wars and World War II. The third stage differs from the previous two in several ways. It began in 1945 and has lasted up to the present. The Slovaks who made up the bulk of the emigrants in the first and second waves were among the most underprivileged and exploited manual workers in contemporary America. Since in respect of their family background most emigrants were small farmers, day labourers, agricultural and industrial workers, they were often compelled to accept low-paid and physically extremely arduous jobs as unskilled workers. Having little

[5] Miloš Gosiorovský, "K podielu americko-slovenského proletariátu na vzniku ČSR.", *Zborník: Ke vzniku ČSR*, (Praha, 1958), pp. 171—184.

[6] Ján Svetoň, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu", *Ekonomický časopis SAV*, (Bratislava, 1956), pp. 27—50.

English, they fell an easy prey to factory and mine-owners, who used them as a reservoir of cheap labour. Gradually, however, even at the early stage, they began to undergo some sort of social stratification. In spite of the complex conditions of the unfamiliar surroundings, a successful minority of the Slovak community still managed to establish themselves as craftsmen, businessmen, farmers, and even professionals. Before the period of Slovak mass emigration, i.e. before the 1870s, only individual emigrants left for America. As early as 1840, a few Slovaks from Trenčín county settled in Philadelphia. It seems plausible that they were tinkers by trade. Several Slovaks fought in the American Civil War on the Unionist side. In this context, we should mention the activity of Gejza Mihalótzy, who, on February 4, 1861, announced to President Lincoln that he had organized "Lincoln's Slovak Riflemen". This was the first unit of volunteers in America, all of whose members were drawn from the 24th regiment of Illinois militia, in which Mihalótzy served as a colonel. Mihalótzy died in a battle at Chattanooga, Tennessee on March 11, 1865. Other ethnic Slovaks, too, fought alongside Lincoln, including Stachel Számvald, born in the Spiš area, who was promoted to general and was decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor.

SLOVAK PAPERS AND ASSOCIATIONS IN THE US

The turn of the century found dozens of Slovak associations and newspapers in the United States. Their activites and multifaceted efforts were closely linked with the life of Slovak immigrants. The beginnings of American-Slovak newspapers date back to the first years of Slovak emigration to the United States. The first Slovak lithographed newspaper in America, the *Bulletin,* and other trailblazing efforts of the Slovak press are hallmarked by the names of the first pioneers, Eduard Schwartz-Markovič, Peter Víťazoslav Rovnianek and Štefan Furdek, Krompachy-born Janko Slovenský and Július Wolf (the latter moved to the United States in 1879), who were all instrumental in launching Slovak newspapers. Though educated at a teachers' training college, in America they worked first in an ironworks and later in a mine. Janko Slovenský was subsequently employed at the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Pittsburgh. There he established contacts with Slovak emigrants, who started to flock to America as far back as the 1880's. He realized that the majority of them were left to their own devices and that they must be informed of the complex situation in America. In 1885 he carried out his idea of publishing a lithographed journal under the title *Bulletin.* It was a sheet of two pages, the first one containing information on "What's New in the World" and the second on "What's New at Home". The newspaper met with an enormous response among Slovak immigrants and so Slovenský decided to publish a regular newspaper. The first issue of *Amerikánsko-slovenské noviny* appeared in Pittsburgh on October 21, 1886. The publisher decided to print the newspaper in the Šariš dialect, as the majority of the Slovak immigrants in America were from Eastern Slovakia.

Having been trained in Hungarian schools, both Slovenský and Wolf lacked a pronounced national allegiance, a fact also reflected in the contents of their newspapers. At the same time, through the above papers, they did a great service to Slovaks in America. They informed them about life in America, the laws of the land, and advised them in their everyday affairs. They deserve credit for having aroused the interest of ordinary Slovak immigrants in printed matter in their own tongue. The year 1888 marked a turning-point, as Peter V. Rovnianek became editor and co-owner of the paper. Directly it was launched, this Slovak newspaper, the first of its kind, boasted some 2,000 subscribers. The beginnings of Slovak journalism in the United States are also associated with the name of Edo Schwartz-Markovič. A former police captain of Levoča, he fled to America because of problems with his superiors. He was a shrewd observer of the life of Slovaks in America and soon recognized the need to publish more Slovak newspapers for the benefit of the emigrants. With the help of Rev. Gelhoff, he launched the newspaper *Nová vlasť* in May 1888. In contrast to *Amerikánsko-slovenské noviny,* Markovič printed his newspaper in the standard literary Slovak language.

Schwartz-Markovič, who had been a journalist before, needed contributions that would make his paper interesting reading for his fellow-emigrants. At that time, a student expelled from the Esztergom seminary, P. V. Rovnianek, came to America. He had previously contributed to the American-Slovak journal *Nová vlasť* from back home and continued to contribute to the journal, under the pen-name of Rovinov, after his arrival in America. His articles captivated the readers, and subscriptions to *Nová vlasť* increased dramatically. Even in those early days, Rovnianek propounded the idea of setting up a Slovak association. His articles got a hostile reception from the Magyar-oriented circles of the emigrants from Hungary. Rovnianek was defended against their accusations by several Slovak national and cultural activists in America.

As *Amerikánsko-slovenské noviny* considered *Nová vlasť* an unwelcome rival, Slovenský tried to get Markovič to cooperate with him. He offered Markovič co-ownership in his newspaper if he stopped publishing *Nová vlasť.* Markovič did stop its publication in late 1888, but Slovenský did not make him a partner. Rovnianek started to work as a journalist for *Amerikánsko-slovenské noviny* and, from 1891 on, published his articles in standard Slovak, making the paper a true mouthpiece of Slovak emigrants in America. The paper stopped publishing in the early nineteen hundreds.

The oldest Slovak periodicals in America included *Slovák v Amerike*—launched by Anton S. Ambrose on December 21, 1889—which appeared in the Šariš dialect. In the course of its existence, it repeatedly changed hands, which did leave its mark on the contents of the paper. On several occasions, the journal published personal attacks on Rovnianek and later also on other Slovak national and cultural activists in America.

An important Slovak journal published in the United States was *Jednota,* launched on May 2, 1881. Closely bound up with the life and history of Slovak emigrants, it was the official paper of one of the biggest Slovak associations in

America, The First Catholic Slovak Unity. The first editors of *Jednota* included František Pucher-Čiernovodský. In its very first issue, *Jednota* underscored the "need to support literature in Slovakia, to defend Catholic Slovak unity, to bring our Slovak compatriots closer to, and acquaint them with, that lively nation, the Czechs". From the time it was launched, this periodical espoused every national and cultural movement of the American Slovaks. In the later 19th and early 20th centuries, over 230 Slovak newspapers and magazines were published in the United States.

Research in the field was given added urgency in the interwar period. However, conditions were not yet ripe for a systematic study of the problem. The few Slovak historians who could have tackled the job were not in a position to pay due attention, in he form of intense and systematic study, to this segment of Slovak national history. In the absence of adequate documents and sources, they lacked the sort of solid foundation on which to build in carrying out a comprehensive investigation of the Slovak mass emigration that began in the last decades of the 19th century and lasted till the outbreak of World War II.

However, a dramatic change occurred after 1945, whereby favourable conditions were created for a more systematic review of this segment of Slovak national history, too. As the archives were opened up, the wealth of materials they held was subjected to close examination. Ever new data on Slovakia's social and economic history, and hence on the emigration of Slovaks, were being disclosed.

From the early fifties on, this chapter in the Slovak nation's annals received considerable attention at the Department of Czechoslovak History, and at the Archives of the Comenius University of Bratislava. Professor Gosiorovský took a personal interest in the topic and encouraged his history students to make it the object of their study, along with the history of Slovaks in the world. As early as 1953, the first studies on Slovak emigration in the post-1918 period appeared in *Historický časopis*, published by the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Slovak historians paid more and more attention to these questions at important congresses, such as the congresses of the Slovak Historical Society. At the congress of the Slovak Historical Society in Košice, several papers were presented on the economic and social history of Slovakia. Eastern Slovakia, more specifically, the counties of Šariš, Zemplín, Abov and Spiš, yielded the highest percentage of Slovak emigrants, a fact also reflected in the proceedings of the congress: *Príspevky k dejinám východného Slovenska* (Contributions to the history of Eastern Slovakia, Bratislava, SAV 1964). These works have been able to draw on studies not directly related to the subject, yet helpful in elucidating the economic and social conditions of the Slovak people in the period under examination.

Naturally enough, the problems of emigration found their way into the studies, too, of authors occupying themselves with Slovakia's economic, social and political history, as well as into other demographic studies. These include Professor J. Svetoň's work "Obyvat'elstvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu" (The population of Slovakia under capitalism, Bratislava, SVPL 1958). The author focussed primarily

on population migrations, hence the problems of European and overseas emigration were treated prominently in his study.

Similar problems have been analysed by other scholars, too, in particular by Ján Hanzlík, author of several studies on the topic, including "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo na prahu imperializmu" (Slovak emigration on the eve of imperialism, *Geografický časopis*, (1961/3); "Vývoj obyvatel'stva na Slovensku v rokoch 1869–1961" (Demographic trends in Slovakia in the years 1869–1961, *Geografický časopis* XIX, 1967, No. 1); *Vyst'ahovalectvo z východného Slovenska do druhej polovice 19. storočia do roku 1918* (Emigration from Eastern Slovakia from the latter half of the 19th century up to 1918, Proceedings, Contributions to the History of Eastern Slovakia, Bratislava, 1964); "Začiatky výst'ahovalectva zo Slovenska do USA a jeho priebeh až do roku 1918, jeho príčiny a následky" (The beginnings of emigration from Slovakia to the USA and its course to 1918; its causes and consequences, in: *Zborník Statí, Zaciatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA*, Vydavatel'stvo SAV, Bratislava, 1970). Also relevant to the subject is a study by Ján Smetana "Pohyb obyvatel'stva na Orave r. 1825–1940" (Population movement in the Orava Region, 1825–1940, *Geographica Slovaca* 1, Bratislava, 1942).

For its richness of contents, we must mention here Professor Gosiorovský's paper "K predstavám zahraničných (amerických a ruských) Slovákov a Čechov o štátoprávnom postavení Slovenska po vojne 1914–18" (Ideas on Slovakia's status and statehood expressed following World War I by Slovaks and Czechs in: *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského*, Vol. XIX, 1961, Historica). The paper, relying on archival materials, reveals hitherto unknown aspects of the struggle that Czechs and Slovaks living abroad were waging for a common state, as well as their views and ideas. It is fascinating to watch these ideas in the making, to see how, from their initial lack of a shared perception of these complex issues, the various groups gradually came round to joint action by Czechs on the one hand, and Slovak organizations, on the other, especially in the United States, also making financial sacrifices for the national liberation of Czechs and Slovaks during World War I. On this evidence, credit is due to American Slovaks for their correct and laudable attitude to the complex inter-ethnic relations of Central Europe and for their forwardness in being the first—inspired, no doubt, by the democratic traditions of their new home—to advance the notion of a joint future state of Czechs and Slovaks. These ideas and the mature national consciousness behind it are all the more remarkable for having been expressed by Slovak emigrants who belonged to the poorest and most disadvantaged sections of their nation.

Slovak emigration to Canada started somewhat later than to the United States, and, accordingly, the number of Slovaks based in Canada was considerably lower, around 60,000 in all. As a result of their considerable geographical dispersion throughout Canada's vast territory, and the low concentration of their numbers in industrial centres due to the fact that most of them sought employment in agriculture, they were not so well-placed to set up their own associations and organizations as their US-based compatriots. For all that, Slovak historians and

scholars have been no less interested in the emigration of Slovaks to Canada and their subsequent fortunes in that country. Also, it must be stressed that, with regard to their conditions and activities, the latter had a great deal in common with the Slovak community in the US. The history of Slovaks in foreign climes, in particular, in Canada, was treated in a study by Michal Sorokáč entitled "Z dejín krajanského robotníckeho hnutia v Kanade" (On the Slovak workers' movement in Canada), (*Slovanský přehled,* 1959). Slovak emigration to South America, too, began right after World War I. With restrictions imposed on emigration to the United States, the countries of Latin America, particularly Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, attracted a large number of Slovak emigrants. Given that this area of Slovak emigration had previously been largely neglected, M. Sorokáč's pioneering attempt to deal with the question must be given due recognition. His articles: "Počiatky a život nasich vyst'ahovalcov v Argentíne a Brazílii" (The fresh start and life of Slovak emigrants in Argentina and Brazil, *Slovanský přehled,* 1957), and "Zo spomienok nasich vyst'ahovalcov v Argentíne" (From the reminiscences of our emigrants to Argentina, *Slovanský přehled,* 1958), deal with the same topic. Since other Slovak historians have not paid such special attention to the emigration of Slovaks to South America and the life of their communities there, we know very little about these questions. A relatively numerous Slovak community in Argentina, however, deserves a special attention, as the Argentine portions of the Chaco region were home to one of the most active Slovak communities overseas.

E. Jakešová, in her study: "Príspevok k dejinám slovenského robotníckeho hnutia v Kanade do roku 1938" (A contribution to the history of the Slovak workers' movement in Canada up to 1938, *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, Historica,* 1967), scrutinized the Slovak working-class movement in Canada. She has devoted other works, too, to the life of Canadian Slovaks, bringing her investigations right up to the years of World War II. In her study: *Slovenské kultúrne združenie v Kanade v období druhej svetovej vojny* (Slovak cultural associations in Canada during the Second World War, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1971, pp. 117–135), she describes how Slovaks lived and worked in Canada. Volume 2 of the collection includes additional studies on Slovak emigration to Canada and on Slovak workers' papers published in Canada, e.g. "K problematike slovenského vyst'ahovalectva do Kanady a Ľudové zvesti, Toronto (1931–1971)" (On the problems of Slovak emigration to Canada and *Ľudové zvesti,* Toronto 1931–1971). Based on new, hitherto unknown archival materials, these contributions add to our knowledge of the history of Slovaks in those distant parts of the world.

L. Tajták, in "Východoslovenské vyst'ahovalectvo do prvej svetovej vojny" (Emigration from Eastern Slovakia up to the First World War, *Nové Obzory,* Košice 1961), examined the question of emigration from Eastern Slovakia. From the very outset, the Slovak press in America had played a pivotal role in the national, political and cultural endeavours of American Slovaks. This was true especially in the pre-1918 period, when it called attention to the national oppression of the Slovaks in Hungary. Slovak papers published in the US were carefully

monitored by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. This lends special relevance to all the documents on the history of Slovak papers published in the United States, including L. Tajták's article: "K začiatkom Amerikánsko–slovenských novín" (On the beginnings of *Amerikánsko–slovenské noviny*) in: *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA* (The beginnings of Czech and Slovak emigration to the USA), a collection of articles published by the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, in 1970. The problem has been given a regional treatment in other studies, too, such as *Vyst'ahovalectva z Hornej Nitry* (Emigration from the Upper Nitra Region) by O. Beše and *Vyst'ahovalectvo z myjavskej oblasti* (Emigration from the Myjava Region) by E. Fordinálová.

A more intimate knowledge of archival materials to be found both at home and abroad has enabled researchers to carry out a systematic inquiry into the history of Slovak emigration and the life of Slovaks in foreign countries. Pretty well all the major relevant archival sources available in Czechoslovakia have been thoroughly examined. Of great assistance in this respect have been the catalogues on the history of the working-class movement, which also included information on emigration saving the researcher a good deal of spadework. Prompted by these auspicious developments, the idea has gradually matured of synthesizing the available information on the history of Slovak emigration, including the history of Slovak communities abroad. Both for methodological and professional reasons, but also, no doubt, dictated by what materials were available at the moment, we published, as a first step, a series of documents on Slovak emigration in the capitalist period. In our investigation of the sources in Czechoslovak as well as in foreign archives, we were assisted by the Matica Slovenská's Institute for Slovaks Living Abroad. Publication of these documents has already begun, and they are expected to run to several volumes. Volume I was compiled by F. Bielik and E. Rákoš and published by the Slovak Academy of Sciences in 1969. The introductory study discusses the causes, the actual process and the consequences of Slovak emigration from the last decades of the 19th century up to the year 1939. The documents themselves, drawn from domestic archives, as well as from the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest and from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, cover the period up to the year 1918.

Volume II covers the pre-Munich period of the Czechoslovak Republic. The documents come from a domestic source, i.e. the Czechoslovak archives. Volume II was published by Matica Slovenská in 1975. The third and last volume of the series, which is just in print, will feature the correspondence between Slovaks based in the USA and their compatriots in Slovakia. Based upon a selection of the most typical sources on the problems of emigration, the series must be considered a major step towards a comprehensive history of Slovaks in the world.

The setting up, in 1962, of the Commission for the History of our Compatriots, Czechs and Slovaks Living Abroad, at the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and of a Slovak section of a corresponding Commission at the College of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, marked a turning-point in the study of Slovak emigration in the period of capitalism. Matica Slovenská's

setting up an institute for Slovaks Living Abroad in 1963, gave a new impetus to the research efforts. It provided the framework for collecting and preserving all kinds of written, printed and illustrative materials still treasured by the families of Slovak emigrants or found in the spots that gave a home to the Slovak emigrants. The new department deserves credit for having launched an all-out effort to create, on the basis of Czechoslovak archives, a systematic catalogue of the historical sources on Slovak emigration and Slovak communities abroad. The more than 10,000 catalogue entries on the subject prepared so far betoken a wealth of sources. Still, in order to expand this collection of basic records, the same search will have to be carried out in foreign archives as well. The results obtained so far by the tenured members of the department, as well as by colleagues from outside, were published in the Slovaks Abroad collection (vols I to X). The next volume, too, has gone to press by now. The studies scanned a broad range of problems, including the migration of Slovaks to the Lowland in the 18th century, the political, cultural and social position of Slovaks in Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania, Slovak emigration in the period of capitalism, and the lives of the Slovak immigrants in the United States and Canada. The papers published in the above collections are most helpful in elucidating these topics and are a genuine contribution to factual knowledge.

The Slovak National Council's new law on Matica Slovenská (No. 167/73 Zb. of December 27, 1973), enshrined its duties in the sphere of Slovak affairs and academic research. This created conditions for broadly-based research into the lives of Slovaks abroad and for establishing contacts, especially cultural contacts, with them. The legal framework thus provided for our research, along with a sense of responsibility for our compatriots abroad, has broadened our scope in carrying out systematic investigations, bringing it into line with the global planning of research.

A prerequisite for any scholarly enquiry is the existence of a systematized document base of an interdisciplinary nature, accessible to the public at large as well. We must be intimately acquainted with all our sources and documents and always look for the social, economic and political roots of emigration. In our effort, documents relating to the causes and consequences of emigration must be given special attention. It is worth pointing out that the majority of materials bearing on the first stage of Slovak emigration are to be found in Czechoslovakia rather than in the countries to which our fellow-countrymen emigrated. However, for documents on their subsequent fortunes, one must go to the countries where they actually settled. The project to preserve all relevant materials, many of them formerly owned by individuals, was supported by the directors of Matica Slovenská. They likewise assisted the endeavour of the department for Slovaks living abroad to acquire relevant materials. The department has already acquired thousands of such documents, and all the indications are that this activity will successfully continue in the future too.

Steps have been taken to ensure the preservation of materials kept in other institutions too. Drawing on these records, however, would be rendered much easier if some kind of central catalogue, complete with a subject index, were set up.

Research in our area can now rely on substantial results. An eloquent proof of this is the Encyclopaedia of Slovakia, now under preparation, with its long entries on Slovak newspapers and associations on the USA, as well as on Slovak national and cultural activists abroad. The dozens of entries which contain up-to-date information on the subject, were prepared with the active collaboration of colleagues from Matica Slovenská's Department of Slovaks Living Abroad. The Encyclopaedia's relevant sections duly cover the migration of Slovaks to the Lowland in feudal times and the whole problem complex of Slovaks in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania in general. While writing the entries, our colleagues came up against quite a few obstacles, especially in obtaining hard facts and up-to-the-minute information. These difficulties enjoin the need to keep abreast of recent developments and to try and place each new material acquired in its proper niche.

For all the fruits our efforts have borne so far, for all the problems we have solved, the need was felt to fill certain hiatuses in our professional literature. A more comprehensive review of Slovak emigration and of Slovaks in the world was yet to come. Plans for just such an enterprise were elaborated and approved in April 1975 by the Commission of the Scientific Board at Matica Slovenská's Department of Slovaks Living Abroad. *Slováci vo svete* (Slovaks in the World vols I–II) discusses, in a clear and accessible style, the emigration of Slovaks to the Lowland in feudal times, Slovak emigration to European and overseas countries in the period of capitalism, and the life of Slovaks based outside their homeland, with all its ramifications. By discharging a debt long overdue, the authors have set the record straight on a significant chapter of Slovak national history.[7]

An integral part of the research activity at Matica Slovenská's Department of Slovaks Living Abroad is the publication of references on the history of the migrations of Slovak people. Up until now, four volumes of references have been published.[8] The Department of Slovaks Living Abroad is planning to tackle the job in a systematic fashion and, accordingly, this year they have embarked upon the tasks allotted to them under the State's global research plans, under the sponsorship of the Institute for History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The publication of references on Slovaks in the world fits into that larger scheme. The aim of the series is to portray the cultural, political and work-related activities of our fellow Slovaks in the world. The project is warranted not only by the amount of facts and historical detail it is likely to turn up, but also by virtue of the contribution that Slovak emigrants have made to the treasure-house of cultural values, to literature, science and technological progress, as well as to their host countries' economic achievements and human environment. This creativity, which inspired the endeavours of Slovaks wherever they lived, is far too important to be ignored.

[7] Ján Sirácky, *Slováci vo svete I*, (Martin, 1980); František Bielik *et al.*, *Slováci vo svete II.* (Bratislava, 1980).

[8] F. Bielik and E. Rákoš, *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo, Dokumenty I*, Slovenská akadémia vied 1969; and *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo, Dokumenty II*, 1919–1939, (Matica Slovenská, Martin 1975); F. Bielik, *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo, Dokumenty III–IV*, (Matica Slovenská, Martin 1985).

On balance, the results obtained so far are promising, but in the years to come we shall probably have to cast our net a bit wider. Also, a few obstacles will have to be surmounted before our great objective, to wit, a comprehensive history of Slovak emigration and of Slovaks in the world, is attained. The Department of Slovaks Living Abroad is doing its utmost for this end. Parallel with the establishment of a department specializing in the study of Slovaks abroad, the idea (first raised before the war, but never translated into reality) was mooted of opening a museum of Slovak migrations or mounting a permanent exhibition on the subject. Intensive efforts in the field to create a collection of materials and documents, so as to facilitate our research, offer hope that such a permanent exhibition may be organized in the foreseeable future.

If, and when, it does get off the ground, it will have to concentrate on three main areas. First, the social, economic and political position of the Slovak population in the 19th and 20th centuries and how their conditions, more than anything else, provoked their exodus. All the implications of this emigration movement should be documented with authentic archival materials, such as official documents issued by the authorities etc. Secondly, and most inexhaustibly, the life and work, political, social, and cultural endeavours of Slovaks based in foreign countries, in the 18th, the 19th, and the 20th centuries. This section, in turn, should be divided into regional or geographical areas (Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Austria, France, Belgium, USA, Canada, South America, Australia and other countries). Naturally, the countries boasting the largest Slovak communities should be given the most space. And, lastly, Slovaks living abroad and their interaction with the mother country. Under this section, we shall be focussing on relations between Slovaks at home and their cousins abroad since World War II, with especial emphasis on the cultural and academic exchanges so tirelessly fostered by Matica Slovenská. We want this to be a reminder of socialist Czechoslovakia's solicitude for our compatriots who are citizens of other countries.[9] The conference on Slovak emigration and on the life of Slovaks in the world, organized, in 1980, under the auspices of Matica Slovenská and the Department of Slovaks Living Abroad, heard a plea for closer international cooperation in research into the history of emigration.[10] The urgency of such cooperation is underscored by the intrinsically international character of our inquiries.

After all, sources on the causes and efforts of Slovak emigration are found primarily in Czechoslovak archives and libraries, or in the countries that formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary, while for documents on the life, the political, cultural, and social endeavours of our emigrant countrymen one must go to the countries of immigration. So, all in all, there is a strong case to be made for pooling our resources, given the stage our investigations are in, right now. How far we shall succeed in the future depends on that cooperation. For example, we could look with

[9] Proceedings of "Slováci vo svete" in Bratislava in November 1984.

[10] "Obsahuje referáty zahraničných účastníkov konferencie o problematike vyst'ahovalectva u Europy", in: *Zbornik: Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*, (Matica Slovenská, 1982).

the historian's or the sociologist's eye, at the men (and women) who emigrated from a given area or region at a particular point in time, with due regard, of course, for their social and economic status, and their reasons for leaving their homeland. How these emigrants then fared in their new, alien ethnic environments, what job opportunities they had, and how, if at all, they (and subsequent generations of emigrants, for that matter) managed to fulfil their social, cultural, national, and political ambitions—well, these are questions far too intricate to be tackled by the solitary researcher.

All of which irresistibly leads to the conclusion that historians from other nations, too, must lend a hand. In this effort, they can rely on the findings and comparative studies of Slovak scholars and of their colleagues in neighbouring countries. Slovak emigrants have contributed not just to their own national culture, but to the common heritage of mankind as a whole. Hence we must examine the levels at which this process took place and the ways in which these emigrants were able to enrich their language, their own national culture and traditions, promoting social and economic programs and publishing their own newspapers.

The outlined tasks are inextricably bound up with certain methodological considerations. The issues set out above must be treated as an integral part of Slovak national history. In fixing the limits of our inquiries, we must try and capture the determining features. Also, we shall have to make our minds up on questions such as the divided loyalties of fellow Slovaks, first-generation or otherwise, between the old country and their new homes. The original emigrants crossed the Atlantic determined to return home at some future date. Social and economic conditions in their homeland often forced them to repeat the process of migration several times. Thus, many of them went to the US five of six times before finally taking up their abode there. The only possessions they took with them on their voyage were their traditions, customs, language, and heir unassertive attitudes in social and cultural matters. Once in their new environment, these Slovaks continued to adhere to their traditional values, they held on to their spiritual luggage. The slow and painful process of adjustment to life in a strange country took years and years. It is intriguing to track the process whereby their attitudes were transformed into one of dependance on their new environment, whose customs and ways now—after extended periods abroad—they seemed almost unable (or reluctant) to shed even on their return home.

As is universally acknowledged, in the course of decades spent abroad our fellow Slovaks developed new cultural idioms, produced works of literature, contributed to social and technological progress, published their own papers, set up their own associations and were instrumental in setting up a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. In order to put these questions in their proper perspective, i.e. that of Slovak national history, it is vital that we constantly bear in mind who these fine men, so much alive to their national roots, were.

In conclusion, let us sum up our main propositions. Given the objectives we have set ourselves in our research endeavour, there seems to be an overwhelming case for internationalizing our efforts and for adopting a comparative and interdisciplinary

approach to the matter in hand, i.e. our desired goal of a comprehensive history of Slovaks the world over, placed firmly in a historical context, with the aim of pinpointing the disparities as well as the points of contact in the light of the "divided loyalties" of emigrants, who contributed so much to our common Slovak national heritage.

LADISLAV TAJTÁK

SLOVAK EMIGRATION: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Due to the indelible mark it has left on the life of the Slovak people, emigration, a most prominent social phenomenon here, has always been one of the most important preoccupations of Slovak historiography. One of the problems Marxist historiography has been trying to elucidate in this connection is that of the main causes of Slovak emigration. While studies by J. Svetoň[1] concentrate on the long-term demographic developments, works by J. Mésároš[2] point out the primary economic causes of the beginnings and later course of the emigration process. According to Mésároš, the mass character of Slovak emigration stemmed from the "Prussian course" of capitalist development in the agricultural sector, which led to the preservation of noblemen's estates, on the one hand, and to a catastrophic shortage of land for Slovak peasants, on the other. A concrete proof of this ownership structure in the agricultural sector is furnished by the official statistics of 1869, according to which the majority of Slovak peasants owned mere patches of land of less than 5 cadastral *morgens* (1 *morgen* = 2.116 acres). These farms, which made up approximately 58 per cent of the total land acreage, could scarcely support the peasants and their families. As a result, the social position of small farmers in that period could be described as that of semi-proletarians. If we add to these small farms the somewhat bigger of medium-sized ones (between 5 and 15 *morgens*), we realized that 84 per cent of all the farms in the 15 Slovak-populated districts of Upper Hungary were extremely, or at least relatively, small. The 1895 statistics showed the following structure of ownership in the agricultural sector: more than 330 thousand small farms of less than 10 *morgens* made up, between them, some 15 per cent of all agricultural land. Compared with that, the 2 per cent of farms whose size exceeded 50 *morgens* covered more than 56 per cent of the land.[3] This predominance of large agricultural estates had a determinative impact on the overall social structure of the Slovak nation, especially that of the agricultural population. Of the total population engaged in agriculture in 1869, only 37 per cent

[1] J. Svetoň, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu" (Slovak emigration in the period of Hungarian capitalism), *Ekon. Čas.*, 4, No. 2 (1956), pp. 27–50; J. Svetoň: *Obyvat'elstvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu* (The Slovak population in the period of capitalism), (Bratislava, 1958).

[2] J. Mésároš, *Rol'nícka a národnostná otázka na Slovensku 1848–1900* (Agrarian and national question in Slovakia 1848–1900), (Bratislava, 1959).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 164–170.

owned their own farms, while 62.7 per cent were agricultural labourers employed mostly in the large estates, which made up no more than 2–3 per cent of the total number of farms. What was the fate of this enormous agricultural population, where were they to go to find a better deal? A section of them sought employment in industry. Industrial development in those areas, however, lacked the dynamism shown by some other nations, as evidenced by the ratio between people employed in agriculture, on the one hand, and those employed in industry and crafts, on the other. In 1869, this ratio was 100 to 17, while in 1900 it was still 100 to 34, a small increase indeed. In other words, the capitalist industrial sector was unable to absorb the excess of manpower from the countryside. It was therefore chiefly these large masses of agricultural labourers and impoverished small farmers that the domestic labour market was unable to absorb. Hence they were ideally suited to become the main source of labour for the dynamic industrial economy of the United States and, later on, of some of the advanced industrialized nations of Western Europe. Thus it was the uneven economic development world wide, a characteristic feature of capitalism, that fuelled the rising emigration movement. An increasing demand for labour in these highly developed countries, coupled with higher wages and generally better living conditions, as well as their more advanced civilization and culture, with liberal democratic freedoms and greater religious and ethnic tolerance, provided the lure for thousands of would-be emigrants in this modern mass exodus of nations. These were the internal and external circumstances that created the conditions and causes of Slovak emigration.

As has been stated on many occasions, Eastern Slovakia (the counties of Spiš, Abov-Turna, Zemplín and Šariš), and especially the Šariš region, were among the first to start this exodus, thus earning the label "the cradle of emigration". This, of course, raises the question why it should have been precisely this area that gave the emigration drive its first impetus?[4] The long list of reasons could be started with those of a geographical character. The small fertile, mostly hilly, area was extremely unfavourable for agricultural activities. Its soil produced only half of the crops grown in the Alföld (i.e. Lower Hungary—the Hungarian Plains), while the population density in the mountainous districts was 200–300 people per square kilometre of agricultural land, as compared with fewer than 100 inhabitants per square kilometre in the highly fertile lowlands. The shortage of land and the demographic situation led to repartitions, less and less sustainable by the day, of farms into miniature homesteads, which, given the backward methods of farming, were scarcely sufficient to provide for the basic needs of large families. Just how backward the agricultural techniques used in the area were is shown by the fact that in the 1880s most peasants here were still using wooden ploughs, with only a minority switching over to iron ploughs. Any favourable conditions that might have existed for raising cattle were cancelled out by the shortage of pastures and woods owned by small farmers. These circumstances combined to perpetuate the

[4] L. Tajták, "Vychodoslovenské vyst'ahovalectvo do prvej svetovej vojny" (East-Slovakian emigration up to World War I), *Nové obzory*, 3, (Prešov, 1961), pp. 221—247.

so-called "three-field" or "two-field" system. (The three-field system consisted in using arable land for two years and leaving it fallow for one or two years; the two-field system meant that regularly tilled fields were divided into two parts—one part to be used for growing agricultural plants, the other as a pasture; the functions of the two parts were switched every year.) Agricultural activities were further hampered by the fact that small farms consisted of 8 to 16 individual plots each. These, in turn, were subdivided, through inheritance, into still smaller units, down to a point where small farmers were totally pauperized and became agricultural labourers. Successive poor harvests, made worse by natural disasters and rising taxes, drove most small farmers into ever deeper financial distress. Usurious loans led to catastrophic consequences for small farmers, who usually mortgaged their own fields. In some areas in Eastern Slovakia as many as two thirds of the small farmers were in debt. The situation was further aggravated by ever increasing state, regional and supplementary taxes.

The gravity of the economic and social situation in Eastern Slovakia is eloquently attested by the fact that only one tenth of the farmers were to sell their produce. For the rest of the small farmers, economic activities outside their farms offered the only way of augmenting their incomes. However, in the 1880's, the farmers who were able to supplement their incomes in this way made up a mere 4 per cent of the total number of farmers in the northern and middle portions of Zemplín county.[5] As evident from the above, living conditions in the mainly Slovak-populated part of the county were nowhere near those in the southern lowland part, inhabited chiefly by Hungarians. This, too, helps explain why, out of the 42,328 persons who emigrated from the region in the period 1879–1901, 32,683 persons, i.e. 77 per cent, hailed from the Slovak districts.

One of the factors that began the emigration from the Šariš region was the struggle that cottiers were waging for the right to buy the land they held in tenure. As part of that struggle, they refused to perform any sort of manorial labour. The owners of large estates responded by adopting a two-pronged attack. Some of the tenants were taken to court, while others had to face brute force. For example, in the district of Topl'any, in a relentless campaign against the cottiers, the authorities, assisted by the military, distrained in many instances, leaving them financially ruined. It was these ruined cottiers who formed the first large groups of emigrants. Their enthusiastic letters and the money they sent home soon prompted others to follow suit. The social tension in the countryside increased in the 1870's, as a result of the introduction of threshing machines. These caused many redundancies among agricultural labourers employed, especially in the winter season, in the manual threshing of grain. Given the excess of labour, the wages of those agricultural labourers still employed were further reduced. As an official report noted, "nowhere in the whole country are the wages of agricultural labourers so low as in

[5] Ö. Viczmándi, *A parasztbirtok állapota Zemplén megyében* (The conditions of peasant holdings in the County of Zemplén), (Budapest, 1882).

this district... Since they are so low as to make it practically impossible to make ends meet, those who can raise enough money to pay for the journey, leave the country for abroad". Before long, the exodus reached mass proportions: in the period between 1880 and 1910, some 80 thousand people from the Šariš county, i.e. almost half of the county's population, emigrated.[6]

The roots of the emigration phenomenon have often been traced to the Slovak people's supposed "constitutional wanderlust". How did this theory arise? As early as the mid-18th century, there began a steady flow of Slovak people migrating to the central regions of Hungary. Most of these migrants, who came from the Šariš region, as well as from other mountainous northern districts, were fleeing from the harsh treatment they had suffered at the hands of their local landlords. The emigration wave reached its peak towards the end of the 18th century, when the Turks were driven out of the vast interior of Southern and Central Hungary, by then war-ravaged and virtually depopulated. This wave of emigration served mainly to fill the population vacuum left in these areas. The 1840's saw another strong wave of emigration. The famine which started in 1845 and continued for several years with harvest upon harvest failing drove many inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the fertile land of the Alföld. The same process repeated itself in the 1850's. Following the abolition of feudal servitude, the characteristic practice emerged of seasonal agricultural labourers from the districts of Upper Hungary heading for the Alföld at harvesting time. This practice grew out of the differing geographic and economic conditions in the different parts of Hungary and represented a division of labour between the mountainous North and the central lowland areas of the country. Surely, then, the tendency of Slovak people to emigrate was not an expression of some innate urge; much rather, it was dictated by the natural instinct for self-preservation. Given these historical precedents, it should come as no surprise that it was precisely Eastern Slovakia that became the "cradle of emigration", not only in Slovakian terms, but also in terms of the whole of Hungary. So, to sum up the reasons for the exodus, we must once again reiterate that the chief internal reason was the "Prussian course" of capitalist development in the agricultural sector, which led to the predominance of large estates and to a catastrophic shortage of land amongst the Slovak peasantry and, ultimately, to the latter's progressive pauperization. In this context, mention must be made of the political and ethnic oppression, as well as the mismanagement that characterized the Slovakian districts. These, however, were only secondary reasons.

The rise of imperialism led to new specific developments in the emigration phenomenon. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, in connection with his definition of imperialism, this period saw certain changes in the structure of migration between individual countries.[7] Citing the example of Germany, which, in the last decades of

[6] L. Tajták, *Vychodoslovenské vyst'ahovalectvo...*, p. 244.

[7] V. I. Lenin, Imperialism—the Highest Stage of Capitalism, *Collected Writings I*, Czech edition, (Prague, 1950), p. 816.

the 19th century, lost 1.5 million of her population through emigration, he reminded that, at the beginning of the 20th century, that same Germany yet received some three quarters of a million of immigrants from other countries. The explanation for this change lies in Germany's dynamic economic growth and industrialization that followed the country's unification, which elevated her to a major world industrial power on a par with Great Britain. As long as Germany retained the priority of agriculture over industry, her labour market was unable to cope with the tens of thousands of labourers previously employed in agriculture. To these, emigration to the United States seemed to offer just about the only hope. Later on, when the dynamic pace of industrialization led to the creation of thousands of new jobs, the emigration slowed down considerably, and, indeed, the expanding internal market was able to absorb hundreds of thousands of workers from neighbouring agrarian countries. The same trends could be observed in some other developed countries of Western Europe. In the beginnings of European emigration to the United States, most emigrants belonged to the old emigration, so called, which comprised mainly the British Isles, especially Ireland, with Germany ranking second. In the period 1820–1860, the immigrants from these countries made up 84 per cent of the total, and in the period 1860–1880, approximately 62 per cent. However, in the period from 1890 to the First World War, the share of immigrants from these countries into the United States dropped to a mere 16 per cent. At the same time, initially, emigration from the agrarian countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary, was on a considerably smaller scale. In the period 1861–1870, it represented no more than 0.5 per cent; in the period 1871–1880, it rose to 4.5 per cent; while in the period 1881–1890 to 12 per cent. However, in the 1891–1900 period it climbed to as much as 33 per cent. In 1906, the immigrants from Austria-Hungary alone represented 25 per cent of the total number of newcomers. Adding to this the number of immigrants from Russia and Poland, we find that immigrants from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe made up a full half of the total number of immigrants into the United States.

In this connection, the question arises what changes occurred, in the period of the rise of imperialism, in the structure of emigration from Hungary and/or Slovakia. The beginning of the 20th century saw the completion of a phase in the industrial revolution where factory machine production all but entirely replaced small-scale industrial production. By this time, industry had become the fastest-growing sector of the economy and large-scale production accounted for as much as three quarters of the total industrial output. In the period under review, Slovakia was one of the most industrialized parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, as demonstrated by the 20.1 per cent of the Slovak population employed in the industrial sector, a figure higher than the all-Hungarian average. However, in spite of the accelerated growth of industrial production and its importance in the economy, both Hungary and Slovakia remained predominantly agrarian countries, with a clear lead of agriculture over industry. In 1910, those employed in agriculture amounted to 61.8 per cent of Slovakia's total population, while those employed in industry still accounted for no more than 20.1 per cent. In all-Hungarian terms, the ratio was

60.1 per cent to 18.3 per cent. However, in Germany, the ratio was between 33.1 per cent employed in agriculture and 37.4 per cent employed in industry. In Britain, this ratio was between 11.1 per cent made up by the agricultural population and 56.7 per cent represented by industrial workers.[8]

On the basis of the data here given, it can be stated that the scale and extent of emigration in the period was caused primarily by the capitalist industrial revolution, and by the intensity, as well as the completion, of that process. The Hungarian historians I. T. Berend and Gy. Ránki,[9] co-authors of an in-depth comparative study of several aspects of economic development in Central and East European countries, have pointed to a delay in the advent of the industrial revolution in these countries. As late as the beginning of the 20th century, that process, with all its economic and social consequences apparent in Western European countries, was still not completed. In Western Europe, the industrial revolution did away with the obsolete relationships between the particular economic structures, transforming them and setting them on an entirely new footing. Within a fairly short space of time, the industrial revolution transformed Western Europe's formerly agrarian countries into industrial ones. These countries, while still agrarian, were sources of emigration. But as soon as they became industrial, they started attracting masses of emigrants from other, economically more backward, agrarian countries.

Having thus formulated our conclusions about the causes of emigration at the beginning of the 20th century, and taking into consideration the opinions of the above-mentioned Hungarian historians, we must confront the question which of the main factors played the decisive role in the start and evolution of emigration and what sort of relationships existed between these factors. This is not just a theoretical problem. As we shall see later, in those days it was widely discussed by representatives of the ruling classes, by politicians, economists and sociologists in Hungary as well as in Slovakia. In comparing the problem of emigration in its two stages, namely in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, i.e. at the stage of imperialism, with regard to the evolution of this social phenomenon at home and abroad, we might come up with the following answer. In the first stage, the beginning of emigration in Slovakia and Hungary in general was determined, above all, by the Prussian course of capitalist development in agriculture, the landlessness of wide masses of the peasantry, and their consequent progressive pauperization. A more even distribution of land ownership among peasants and the landless would undoubtedly have lessened the economic, social and class tensions which, in their turn, gave rise to emigration. In our opinion,

[8] I. T. Berend and Gy. Ránki, "Magyarország iparának XX. század eleji színvonala az európai összehasonlítás tükrében" (Early 20th century Hungarian industry as compared to that in the rest of Europe), *Közgazdasági Szemle*, (1960), p. 1029.

[9] I. T. Berend and Gy. Ránki, *Közép-Kelet-Európa gazdasági fejlődése a XIX–XX. században* (The economic development of East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries), (Budapest, 1969), pp. 37–38.

however, even a more democratic solution to the peasant question and to the question of land ownership could not have prevented the exodus, given that the emigration movement in the early part of the 20th century, in all its intensity, was triggered, and its direction determined, primarily by the capitalist industrial revolution. This has already been illustrated by the examples of Germany and Great Britain. Emigration from these two countries was succeeded by an extensive immigration of labour from economically less developed, agrarian countries. It may be remarked here that this phenomenon and its laws hold true in the capitalist countries even at present. The level of industrialization, the state of economic welfare and living standards determine, to a large extent, the dimensions and direction of migration among these countries.

The rapid growth of emigration at the beginning of the 20th century made the ruling classes, the legislators and the Government, the economic and various other institutions look more closely at the problem of emigration, its causes and consequences, and the possible ways in which it could be controlled.

The issue was widely discussed at Government level and received constant attention. The two most influential economic bodies of the Hungarian ruling classes, the Hungarian Regional Economic Syndicate and the Regional Association of Hungarian Industrialists, along with various other institutions and associations, as well as the press, closely followed the developments. Before the Government took concrete measures concering the emigration problem, the Ministry of Interior sent circulars and questionnaires to the county authorities in order to gain more detailed information on the causes of emigration and its consequences with regard to local conditions. Reports submitted by these bodies did reveal something about local conditions and the causes of the growing emigration. On the whole, however, these reports lacked both the sort of analytical insight and the hands-on approach that would have been needed. Instead, they were blaming the emigrants' supposed greed for wealth and a supposedly well-orchestrated campaign to lure people away from the country. The Lord Lieutenant of Zvolen county was echoing the same view when he identified alleged recruitment carried out by agents of American firms in need of cheap labour, rather than people's own decisions, as the cause. More substantial reports were coming in from the really depressed areas. For example, a report by the Lord Lieutenant of Orava county frankly revealed that economic conditions were poor, there was a shortage of fertile land and that, since factories were few and far between, jobs were scarce. In his opinion, only the construction of factories and higher wages could prevent a further spread of emigration.

In an effort to do something about the problem, landowners staged a congress in Miskolc in 1902 on (Slovak) emigration from Northern Hungary.[10]

Despite some critical comment, the addresses delivered at the congress fell short of tackling the problem in a wider sense.

[10] *A felvidéki kivándorlási kongresszus tárgyalásai Miskolcon 1902-ben* (Minutes of the congress on emigration from Upper Hungary held in Miskolc in 1902), (Miskolc, 1903).

The representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie did not remain passive either. They, too, publicly voiced their opinions on the emigration problem. Discussions were held under the auspices of the Industrialists' Association in Budapest.[11] These had been preceded by the circulation of a questionnaire. However, as evident from the results of the public inquiry, the industrialists were concentrating on particular questions affecting their own interest. Not exactly the sort of survey likely to reveal the quiddity and the origins of the whole phenomenon.

During the conference, leading financiers and economists presented a number of proposals reflecting their class attitudes. Gustav Thirring exposed dreams about a Hungary of 30 million inhabitants as downright illusory. He also identified contemporary landownership conditions as the main cause of emigration. Mór Gelléri blamed the Hungarian aristocracy, who, while investing in industrial development abroad, neglected the same at home. He proposed the setting up of a special customs area, state intervention to save and support Hungarian industry, the development of new industries, specialist training programs and the restoration of the dignity of work. He pleaded for solicitors and lawyers to show greater compassion in their dealings, for an end to the practice of usury, for legislation on social welfare and the abolition of distraints, as well as for the protection of workers. In Gelléri's view, partial reforms could not solve the problem. What was needed was a just national economic policy. Gelléri called for a range of preventive measures, such as the introduction of progressive taxation, a more equitable distribution of taxes among all social strata and classes. At the same time, he rejected the priority given to the agrarian sector and urged greater support for industrialization. He considered the relationship between agriculture and industry to be the basic question and noted that "the development of Hungarian industry can be only achieved through the abolition of distraints". He also pleaded for the setting up of an independent bank and of a special Hungarian customs area.[12]

As seen from the opinions quoted above, the majority of the economists attending the conference advocated substantial changes in land ownership, the abolition of the system of bound property, the implementation of bourgeois-democratic reforms, and the development of industry. To give weight to their argument, they cited the examples of some foreign nations, notably that of Germany. Leading industrialists, and the industrial bourgeoisie in general, expected that these reforms would allow the emigration to be limited and controlled.

Actuated by their own economic and class interests, both the landowning classes (the agrarian camp) and the industrial bourgeoisie (the "mercantilists") sought to stem the tide of emigration and pressed for decisive and effective measures for the same end. A well-known economist of the time, Frigyes Fellner, however, took an

[11] *A kivándorlás. A magyar gyáriparosok országos szövetsége által tartott országos ankét tárgyalásai* (Emigration. Minutes of the conference held by the Association of Hungarian Industrialists), (Budapest, 1907).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

opposite view.[13] Defending the economic interests of the state, he emphasized the benefits to be gained from the money sent back by the emigrants, who, while improving their own economic situation, thus contributed to the economy of their mother country as well. The resulting increase in Hungary's national income improved her balance of payments *vis-à-vis* other nations. Fellner reminded that if the emigrants had stayed at home to face unemployment, they would not have increased the national income, and the economic situation of the country as a whole would have become worse. Conversely, the approximately 150 million crowns, which, according to official estimates, the emigrants sent home each year, and which was used by the state to pay off the interest on loans from abroad, clearly showed emigration to be a blessing in disguise. Fellner held that emigration would have had a harmful effect only if it had led to a decrease in the national product. The higher wages which resulted from emigration affected but the distribution, rather than the actual amount, of the national income. Fellner was an exponent of economic liberalism, which promoted the idea of the free movement of the labour force. The Hungarian Government did not object to such conferences and inquiries; indeed, it seemed ready to accomodate the sectional demands and interests of the landowners and the industrial bourgeoisie, i.e. the two classes behind the legislative measures to counter emigration. But above all, the Government was influenced by Fellner's economic ideas.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Hungarian industry was developing more rapidly, which led to a growing demand for labour. This, however, did not swerve the candidates for emigration to America from their purpose. Attracted by the better wages that country offered (4–5 times as high as those in Hungary), they were eager to take up jobs in US mines. Even a well-known landowner in the county of Šariš, Sándor Bujanovics, MP, told the Miskolc conference on emigration that one of the inducements for would-be emigrants was the high wages offered in the US to labourers and other manual workers, which employers in Hungary could not even dream of matching.[14]

The rate of wages, their purchasing power and the anticipated savings were, then, the main inducements which made masses of people, especially from Eastern Slovakia, emigrate. In an interesting development, however, the number that Eastern Slovakia lost to western nations were soon to be matched by a goodly supply of immigrants into that region from abroad. Due to undermanning, particularly in the lower categories of employment, caused by emigration, the early part of the 20th century saw a corresponding influx of labour into various parts of Slovakia (pre-eminently into Eastern Slovakia) from the less developed neighbouring areas, notably from Galicia. According to the 1900 statistics, there were 13,935 persons in Eastern Slovakia who came from Galicia. By 1910, however, the comparable figure was as much as 20,353. These people of Galician origin were

[13] F. Fellner, *A nemzetközi fizetési mérleg és alakulása Magyarországon* (Trends in the international balance of payments in Hungary), (Budapest, 1908), pp. 100—113.

[14] *A felvidéki kivándorlás*..., p. 98.

mostly employed as agricultural labourers, with some of them taking up jobs in the building industry, working in brick-kilns etc.[15]

In order to control the emigration, the Government set up a commission delegated with the task of formulating a plan of action to influence "the destiny of Hungarians abroad", or, more exactly, the national, political and world outlook of Slovaks and other ethnic emigrants living in America. The programme was first advertised under the catchphrase "National Care", later to be changed into "The American Action". This mobilization of the Government's propaganda machine was prompted by the growing national, political, social and cultural impact that Slovak emigration was beginning to have both at home and in the US in the early years of the 20th century. The Government attempted to curb the growing self-confidence of Slovak emigrants in America and restrict their influence at home.[16]

So far we have tried to outline the attitude that the Hungarian ruling classes, the Government and various other institutions adopted to the problem of emigration. Before going further, we should emphasize that the Slovak bourgeoisie had neither the administrative power nor the appropriate forums by which to substantially influence the process. However, the Slovak bourgeoisie, too, had its own views on the problem. The most active role in voicing them was assigned to the Slovak press, which kept the Slovak public informed about the consequences and significance of emigration. *Národné noviny* (National Newspaper) articulated the most widely-held opinion, namely that emigration weakened the Slovak nation in its struggle for survival and for the survival of the Slovak language.[17] It stressed that some of the emigrants were among the ablest of the nation. However, it was impossible to prevent people from emigrating if they could not find suitable jobs at home. In the newspaper's view, more effective industrialization was the answer. Unfortunately, Slovak financial capital was passive, and, as a result, there were not enough factories and job opportunities. Pointing to the economic and social roots of emigration, *Národné noviny* also mentioned political and national oppression. It expressed the opinion that "while work is exploited by the capitalists, and while there are no social reforms on the horizon, there is no chance of limiting the emigration". However, under the influence of official Government propaganda, opinions were expressed, too, reflecting the official point of view, which saw in Slovak emigration a manifestation of that much-blamed "wanderlust".

Slovak bourgeois circles with a financial stake in emigration set great store by the inflow into the country of money saved up by Slovaks based in the US. In the main, leading spokesmen of the Slovak bourgeoisie, especially the press, as well as the public at large, were blaming primarily economic and social conditions of the day, combined with severe national oppression, for the mass emigration from Slovakia. On the other hand, they positively assessed the consequences of emigration for the

[15] *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*. New series, (Budapest 1920), vol. 64, p. 82.

[16] Hungarian National Archives, Budapest, Miniszterelnökség (Prime Minister's office,) XVI, 71/1903.

[17] "St'ahovanie" (Migration), *Národné noviny*, March 15, 1892.

economic, national and cultural life of the Slovak nation. Obviously, each group's attitude, within the Slovak bourgeoisie, was conditioned by its own peculiar class, economic and social interests. The financiers, for instance, were naturally eager to acquire for Slovak institutions the money saved by Slovaks abroad. Deposited in foreign banks, these savings, instead of benefitting their fellow-countrymen, would have enriched foreign capitalists. The politicians and the press regarded the emigrants returning home, by virtue of their economic position and their heightened political and national consciousness, as a major force for the furtherance of Slovak national aims.

As for the working-class movement's attitude to emigration, the following should be noted. It was at the beginning of the 20th century, as emigration became one of the most striking symptoms of the poor economic and social conditions of working people, that the international working-class movement began to seriously consider the problem. Its importance was confirmed by the Congress of the Second International, which took place in Stuttgart in 1907. But the views expressed there on the subject were controversial. Some members of the Congress's commission on emigration advanced proposals aimed at preventing emigration from less developed countries to the more developed ones. Lenin disagreed with this position and described it as narrow-minded and selfish.[18] He pointed out that some workers who belonged to developed countries forgot about their duties of international class solidarity. Furthermore he branded the above position an expression of what he called "working-class aristocratism". Pointing to a rapid development of industry in some countries, a process that forced the less developed nations out of the world market, Lenin emphasized the economic inevitability of the emigration phenomenon. Since, in the period of developed capitalism, the higher state of the economy led to an increase in average wages, the natural consequence was that workers from the less developed countries migrated to the developed ones.

Robotnícke noviny (The Workers' Newspaper), commenting on the resolutions of the Stuttgart Congress, wrote that emigration and immigration were just as logical consequences of capitalism as unemployment and overproduction, providing a further proof of the diminishing share of workers in the distribution of the fruits of their labour.[19] A similar view was expressed by the magazine *Napred* (Forward), which rejected the traditional opinions on the causes of emigration advanced by the Government.[20] The magazine was correct in stating that the problem of emigration would be solved if there were enough jobs at home and if wages at home were not so much lower than those in America.

The paper rejected as naive Count Andrássy's proposals on the solution of the emigration problem, reminding that a day's earnings in America equalled a week's earnings at home. Hungarian workers' newspapers, in agreement with their Slovak

[18] V. I. Lenin: *Spisy* (Writings), vol. 13 (Bratislava, 1957), p. 66.

[19] "Svetový parlament socializmu" (The world parliament of socialism), *Slovenské robotnícke noviny*, September 1, 1907.

[20] "Vyst'ahovalectvo" (Emigration), *Napred*, August 15, 1970.

counterparts, dealt with the question of emigration from the same proletarian internationalist point of view. The theme was taken up by the theoretical journal of Hungarian socialists, *Szocializmus* (Socialism). The trade union press dealt with the problem from the viewpoint of individual industries and trades. Slovak and Hungarian democrats defended the right of working people to emigrate and attributed the growing exodus to Hungary's backwardness and capitalist conditions, her underdeveloped industry, the dominance of large estates and the system of bound property.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF EMIGRATION

One of the gravest consequences of Slovak emigration was a considerable fall in the nation's population. According to one estimate, approximately half a million people emigrated from Slovakia in the period 1871–1914. Out of this, an approximate 360 thousand people left in the period 1900–1913, when statistics became more reliable. Approximately 111 thousand of these, i.e. roughly one third, later returned home. In this period, the four East Slovakian counties remained the main source of emigration, accounting for 58.9 per cent of all the emigrants, while the other 11 Slovakian counties accounted for no more than 41.1 per cent of the total.

The negative impact of the emigration was further aggravated by the fact that, in the first decades of the exodus, most emigrants were male. Since most of them were mature young men, the number of marriages in Slovakia considerably declined and the natural proportions of the population's age and gender structure were upset. This naturally led to a fall in the birth rate. On the other hand, the death rate began to rise. These factors combined finally led to a fall in the number of Slovak inhabitants in Slovakia. Thus, in the period 1901–1910, the average natural growth of the Slovak population was 12.3 per cent, which, however, as a result of emigration, later sank to a mere 4.6 per cent.

The impact of emigration, and of immigration, on the situation in Slovakia can be evaluated from a whole range of sources, including Government questionnaires, various Hungarian and Slovak newspapers, both national and local, particularly those in Slovakia, and various other sources on public opinion. Towards the end of the 19th century, there was broad agreement between the Government and public opinion that emigration did not significantly encourage the development of any organized political campaign or movement. *Národné noviny* reported that Slovak emigrants in America led a very active cultural and communal life in their new home, but when they returned home, they again reverted to their old ways. It pointed mainly to the eastern districts of Slovakia where the majority of the returnees were found. These people, who had been fairly active in America, now remained passive with regard to the national political struggles at home. These views were confirmed by the official reports of the local authorities, who were instructed to watch the emigrants' influence on the local population.

All these reports admitted that the emigrants did exert a certain amount of political and ideological influence, though there was no conspicuous evidence of that.[21]

The situation changed in the following years, notably after 1905, when the Government, along with conservative political circles, began to regard the returning emigrants as a real threat because of their frank and vocal comments, their political influence and their class consciousness. The most important change occurred in Eastern Slovakia, which had, till then, been considered the safest part of the country, as the population there was untouched by the national political movement of Western Slovakia and was indifferent to the patriotic efforts of the Slovak press and cultural leaders. However, the results of the elections in Giraltovce in 1906, the massive support shown for Slovak candidates, the increasing popularity of Slovak newspapers and the demonstrations in defence of the Slovak language in schools and churches forced the local authorities to respond. The national, social and class feelings which had smouldered for years under the surface now erupted into open action. The local authorities were shocked. The Šariš landowners' association sent a memorandum to Parliament complaining of a decline of moral standards and of Hungarian patriotic feelings among the emigrants, who, they claimed, had ceased to obey the authorities, were spreading slanders about the situation at home and blaming all the problems on the ruling classes. Another report from Šariš informed the Government about socialist propaganda being carried out by workers who had acquainted themselves with the precepts of socialism while in America. The best document of the changes that took place in people's mind and activities was a report by the representatives of the electoral district of Sabinov in Eastern Slovakia.[22] It bemoaned the fact that, whereas in the past people had done their work without complaint and had shown respect for their priests and landlords, they—and most particularly those who had recently returned from America—now proved quite recalcitrant. The younger generation did not want to work and was interested only in politics; they were too self-confident, they read Slovak newspapers and were proud of having been members of Slovak clubs in America. These young people did not respect the priests, refused to support the schools because of the Magyarizing trends in the education they were providing and openly challenged the authority of both the Church and the State. The authors of the report noted a resurgence of national feelings, as apparent from the active support shown for the Slovak cause. They deplored the fact that a district "where a few years ago people did not even know the term 'Slovak nation'", was now the scene of activities hostile to the State. Here we shall not deal with the patriotic movement of the emigrants in America, or with their communal, political and cultural life, as this would require another long article. Nevertheless, we can state that these emigrants were fairly active in politics

[21] L. Tajták, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo a migrácia v rokoch 1900–1914" (Slovak emigration and migration in the years 1900–1914), *Historický časopis*, 23, (Bratislava, 1975), pp. 410–411.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

and used the press, as well as various other means at their disposal, to support the national movement in Slovakia at that time.

The bourgeois circles tended to overestimate the economic importance of emigration, in particular that of the remittances from Slovak emigrants in the US to their compatriots at home. As a reaction to this, part of our historians have tended to underestimate the role of this money, which was nonetheless important, given the plight people were in at the time. There are unfortunately no reliable documents on the amount of money sent home by the emigrants. According to Fellner, it was about 150 million crowns a year in all-Hungarian terms. According to M. Pisch,[23] who used trade union press documents, the money sent to Slovakia by the emigrants amounted to 90–100 million crowns annually, which seems to correspond to the Slovak share in the all-Hungarian emigration. There is no doubt that thousands of emigrants used their earnings to improve their social position. Many of them repaid their loans, other bought land or built houses; they could afford to buy better clothing and food, and thus improve their economic standing. This they would have been unable to do in a similar fashion and in such a short space of time if they had stayed at home. As to whether the savings of the emigrants played any role in developing industry, agriculture or trade—well, it seems likely that these savings were used instead chiefly for the emigrants' personal needs, with Slovak banking just about the only sphere of business where they were put to use.

Having thus outlined the extent to which the class struggle and the participation of emigrants in the working-class movement in America influenced the situation at home, we can infer that, given the conditions of developed capitalism in America and the fierce class struggle these entailed, as well as the daily fight for social and economic demands, the masses of emigrants quickly became class-conscious and receptive to the ideas of socialism. When they returned home, they were thus more socially and politically self-confident. But, under the semi-feudal conditions at home, with the restrictions imposed on bourgeois democratic freedoms, they could not express their heightened social consciousness in public activities, campaigns or movements. Nevertheless, they did influence the formation of social and class consciousness to a degree appropriate to local conditions, as was often demonstrated in spontaneous resistance to the existing social order, political practices and national oppression.

Finally, to sum up our basic argument: emigration and immigration were social phenomena encapsulating segments of life in a Slovakia in the throes of the industrial revolution under imperialism, with all the fundamental economic and structural changes which that involved. Output in the particular industries, as well as the total industrial output, were increasing at a quickened pace; large-scale production strangled small scale production, and the industrial workforce

[23] M. Pisch, "Vzrast a vyvinové tendencie slovenského účastinárského peňažníctva v rokoch 1900–1918" (The growth and development of Slovak finances in the years 1900–1918), *Sborník FFUK*, Nos 1213, (Bratislava, 1961–1962), p. 307.

increased. This resulted in migrations from the countryside into the towns and industrial centres. The process, however, was too slow and failed to bring about the sort of changes in the structure of the economy and in society as a whole that the developed countries of the West were experiencing. Compared to the development of West-European countries and taking into consideration the objective needs of the country, Slovakia was, arguably, behindhand indeed. In this connection, we can quote Lenin, who characterized the development of capitalism in Russia as "slow because in no other capitalist country had survived so numerous remnants of the past which prevented the capitalist development and made the position of the entrepreneurs, who suffered from the slow development of capitalism, worse."[24] This diagnosis of capitalist development fits not only Russia, but also Slovakia and Hungary, owing to the similar socio-economic conditions and historical development of these countries.

[24] V. I. Lenin: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia . . .", *Spisy* (Writings), vol. 3 (Bratislava, 1956), p. 530.

JÓZSEF GELLÉN

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY BEFORE 1914

This paper attempts to synthesize earlier studies concerning pre-1914 emigration from Hungary, in order to establish the sometimes elusive links between basic socio-economic factors and actual migration behavior. The underlying assumption is that the socio-economic conditions of certain populations result in specific migration movements only through the modifying influence of the inherent characteristics of migration as a social phenomenon.

The analysis draws upon government statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary for 1899–1913, published in 1918.[1] Although this period of fifteen years constitutes the intensive phase of emigration from pre-1914 Hungary as a whole, some regions only experienced an initial stage of emigration at this time, while some reached a mature or saturated phase. In spite of the fact that the statistics have well known shortcomings (for example, only legal, passport-holding emigrants are taken into consideration), they are based upon concepts which were highly advanced by the standards of the day. In addition, the consistency of the data for this 15 year period makes these official statistics suitable for systems interpretation.[2] (see Figure 1)

THE SYSTEMS CHARACTER OF MIGRATION PROCESSES

Concrete historical and cultural conditions in different countries or regions are responsible for the differential reaction of populations to economic and social tensions.[3] The extremely differential regional and chronological distribution of

[1] A Magyar Szent Korona országainak kivándorlása és visszavándorlása, 1899—1913 (Emigration from, and remigration to, the lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown, 1899—1913), *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, Új sorozat*, 67 (Budapest; Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1918).

[2] The data available in the official statistics for Croatia-Slavonia will be excluded from this study, because it does not cover all 15 years and because the character of emigration from these "constitutional parts" differed somewhat from the main body of emigration from Hungary (see Figure 1). Neither can systematic descriptive information about emigration from Hungary be given within the confines of this paper.

[3] J. S. Macdonald in "Agricultural Organization, Migration and Labor Militancy in Rural Italy", *Economic History Review*, (August 16, 1963, pp. 61—75) points out that agrarian labor militancy and emigration varied with the type of agricultural ownership structure by region. However, Macdonald ignores the transmission mechanism of the system of migration which interferes significantly with such observations.

emigration in all countries (usually out of proportion with socio-economic differentials) is hardly understandable without postulating a flexible transmission mechanism between the socio-economic background factors and the actual migration data. As suggested above, the inherent rules of migration as a phenomenon are believed to create this transmission mechanism, which makes migration a selective and, to a great extent, predictable social process.[4]

To analyze this migration mechanism a slightly modified version of Akin L. Mabogunje's interpreptative systems-model is used (see Figure 2).[5] It is apparent from this model that there is a strong relationship between the system and its environment, an exchange of "energy and matter" which makes the system an open one.[6] Environmental conditions determine decisively whether or not mass-scale, free emigration of chiefly economic motivation can take shape in a given geographical, demographic and socio-economic unit.[7] Firstly, the environment exercises its influence on the migration process through the group of potential emigrants, who, as a result of subjective evaluation of both their own and their families' socio-economic condition at a given time and in the future, feel a propensity to improve their lot by emigration. Some rudimentary information about potential "pull" or "target" areas is also required. Interestingly enough, this information comes from the environment in the initial stage of the migration movement (from agents, national and local newspapers and from relatively close geographical areas where emigration has already developed). At the same time, information received from the environment is, to a great extent, random in character and the response to these information stimuli likewise tends to be random. Migration, however, establishes its own "internal" organization, and tends to rely more and more on its own information supply. From the remarkably large pool of potential migrants a smaller number of actual migrants is selected through a manifold selection process.[8] The stimuli from the environment, as well as information from within, induces an intensive age, sex, occupation, and even personality-specific selection. The decision to leave is, however, also influenced by the rural/local control sub-system of community sanctions and local "public opinion". Information that holds out the promise of success has to come from "reliable" sources, which in traditional village communities, especially in Eastern and Southern Europe, can only be an emigrant relative, a friend, or at least a former

[4] József Gellén, "Migrációs modellek" (Models of migration), *Egyetemes Történeti Tanulmányok*, 12 (Debrecen, 1978), pp. 157—184.

[5] Akin L. Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural—Urban Migration", in: *Man, Space and Environment*, eds Paul W. English and Robert C. Mayfield (London—New York; Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 193—206.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Conditions favorable for migration mean the push of economic deprivation in the sending country and the simultaneous pull of economic prosperity in the receiving one. The reverse situation constitutes unfavorable environmental conditions.

[8] Sune Akerman, "Theories and Methods in Migration Research", in: *From Sweden to America*, eds Harald Runblom and Hans Norman (Uppsala; University of Minnesota Press, 1976), pp. 19—75.

Figure 1. Centers of Overseas Emigration from Hungary, 1899–1913

List of counties: 1 Pozsony, 2 Nyitra, 3 Trencsén, 4 Bars, 5 Túrócz, 6 Árva, 7 Esztergom, 8 Hont, 9 Zólyom, 10 Liptó, 11 Nógrád, 12 Gömör, 13 Szepes, 14 Heves, 15 Borsod, 16 Abaúj-Torna, 17 Sáros, 18 Zemplén, 19 Ung, 20 Szabolcs, 21 Bereg, 22 Szatmár, 23 Ugocsa, 24 Máramaros, 25 Moson, 26 Sopron, 27 Vas, 28 Zala, 29 Veszprém, 30 Győr, 31 Komárom, 32 Fejér, 33 Somogy, 34 Baranya, 35 Tolna, 36 Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, 37 Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, 38 Hajdú, 39 Bihar, 40 Békés 41 Csongrád, 42 Bács-Bodrog, 43 Torontál, 44 Temes, 45 Csanád, 46 Arad, 47 Krassó-Szörény, 48 Hunyad, 49 Torda-Aranyos, 50 Kolozs, 51 Szilágy, 52 Szolnok-Doboka, 53 Beszterce-Naszód, 54 Maros-Torda, 55 Kis-Küküllő, 56 Alsó-Fehér, 57 Szeben, 58 Csík, 59 Udvarhely, 60 Nagy-Küküllő, 61 Fogaras, 62 Brassó, 63 Háromszék, 64 Varaždin, 65 Zagreb, 66 Moduš-Rijeka, 67 Lika-Krbava, 68 Bjelovar-Krizevci, 69 Požega, 70 Virovitica, 71 Srijem.

Source: *Hungarian Studies in English* (Offprint), Debrecen, 1985

fellow-member of the community. According to a contemporary source, every communication from "city-dressed" persons (who almost invariably tried to dissuade villagers from emigrating) was received with extreme mistrust.[9]

With some abstraction, it is safe to say that larger-scale emigration is more likely to occur from areas where, given the economic tensions, some sporadic—and

[9] Sándor Bujanovics, "A felvidéki, különösen a sárosmegyei kivándorlásról" (On emigration from the highlands, especially Sáros county), *Nemzetgazdasági Szemle*, 3 (1881), pp. 47—63.

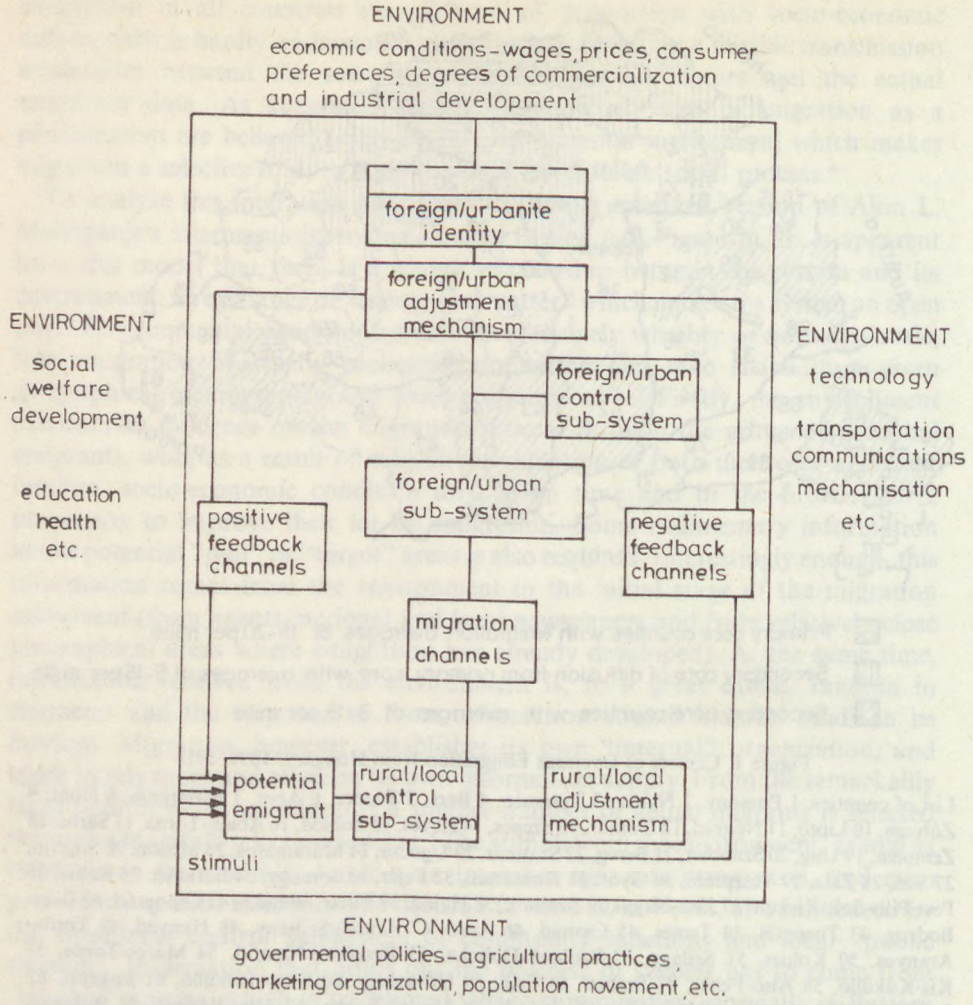


Figure 2. Akin L. Mabogunje's systems model of rural-urban migration modified to suit emigration movements. (The word "foreign" reflects the perspective of the sending countries.)

Source: A. L. Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration" in: *Man, Space and Environment*, eds P. W. English and R. C. Mayfield (Oxford University Press, London—Toronto, 1970).

initially random—emigration has already occurred, often from among the stratum of small businessmen and artisans. This process can develop into a massive voluntary emigration, provided that viable immigrant communities of the same emigrant source (village, region) have been established in the target area (foreign/urban sub-system). Information feedback and, on occasion, financial and organizational assistance from this immigrant sub-system has, in turn, a catalytic

role in generating further migrations. We can therefore postulate a significant growth capability of the migration process, for there is ample evidence that, in spite of the foreign/urban adjustment mechanism (values and norms of socialization) through which feedback is filtered, the information fed back to inhabitants of the Old Country Community is positively biased, that is, it contains more positive (generative) impulses than negative (regressive) ones. Immigrants' letters (the almost exclusive vehicle of communication) tend to recolor negative outcomes of previous decisions and these, in the eyes of more or less sedentary peasant communities, are very significant.[10] More importantly, even information intended to be negative from the perspective of the potential emigrant, tends to be strongly attractive. (For instance, complaints about living conditions in urban tenement blocks contained information about the availability of running water, a bathroom, electricity, etc., things which were in themselves indicators of well-being to the poverty-stricken rural population in Eastern and Southern Europe.) Similarly, the potential emigrant sought encouraging, successful examples among former fellow villages, thereby minimizing, as it were, the risk involved in making a decision in favor of emigration.[11]

The community of immigrants is conceived as a part of, or as a continuation of, the sending community in the Old Country and, at the same time, as the vehicle of the "pull". These elongated communities are the avenues of two-way communication through correspondence.[12] The immigrant community (foreign/urban subsystem) functions as a bridgehead, a destination without which the overwhelming majority of emigrants would never set out for the "wide world". The immigrant community cushions culture shock, making it tolerable for the immigrant. In fact, preliminary awareness of this encouraged emigration in its more mature stage.[13] Interestingly enough, leaving behind the Old Country caused less immediate anguish for the immigrants than did the change of occupation and related behavioral patterns which accompanied the crossing of the "rural-industrial barrier".[14]

[10] Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford, Ca.; Stanford University Press, 1957), pp. 181—196.

[11] Sándor Bujanovics, *op. cit.*; Julian Wolpert, "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate" in: *Man, Space and Environment*, pp. 401—410.

[12] The Hungarian Statistical Yearbook of 1910 registers a large increase in overseas correspondence. In 1910, the number of letters received from the United States was 6,027,664, a figure second only to the number received from Austria in the total of letters arriving from abroad, and for which almost exclusively emigrant correspondence was responsible considering the relationship between Hungary and the U.S. at that time. Interestingly enough, the number of letters sent from Hungary to the U.S. in the same year was 4,421,300, which points to the preponderance of the information flow from the U.S. to Hungary. *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* (Hungarian Statistical Yearbook), Új Sorozat, 18 (1910), tables 87 and 89.

[13] Béla Kálmán and István Rácz, "Emigration from Hungary to the United States" (Unpublished Study, Debrecen, 1974), Part II.

[14] József Gellén, "Immigrant Experience in Hungarian-American Poetry before 1945", *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 20 (1978), pp. 81—97; Sune Akerman, "The Psychology of Migration", *American Studies in Scandinavia*, No. 8 (Winter, 1972), pp. 46—52.

The notion of migration channels is a conceptualization of all aspects of transportation and communication migrants rely on, and which, to a great extent, they themselves help to shape. The channels and their directions become habitual or "tradition-like" and therefore largely predictable for the specific communities. Various migration movements in specific localities rely on the "beaten trail", that is, they prefer the traditional directions to "rational" choices. Thus many Hungarian citizens emigrating from Torontál county in south-central Hungary travelled to German ports, rather than to Fiume (Rijeka) on the Adriatic (which was nearer) because the former route had been used by the German ethnic element which had been the vanguard of emigration from that region.[15] In this way, the establishment of migration channels tends increasingly to eliminate random directions.

As for the foreign/urban identity, which is the representation of assimilation processes in this model, the following point can be made: as assimilation progresses, the immigrant theoretically moves out of the system and becomes part of the environment.

In sum, the feedback about the immigrants' experience concerning foreign/urban adjustment mechanisms (employment, living conditions, acculturation), as well as the mainly legal regulation of the foreign control sub-system, tends to be positively distorted or biased and tends to generate a further propensity to emigrate. The system of migration is therefore capable of growth, and capable of "gathering momentum", and, through its "kinetic energy", it becomes relatively independent of environmental factors.[16] If a migration movement has some kinetic energy, circumstances "favorable" to emigration (e.g., unemployment in the Old Country and an economic boom in America) trigger multiplier effects, i.e. the propensity to emigrate appear with multiplied vigor far above the level that economic conditions could be expected to warrant.[17] Contemporary observers called this a "fever", often comparing it to epidemics that decimated certain areas while sparing others. Multiplier effects could appear only in areas and communities which had formed some tradition of emigration as an accepted mode of behavior to relieve economic and social tensions. This points to the two-sided character of migration: while being a product of industrialization and modernization, it is also a precondition and agent of the same process.

Theoretically, it seems safe to say that the greater the number of people who had emigrated from a locality, the greater the probability of the emigration of another individual from the same locality or community. This seems to mean that emigration would increase indefinitely. However, it is an inherent feature of emigration that it consumes its own statistical base, and when the number of potential emigrants of a region has greatly diminished, slow-down tendencies will appear besides the mere mathematical aspects. Demand for labor increases, and

[15] *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, table 36.

[16] Akin L. Mabogunje, *op. cit.*, pp. 201—204.

[17] Sune Akerman, "Theories and Methods in Migration Research".

this, in turn, tends to improve wages, and money sent back by emigrants may result in better living standards for those remaining behind.

However, the above-mentioned general probabilistic, self-generative growth-process nature of the mechanism of migration remains dominant. The oldest "nests" of overseas emigration from Hungary (Sáros and Zemplén counties, for example) could maintain a very high intensity of exodus throughout the whole period of emigration, instead of showing a statistically expectable sharp rebound from their built-in statistical ceilings.[18]

REGIONAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRATION

Overseas emigration from the Kingdom of Hungary began as a trickle in the early 1870s, increased remarkably during the 1880s and burgeoned into several massive movements in the first decade of the 20th century. The outbreak of World War I and the subsequent immigration quotas imposed by the United States Government brought the still very active movement to an "artificial" conclusion.[19]

Emigration first occurred on a larger scale in the northeastern counties which had multi-ethnic populations. The propensity to emigrate diffused to adjacent areas with the passage of time, while four other regions (three in Hungary and one in Croatia-Slavonia, an autonomous entity within the Kingdom of Hungary), joined in at the turn of the century as secondary centers of emigration (see Figure 1).

Let us look more closely at some counties where massive emigration took place. The volume of emigration from Sáros and Zemplén counties (Figure 3) had already reached a massive scale by the beginning of our period (1899), in accordance with the old emigration tradition of the northeastern center. The feverish peak years of 1905–1907 were, however, still able to push up the emigration figures for these counties. The volume of emigration from Sáros county plummeted lowest in the last six years of our period, because there had always been intensive emigration from practically the whole territory of this sparsely populated county. By contrast, Zemplén county was able to compete with the newly active Torontál county in south-central Hungary. This was because Zemplén had a dense population (compared with Sáros) and, more importantly, because only its central districts and then a southern district (Bodrogköz) were active to begin with, and by diffusing, with varying intensity, over the rest of the lengthy county, its emigration movement was able to draw upon fresh areas in the period 1899–1913.

[18] Cf. *ibid.*, and Sune Akerman, *From Sweden to San Francisco* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1975).

[19] István Rácz, *A paraszti migráció és politikai megítélése Magyarországon, 1849—1914* (The peasant migration and its political evaluation in Hungary, 1849—1914), (Budapest; Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980); Julianna Puskás, "Emigration from Hungary to the United States before 1914", *Studia Historica*, No. 113, (Budapest, 1975).

Veszprém and Szabolcs counties betray transitional characteristics. Emigration from these counties reached a larger scale in the first year or two of the 20th century. The major emigration districts in Szabolcs county bordered on the Bodrogköz and the Bereg Plains in the northeast, and therefore came under the influence of emigration from those areas. These were the districts that were the most populous in Szabolcs county. Like everywhere else, emigration from Veszprém and Szabolcs counties fell back after the peak of 1905–1907, but emigration from them "stabilized" at an apparently higher level than the average for the first six years of the period under consideration (1899–1913). This suggests that they were not yet exhausted and that, if circumstances for emigration became "favourable" again, the movements there would be ready to flare up once more. Emigration from Torontál county began to increase later still, in the years 1903–1904, and then soared at an unprecedented rate, to culminate in 1907, when Torontál county sent twice as many emigrants as Zemplén county. (Emigration from Sáros and Zemplén counties culminated in 1905). The newness of the system of emigration in Torontál was, however, responsible for the highest rate of regression in 1908. Owing to the vast pool of its potential emigrants from among a large population, however, the actual number of those leaving from Torontál during the last six years of our period was somewhat greater than the number of emigrants from Zemplén. Even more marked was the difference between the average of the first and the last six years (1908–1913) in Torontál county.

Let us now compare the volume and the intensity of emigration from these counties (see Figures 3 and 4). It is apparent at first sight that it was not the most hectic emigration movement—the one from Torontál—that uprooted the largest number of emigrants relative to the size of the population, but the oldest centers such as Sáros and Zemplén counties. Even Veszprém and Szabolcs counties were only slightly surpassed by the intensity of Torontál emigration in the last six years of our period. It is very significant, on the other hand, that, although the rate of the drop in volume in 1908 was the highest in the case of Torontál county, emigration from Torontál retained an edge over the emigration from others in volume, but fell deeper than emigration from others in intensity. Emigration from Sáros county plummeted to the lowest level in volume while its intensity retained its first place in the same year. The number of emigrants per unit of population, i.e. emigration intensity, reflects more adequately the old roots of emigration, and the greater kinetic energy of a strong emigration tradition in a certain region. The significance of the kinetic energy of migration becomes all the more conspicuous if we consider the fact that migration does not thin out populations in a general way against which intensity is officially calculated (in most cases the loss is offset by birthrate), but rather thins out certain age and sex-specific cohorts of the population. This is further magnified by the geographical consideration that old, high-intensity migrations from certain districts or individual village communities are maintained from age and sex-specifically thinned out populations, thus determining the character of emigration curves for these districts.

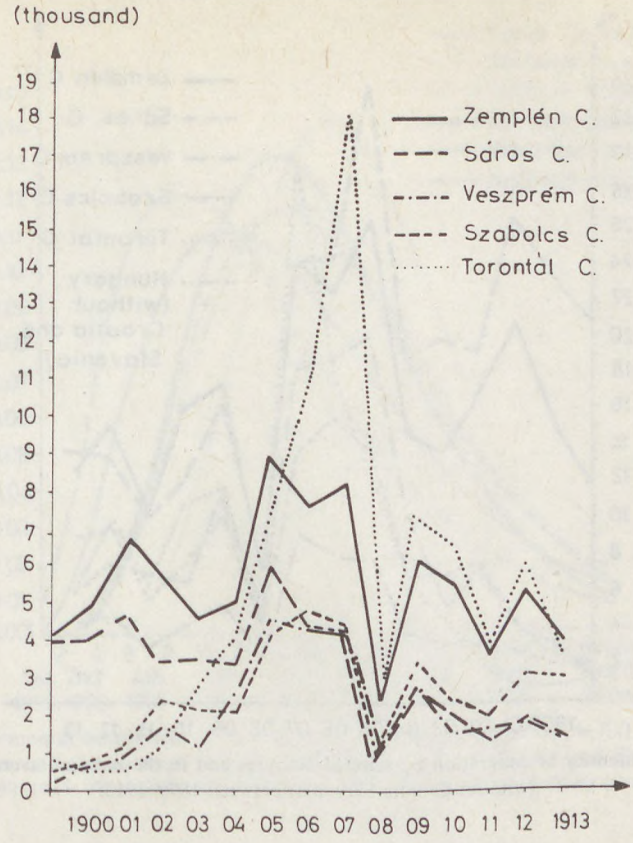


Figure 3. The volume of emigration by the selected counties in Hungary (without Croatia-Slavonia) between 1899–1913.

Although the system of migration is not independent of its economic, social, political and technological environment, it is found to produce its own predictable or probabilistic process. We rely on this quality of migration to give a more exact as well as a more general expression to our observations when we try to discover (on the basis of the official statistics) at what point during the 15 years under consideration an individual was most likely to emigrate from the chosen counties if he was to emigrate at all during this period (see Figure 5).[20]

[20] Because of the apparently asymmetric character of the chronological distribution of migration probabilities, we regard them to be probability variables of Gamma distribution, the density of which is approximated by estimating the mean (M) and standard deviation (D^2) values from the sample average and the empirical deviation square of the samples. The $f(x)$ values were calculated at 30 places for better fitting and more precise graphic rendering.

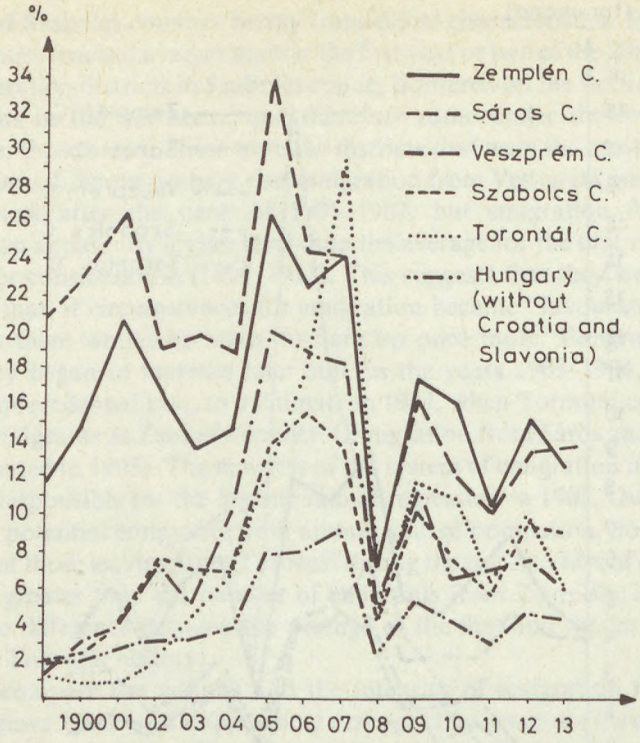


Figure 4. The intensity of emigration by selected counties and in the national average of Hungary (without Croatia-Slavonia) between 1899–1913.

Our results are interpreted in the following way. It is known that the data used contain some apparent distortions. For example, they do not take remigration, repeated emigration and illegal emigration into account. The greatest distortion is, however, caused by the limited chronological coverage of the official statistics for emigration from the oldest emigration centers, i.e. only the latter part of those emigrations can be examined. Consequently, it is certain that the values of the f(x) function for Zemplén and Sáros counties would not have risen as steeply as they do in Figure 5. In spite of the unrealistically steep rising of the curves for these two counties, the data is expected to reflect the most essential characteristics of emigration from these regions in comparison with those from the other counties.

It is a salient feature of the mean values of probability (M) for the counties and the national average (see Table 1) that they fall to the right of the peak value of the respective f(x) functions, i.e. the majority of emigrations occurred after the peaks of the respective movements, but the most probable time-point for an individual (who certainly emigrated during this 15 year period) always precedes the mean value. In other words, the probability of a person's emigration is very small in the initial stage of an emigration process, but once the mechanism of emigration is established, it

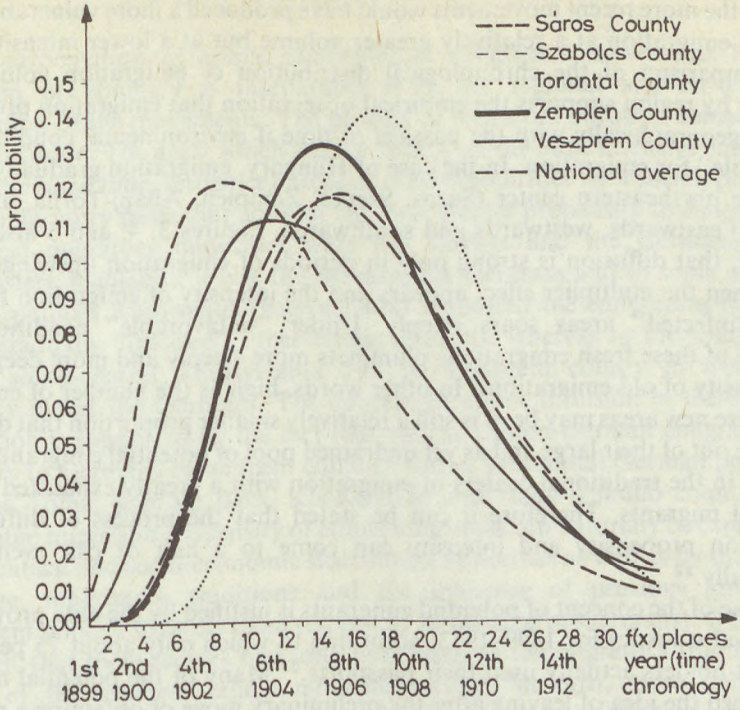


Figure 5. The temporal distribution of the emigration probability values of the f(x) function for the selected counties and the national average of Hungary (without Croatia and Slavonia) between 1899–1913. The values of the f(x) function were calculated at thirty places.

grows at a rate which is much higher than the rate at which it decreases after the peak of the curve.

The standard deviation values (D^2) for the $f(x)$ function (see Table 1) show that deviation tends to be greater with counties having an older emigration tradition. Emigration time does not concentrate around the peak time-point to the extent that it does in more recent emigration centers (of which Torontál county is an extreme example). It also means that the more recent emigration movements have less kinetic energy and fall back "forcelessly" in "unfavourable" periods at a rate closer to their rate of fast growth. (The D^2 value for the national average is not entirely meaningful, because it covers all counties, many of which had emigration of a much more random character.)

The characteristic curves drawn on the basis of the values of the $f(x)$ functions enable us to project the expected, but virtually discontinued, migration after the outbreak of World War I. The regions with an old emigration tradition would probably have sustained a "rigid" and a relatively high-intensity emigration,

whereas the more recent movements would have produced a more vulnerable, more sensitive emigration at a relatively greater volume but at a lower intensity.[21]

A comparison of the chronological distribution of emigration volume and intensity by region supports the empirical observation that emigration propensity diffuses geographically with the passage of time if environmental conditions are "favorable" for emigration. In the case of Hungary, emigration gradually spread from the northeastern center (Sáros, Szepes, Zemplén, Abaúj-Torna, and Ung counties) eastwards, westwards and southwards. Figures 3, 4, and 5 also imply, however, that diffusion is strong only in periods of emigration upswings, i.e. at times when the multiplier effect appears and the intensity of emigration from the newly "infected" areas soars steeply. Under "unfavorable" conditions, the intensity of these fresh emigrations plummets more steeply and more deeply than the intensity of old emigrations. In other words, high as the number of emigrants from these new areas may be, it is still a relatively smaller proportion that decide to emigrate out of their large and as yet undrained pool of potential emigrants than is the case in the traditional centers of emigration with a greatly exhausted pool of potential migrants. Therefore it can be stated that the process of diffusion of emigration propensity and intensity can come to a halt or can even shrink territorially.[22]

The use of the concept of potential emigrants is justified by the data provided by the official statistics for 1899–1913, according to which only about 75 percent of passport-holders actually used their passports.[23] Many of the potential migrants abandoned the idea of leaving after the preliminary move of obtaining a passport while others broke the law by leaving the country without securing a passport. According to the statistics, 71.1 per cent of those with passports emigrated in 1905–1907, which probably points to an inflated pool of potential migrants at the time of multiplier effects and to the relatively smaller proportion of actual emigrants. (After 1908, 72.5 per cent made use of their passports.) It may be concluded that in less volatile periods there is more thoughtfulness in decision-making. The rate of illegal emigrants is shown by the fragmentary information available in the statistics to have been gradually increasing, and the legal restrictions imposed on the issuing of passports in the last few years of pre-1914 emigration, together with an improvement in the recording of illegal departures, seem to have been responsible for this. The fact that the rate of remigration always increases following upswings of emigration substantiates the observation that the "high fever" of emigration, the appearance of multiplier effects, carries along a greater proportion of less determined, less resolute people who are likely to change their minds very soon after, or even before, they actually leave the country.

[21] Cf. Julianna Puskás, *op. cit.*

[22] József Gellén, "Migrációs modellek".

[23] *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, p. 18.

THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRATION

The participation of ethnic minorities in emigration movements from the Kingdom of Hungary is inseparable from the regional and chronological distribution of the movements. The process of territorial diffusion coincides with ethnic diffusion. The areas which are the "nests" of the most intensive emigrations are, at the same time, settlement areas of ethnic minorities with social, political as well as migratory pasts that account for their greater propensity to emigrate. The two most migratory minorities were the Slovaks and the Germans. In the northeastern highlands, it was the Slovaks, the Germans and to some extent the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians (Rusyns) who pioneered the emigration movement which gradually "infected" other ethnic elements, whereas in the south-central plains, south-central Transylvania and in Veszprém county in west-central Hungary it was the Germans. The concept of ethnic diffusion in the system of emigration is supported by the fact that almost all non-German emigrants from Hungary to Germany came from counties with a substantial German population (such as Tolna, Sopron, Bács, Kis-Küküllő and Nagy-Küküllő counties). The differential migration propensity of ethnic minorities can naturally be explained by their political and socio-economic situation as minorities as well as by their family structure, inheritance traditions and the influence of previous government settlement policies towards them (especially in the case of Germans). Our view is, however, that these factors had long been shaping the migratory traditions and habits of the different ethnic minorities which, in turn, more immediately determined their participation in the emigration movement. (In fact, the general socio-economic status of rural Germans in Hungary was slightly above the national average for the agrarian population.)

The trend in the participation of Hungarians, characterized by great "inertia" and lack of migratory tradition, is particularly interesting. As the northeastern center diffused geographically, the participation of Hungarians gradually increased, but 40 percent of them came from five counties in or around the center itself (Szabolcs, Abaúj-Torna, Zemplén, Borsod and Szatmár counties) between 1901 and 1913. The same process is discernible within one county too. In Zemplén county, only one-third of all emigrants were ethnic Hungarians at the beginning of this period, but this share reached 40 per cent by 1913. In Bereg county, Hungarian participation grew from 30 to over 50 per cent during the same time.[24] When the Slovak-majority districts in the northeast slowly exhausted their human resources, the more recently joined Hungarian-majority districts pushed up the participation of Hungarians in absolute terms. The intensity of Hungarian emigration has, however, always been the highest in the Hungarian-minority settlements and districts at the very core of emigration in northeastern Hungary.

Propensity for emigration among Germans is the most conspicuous in Torontál county. Between 1881 and 1909, 14.91 percent of the county's German population

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

emigrated, mainly from a cluster of four districts with absolute or relative German majorities.[25] Thus, emigration from Torontál county is characterized by a very high degree of territorial and ethnic concentration, because the more recent emigration movement there "did not have enough time" to spread territorially and ethnically. This highligths the significance of the fact that 9.42 percent of the sporadic Slovak population in Torontál emigrated during this period.[26] This tremendous readiness to migrate is related to previous migrations (government settlement programs dating back to the early 18th century) and the resultant geographical dispersion of family ties and personal relations.[27]

The propensity to emigrate was also very high among Ruthenians. Their participation in emigration was about twice as large as their numerical share in the population at large. However, the territorial diffusion aspect of emigration propensity strongly differentiates the actual migration intensity of Ruthenians, who constituted probably the poorest ethnic minority in Hungary. From Sáros and Zemplén counties, which had relatively small Ruthenian populations, there had long been high intensity emigration of Ruthenians under the influence of the northeastern core of emigration and also because of contacts with Galician emigration movements. From Ung and Bereg counties, which had larger Ruthenian populations, many more Ruthenians emigrated at a lower level of intensity. Thus in the counties sending the largest number of Ruthenian emigrants to America the rate of participation in emigration was lower than the Ruthenians' share in the population of these counties. Also indicative of the ethnic dimension of diffusion is the observation that the Ruthenians in Ung, Bereg and Máramaros counties emigrated from areas of mixed (Slovak, Magyar and Ruthenian) and dense population rather than from the purely Ruthenian-inhabited, but sparsely populated, border areas. In other words, as territorial diffusion moved east the "disease" represented by the craving to emigrate was more and more indirectly transferred to them through other ethnic elements—Slovaks and, most notably, Magyars, who had traditionally been sedentary. This substantiates the assumption that the Ruthenian minority in Hungary had a relatively weaker migration tradition of its own, in spite of the general intensity of its participation in the whole emigration movement.

The immense significance of personal relations in the mechanism of migration has been mentioned.[28] The official Hungarian statistics for 1899–1913 offer some data on the destination of emigrants (based on U.S. immigration statistics). The

[25] Ferenc Szentiványi, "Torontál Megye vándorlási mozgalmáról" (The emigration movement of Torontál county), *Magyar Társadalomtudományi Szemle*, 4 (1911), pp. 305—320 and 354—389.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] István Berta, "A délvidéki kivándorlás problémája" (The problem of emigration from the south of Hungary), *Folia Historica*, 3 (1975), pp. 109—158.

[28] Cf. R. C. Taylor, "Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types", in: *Migration, Sociological Studies*, 2, ed. J. A. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 99—133; G. Beijer *et al.*, *Characteristics of Overseas Migrants* (The Hague, 1961).

ethnic breakdown of these data points to the internal characteristics of the emigration movements of the respective ethnic minorities. Travelling to a friend or an acquaintance was most frequent among the Slovaks (90 percent) and Magyars (82.8 percent), while travelling to relatives was most frequent among Romanians (27.5 percent) and the Croatians and Slavonians (27.4 percent). The proportion of emigrants who did not travel either to a friend, acquaintance or relative, but who were thrown entirely on their own resources was greatest among the Germans (7.2 per cent). This may reflect the larger number of better-off peasants and artisans as well as the greater share of family emigration among Germans. This is also found to reflect the function of Germans as the earliest initiators of emigration.[29] From a systems point of view, the greater proportion of those travelling to friends and acquaintances among Slovaks, Magyars and Germans hypothetically indicates a more established, more "reliable", migration mechanism in contrast to the more recent and partly lower intensity emigration of Romanians, Croats and Slavonians, who had to draw to a greater extent on strong family ties. (Naturally, ethnic differences in family structure and tradition certainly influence these deviations, but the evaluation of these factors is beyond the scope of this paper.)

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX AMONG EMIGRANTS

As mentioned above, emigration (and migration in general) is a highly selective process, age- and sex-specifically. In general, the 20—29 age group for both sexes seems to be the most migrant core of the age continuum and, as distance increases from this core in the direction of the younger and older age-groups, propensity to emigrate tends to decrease. Age and sex-specific selection is perceivable at the very beginning of emigrations, although the usually higher rate of family emigration in the earlier stages of emigration somewhat offsets the occurrence of sharp demographic imbalances. However, the selective nature of emigration is evidenced by the striking distortions in the composition of the population in northeastern Hungary as early as the end of the 1870s.[30]

The age- and sex-specific concentration of the demographic base of emigration processes is understandable, given the biases of the demand for labor on the one hand, and, on the other, the local control and adjustment mechanism of semi-feudal village societies that permitted greater geographical mobility for men. Similarly, this phase of the individual life-cycle (20—29) is the most mobile, with a decreasing tend of mobility both under 19 and over 30.[31]

[29] Ferenc Szentiványi, *op. cit.*

[30] Gusztáv Thirring, "A felvidéki kivándorlás hatása népesedésünkre" (The influence of highland emigration on our population level), *Budapesti Szemle*, 93 (1898), pp. 41—55.

[31] G. R. Leslie and A. H. Richardson, "Life Cycle, Career Pattern and Decision to Move", *American Sociological Review*, 26 (December 1961), pp. 894—902.

Age-specific selection is found to correlate positively with the increase in distance[32] if the interference of other factors (like family emigration) is eliminated. Thus, the proportion of the trans-Atlantic migration of the characteristically migrant age-group (20—29) is remarkably large, while that of the elderly (over 50) is extremely small when compared with the more even age-distribution of shorter-range emigrations to European countries.[33]

Since migrations consume their own age and sex-specific resources, we can witness a slow increase in the share of emigrants under 20 and over 30, as against the most susceptible 20—29 age-group.[34] The actual figures for those over 30 can be expected to be distorted upwards by multiple emigrations. However, a greater increase in the over-30 category is precluded statistically by emigrations from the same regions in previous years; the individuals who would have fallen into the over-30 category had already gone. In spite of the general tendency of the relative recession of the most migrant group (20—29), the following phenomenon is discernible (Table 2). Of the gross national emigration, the category of emigrants under 20 accounted for 24.4 percent; the category 20—29 36.3 percent; and the category 30—39 25.9 percent in 1905–1907, whereas in the less volatile period of 1911–1913 these categories accounted for 17.3, 34.8, and 23.7 percent, respectively. By contrast, the same age categories in the combined gross emigration of six counties in the northeastern center (the horizontally striped area in map plus Bereg county, see Figure 1) accounted for 33.5, 32.4 and 22.1 percent in 1905–1907, whereas they accounted for 28.2, 38.3 and 18.2 percent respectively between 1911–1913.[35] These figures suggest that in the years of strong multiplier effects (1905–1907) diffusion also appeared in the dimension of age; i.e. the relative weight of the most susceptible age-group was less in these years than in more stable times (1911–1913). If just the national aggregate figures were examined, the validity of this statement would be uncertain, because these figures rely on data from all kinds of regions. Figures for the northeastern core areas, however, strongly support the above observation, because the share of the most migrant category (20—29) fell back to second place even in the absolute sense, despite the extremely harsh demographic effects of an old emigration tradition. Diffusion in age was therefore very much greater in areas with an old emigration tradition in the years of powerful multiplier effects. In the 1911–13 period, the 20—29 age-group strikingly regained its lion's share mainly at the expense of the older age-group, which lost more of its weight in the emigration center than in the national average. We can therefore

[32] Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration" in J. A. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 282—297; Dorothy S. Thomas, "Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials", *Science Research Council Bulletin*, 47 (1938), pp. 1—167; A. H. Hobbs, "Specificity and Selective Migration", *American Sociological Review* 7, No. 6 (1942), pp. 772—781.

[33] *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, p. 24.

[34] The official statistics of the period 1899—1913 did not take children who travelled in the custody of a grown-up into consideration, therefore the "under 20" category is expected to cover people mostly of 15—19 years of age.

[35] *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, table 55.

conclude that the concept of emigration tradition can be interpreted in terms of age too. In other words, the 20—29 age-group regains its first place in the lukewarm or "less favorable" years for being, as it were, more rigidly and doggedly migrant than the other age-groups. Projected against the regional and ethnic distribution of emigration, this phenomenon of age distribution is thrown into even greater relief, for it can consistently maintain the emigration of the most susceptible age-group, in spite of the regionally and ethnically differential exhaustion of the population. The 20—29 age-group regained its long-term dominant role as the multiplier effects abated alongside the similarly long-term tendency of slow diffusion to other age-groups, especially the younger ones. Therefore, it is safe to say that the system—stemming from its very systems nature—is capable of producing transitory phenomena that are in some contradiction with the basic tendencies it generates.[36]

Considering the distribution by sex of emigration from Hungary, two points deserve to be made in the context of emigration within a systems framework. Firstly, the share of women is inversely related to the ups and downs of the total emigration beside its trend of gradual growth in the long run. Both tendencies spring mainly from what was to be, at least from the emigrants' point of view, temporary emigration from Hungary and, since the realization of the intention to return to the Old Country was continually postponed (and in most cases eventually given up), women "followed" men—which resulted in female dominance in the last years of the migration movements.[37]

Secondly, the proportion of women in emigration from urban backgrounds is strikingly higher than for the national average. Besides the stronger sanctions on female emigration in rural communities, the reason is to be found in the fact that the majority of urban emigrants were domestic servants, a typical form of employment for rural-urban in-migrant females. In this way, they had experienced migration before emigration and were therefore conditioned for greater propensity to emigrate.[38] According to other sources, it was also the non-indigenous elements among male industrial laborers who were most prone to emigrate.[39]

CONCLUSION

The systems approach to the analysis of the official statistics on emigration from Hungary between 1899–1913 reveals that the tendencies involved in the development of emigration movements are determined not only by economic and demographic circumstances but are also generated by the migration movements themselves. Moreover, this generative systems-character of emigration—as exemplified by the case of Hungary—provides a transmission mechanism between

[36] József Gellén, "Migrációs modellek".
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, pp. 71—72.
[39] Cf. Julianna Puskás, *op. cit.*

the political, socio-economic and technological environment and the actual migratory behavior of certain populations. The community ties connecting the sending and the receiving ends of the emigration process constitute the social base of this transmission mechanism. The systems framework of communities as the actual vehicles of emigration was only inferred from the statistical sources used in this study. The role of the community in emigration from Hungary needs further historical documentation by tracing the movement of individuals.

Table 1

Administrative unit	M	D^2
Sáros county	13.36 = 6.68th year	14.89
Zemplén county	15.58 = 7.79th year	16.25
Szabolcs county	17.98 = 8.99th year	13.14
Veszprém county	16.56 = 8.28th year	10.31
Torontál county	18.92 = 9.46th year	8.63
National average	17.58 = 8.79th year	13.58

Mean (M) and standard deviation (D^2) values of the $f(x)$ function of probability of emigration from the selected counties and the national average for Hungary.

Table 2

Period	Age under 20	20–29	30–39
1905–1907	24.4%	36.3%	25.9
1911–1913	17.3%	34.8%	23.7

in gross national emigration

Period	Age under 20	20–29	30–39
1905–1907	33.5%	32.4%	22.1%
1911–1913	28.2%	38.3%	18.2%

in gross emigration from northeastern core area

Comparison of age diffusion patterns in emigration in the national average of Hungary and the core area of emigration in northeastern Hungary in years of highly intensive emigration (1905–1907) and in years of moderately intensive emigration (1911–1913).

MONIKA GLETTLER

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT POSITION ON SLOVAK EMIGRATION, 1885–1914

For this paper I have chosen a hitherto fairly neglected question which is nonetheless worth examining, especially for students of the Habsburg Monarchy. The period of mass emigration occurred at the same time as tensions between the nationalities worsened, and the relationship between social and national antagonisms is a significant aspect of this development. In the period after 1880 the Slovak emigration had a special statistical significance. The Slovaks, who were 12 percent of the population of Hungary made up 43 percent of its emigrants.[1] These figures reflect the desperate economic circumstances in the homeland as much as the greater opportunities abroad. It is not my purpose to discuss the Slovak emigration, because this was the topic of Ladislav Tajták's and František Bielik's papers. My intention is, rather, to examine the policies of the Hungarian government toward this emigration. The question as to how, and to what extent, the government regarded the emigration of the Slovaks as a means to resolve or exacerbate national tensions will be examined from the point of view of Hungary's foreign policy as well as its domestic policy.

In the Western counties of Upper Hungary, the Slovaks were in the majority (with 73 to 96 percent), but here emigration was rather unimportant.[2] The main wave originated in Eastern Slovakia, where the percentage of Slovaks was very small, except in Szepes and Sáros where it reached 58 percent and 60 percent, respectively. Ninety percent of all emigrants came from the eastern counties, because the wages there were only half of what they were in the other counties. Up to 1899, there was no classification of Austro-Hungarian citizens by ethnic groups in the USA.[3] In 1895 the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Pittsburgh estimated the number of Slovaks at between 250,000 and 280,000.[4] After 1899 their number increased rapidly, and 1905 was the Slovaks' record year, with 52,368 emigrants.[5] Dispersed

[1] Jósef Mailáth, *Hungaricae res. I. Die Nationalitäten in Ungarn. II. Ungarn und Österreich. III. Ungarn und Kroatien*, (Berlin, 1908), p. 34.

[2] Abauj-T. 22,9%, Borsod 3,4%, Gömör 40,6%, Ung 28,1% Zemplén 32,4%. Lubor Niederle, *Národopisná mapa uherských Slováku na zakladě sčítání lidu z roku 1900* (Prag, 1903), p. 122.

[3] They were classified merely as originating from "Bohemia, Hungary and other Austria". O.L.M.E.K. 26. 1903-XX-228 (1164/02). Copy of the Royal Hungarian Commissioner of Agriculture, Washington, March 3, 1902.

[4] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I, Kart. 63, No. 1.

[5] František Bielik and Elo Rákos, *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo. Dokumenty I* (Bratislava, 1969), p. 23.

over various states, the Slovaks clearly preferred Pennsylvania because of its coal mines. In 1902, i.e. about 25 years after the beginning of Slovak emigration, the Austro-Hungarian legation in Washington was upgraded into an embassy. In addition there were consulates in various other cities, including Pittsburgh and Chicago, that were supposed to protect and promote the interests of the Habsburg Monarchy and to give advice, help and shelter to Austro-Hungarian citizens. This task, however, was not successful in the case of the Slovaks, for whatever reason. It should be mentioned that the majority of the Monarchy's diplomatic corps in the US was of Magyar descent.

It is significant of the special circumstances of the Slovak immigrants that it was about 10 years before they started to form their own clubs. At the beginning they joined German, English and probably also Czech and Polish clubs. The first Slovak club was founded in 1881 in Hazleton, Pa. for Roman Catholics by a priest from the diocese of Kassa; the second centre was one in Shenandoah, Pa. for Greek Catholics, operating from 1884 under the care of a clergyman from the Lemberg archbishopric; and the third group, without any special religious character, was in Pittsburgh. This latter group in 1886 founded *Amerikánszko-Szlovenszké Noviny*, which was written in the Sáros dialect with Magyar orthography.[6] This paper was loyal to the Hungarian government, and gave priority to Hungarian state ideology.[7] All this changed when Peter Rovnianek joined as co-editor in 1889. He took full charge of the ASN in 1892, and remained the sole owner and editor in chief until 1911.[8] Rovnianek, expelled from the theological seminary in Budapest in 1887, emigrated in 1888 and became the most successful of the Slovaks in the USA. Since Rovnianek came from a small village in Western Slovakia, the ASN under his editorship changed to the West-Slovak spelling, despite protests from the readers. In 1889 the ASN had 1,700 subscribers; by 1903, there were already 16,000. Thus, it formed one of the most important sources of information on the Slovaks in the USA. As a consequence, the Hungarian Ministers of the Interior after 1889 repeatedly withdrew the ASN's right to postal delivery in Hungary because of its subversive tendencies, and the Hungarian government tried in vain to obtain a similar ban from the Pittsburgh Police for delivery in America.[9]

The Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Washington and the Pittsburgh consulate regarded a Slovak newspaper loyal to Hungary as one of the most important "means of defense" against Slovak national activity. Therefore the Hungarian Government subsidized two Slovak weeklies: the nonconfessional *Slovenské Noviny* and the Catholic *Šlebodni Orel*. The first issue of *Slovenské Noviny* was

[6] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 63, No. 1, p. 61.

[7] Ladislav Tajták, "K začiatkom Amerikánsko-Slovenských Novín", in: *Začiatky českej a slovenskej emigrácie do USA* (Bratislava, 1970), pp. 186–196, esp. p. 189.

[8] See footnote 4 and Konštantín Čulen, *Slováci v Amerike* (The Slovaks in America), (Črty u kultúrnych dejín: Turč. Sv. Martin, 1938), pp. 15–24.

[9] Monika Glettler, *Pittsburg—Wien—Budapest. Programm und Praxis der Nationalitätenpolitik bei der Auswanderung der ungarischen Slowaken nach Amerika um 1900* (Wien, 1980), pp. 770 ff.

published in 1897 in Hazleton, Pa. in the Eastern Slovak dialect, used by four-fifth of the emigrants.[10] The difference between Eastern and Western Slovak at that time was a first-rate political issue for the Hungarian government. It supported Eastern Slovak deliberately, because Rovnianek and the "pan-Slav" priests used Western Slovak idioms that were closer to Czech; thus, it hoped to split the Slovak emigrant community along linguistic lines. Hungarian Prime Minister Dezső Bánffy (1895–1899), however, vehemently criticized the *Slovenské Noviny* because of its Slavic national spirit and its all-too-clerical contents.[11] But the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in the USA felt that the *Slovenské Noviny*, if it was to be popular, had to take Slovak nationalistic ideas into account, and could be an effective tool to Magyarize the Slovaks in the USA.[12] Therefore, the government contributed a subsidy of $ 1,500, which after June 1898 was cut to 1,200.[13] Ferenc Tóth, who had already had some printing experience in Hungary, was the first editor of the paper. Tóth's quarterly reports sent to Budapest show a rather depressing picture. Thus, the consulates came to question Tóth's reliability and, by the turn of the century, most of the articles in his paper were written by the Austro-Hungarian consuls themselves,[14] since it was feared that more nationally-oriented contributors would not uphold Hungarian interests. *Slovenské Noviny* in its golden age, *circa* 1900, had only 4,000 subscribers; Tóth, however, claimed 25,000.[15] In 1909, the Hungarian government cancelled its subsidy, arguing that the money could be better spent in a manner more directly useful to Magyar interests.

Šl'ebodni Orel, founded in 1901 in New York, was a similar fiasco. Its emphasis on educating the Slovak people in the Catholic spirit, the paper was the periodical of the insurance club, Uhersko-Slovenská Katolícká Jednota, which had been founded in 1901 with about 600 members.[16] Its editor, clergyman Ferenc Dénes, was personally acquainted with the Austro-Hungarian consul general, who regarded him as a patriotic man of high standing. The fact that the paper was edited by a priest increased its importance for the Magyars, who correctly appreciated the leading role of the clergy among the Slovak masses. In January 1903, Dénes promised to make his paper the official mouthpiece of the biggest Slovak club, I. Katolícká Slovenská Jednota, with 17,000 members, and demanded from the Hungarian government a subvention of $ 5,000 per annum. In fact, in 1903, he received a grant of $ 3,000 for one year, which was $ 1,800 more than what he had got for the *Slovenské Noviny*.[17] In setting editorial policy, Budapest emphasized

[10] Glettler, *Pittsburg*, pp. 80–89, 366–388.
[11] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 63, No. 88.
[12] *Ibid.* No. 91, No. 99 and Kart. 64, Nos 101, 105, 108, 113, 118.
[13] *Ibid.* Kart 64, No. 117.
[14] *Ibid.* Kart. 66, No. 532–O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XX–594 (152).
[15] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 74.
[16] Glettler, *Pittsburg*, pp. 89–96.
[17] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I, Kart. 67, Nos 639, 658; Kart. 68, No. 707 and O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XX–321 (321/1903).

strongly that Dénes must not encourage the remigration of Slovaks to Hungary.[18] Unfortunately, Dénes succeeded neither in making his paper the voice of the I. Katolická Jednota, nor in exercising an influence over other Slovak national clubs. His own club collapsed in 1904 because of his "frivolous imprudence and unconcerned ignorance". National deserters prevailed on the staff of his newspapers as well, and in private life he was unduly influenced by his housekeeper; he often said mass totally drunk, and was finally removed for mismanaging church property.[19] A bitter competition between Tóth and Dénes after 1904 resulted in the withdrawal of government subvention in 1906.[20] Because neither *Slovenské Noviny* nor *Šlebodni Orel* had proved capable of fulfilling the tasks assigned to them, it was proposed, as early as 1907, to found a third government paper under the title of *Krajan* in Pittsburgh. The Austro-Hungarian ambassador decided against; the ineffectiveness of the subsidized press was recognized by all Austro-Hungarian diplomats, who agreed that it was far less popular than that of the opposition, and pointed out that in this regard there was "no reason for optimism".[21]

In addition to its attempt to establish an alternative pro-Hungarian direction in the Slovak emigrant press in America, the Hungarian government also attempted to influence the Slovaks in America through involvement with the organization and supervision of Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Lutheran parishes. Membership in a parish, however, was a decision left to the individual, and the only reliable information is on those who were members of parishes. For example: in 1902, at most a third of all Roman Catholic Slovaks in the USA belonged to a parish.[22] For this reason, this religious/political direction in Hungarian policy could only affect a small percentage of the Slovak emigration, since the majority of the Slovaks were not in parishes at all.

Yet another important "means of defense" against Slovak "agitation" in America was providing Hungarian children's books, as well as school and prayer books, to emigrants. The Pittsburgh consulate, however, questioned the usefulness of such shipments with the argument that the children of the Slovaks attended American schools and read only English books. The Minister of Education, Gyula Wlassics (1895–1903), rejected book shipments, arguing that Slovak editions of Magyar literature were not available. Premier Kálmán Széll (1899–1903) also rejected this plan; Prime Minister Géza Fejérváry (1905–06) later argued that every such attempt is "but a drop in the ocean" with results hardly proportional to the costs. At any rate, the Hungarian government did not wish to promote the spread of Slovak culture.[23]

[18] *Ibid.* (HHSTA) Kart. 69, Nos 861, 883.
[19] His successor was Emil Dzubay, also a very shady, unreliable person.
[20] HHSTA. P. A. XXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 78, No. 2633.
[21] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1902–XXIII–158 (3907).
[22] *Ibid.* 1903–XX–228 (1082/1902) and HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 65, No. 344.
[23] Glettler, *Pittsburg*, pp. 139–143, esp. p. 141.

Ten years before, in 1895, the state of Slovak-American education had been relatively encouraging from the point of view of the Hungarian government. According to consular reports, the Slovaks learned English only with difficulty and imperfectly, did not join American labor unions, did not read English newspapers, lived separately and sent their children to their own schools wherever possible. This social isolation undoubtedly suited the Hungarian state's political purpose, keeping alive in the Slovaks' minds a sense of affiliation with their native land.[24] Still in 1895, when the Austro-Hungarian consul in Pittsburgh requested that priests be sent from Hungary to hamper Slovak nationalist agitation, he added that, in addition to priests, primary school teachers, on leave with full salary, should also be sent since they could be useful as itinerant instructors.[25] The Foreign Ministry in Vienna, however, was afraid that the Hungarian government would only send instructors teaching the Magyar language, which would stir up Slovak nationalism. Prime Minister Bánffy, at that time, did not have any objections, but the Ministry of Education was reluctant to allow teachers to emigrate because of the shortage of teachers in Hungary,[26] and the Hungarian dioceses did not make a sufficient number of patriotic priests available to initiate and organize a systematic solution.

At the Conference on Emigration in Budapest in January 1903, it was decided definitively not to intervene in Slovak schools in America; it would be prohibitively expensive and the results would not be commensurate with the sacrifice.[27] The same was largely true also of the Magyar schools; nevertheless, Széll stated in April, 1903, that he intended to do far more for Magyar schools than for either the Slovak or Ruthene schools.[28] At the initiative of Béla Kazinczy, a loyal priest of the Roman Catholic parish in Braddock, Pa., a program for sending Hungarian nuns to Slovak schools was begun. Kazinczy argued that such a program would further Hungarian interests, since otherwise the approximately 45,000 Slovak children in the US would receive religious instruction from Czech, Moravian, Galician or Pan-Slavic priests.[29] It took over a year before not 30, but five, young nuns were sent out to Braddock. All but one of them (from Galicia) came from Slovak districts in Hungary.[30] The political effect seemed to be full success. The consul in Pittsburgh reported that their very arrival alone resulted in a remarkable increase among Slovaks of devotion to their homeland. In view of the popularity of the nuns even Rovnianek's newspapers held back in reserve.[31]

At the 1903 Conference on Emigration, although the existence of the program was noted, it was also questioned whether it should be continued. The difficult

[24] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 63, No. 12.
[25] *Ibid.* No. 1.
[26] *Ibid.* No. 15.
[27] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XVI–71 (879).
[28] *Ibid.* 1903–XVI–79 (1481).
[29] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 64, No. 254.
[30] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1904–XX–712 (4096/1902). *Pester Lloyd*, No. 267, Nov. 8, 1902.
[31] *Ibid.* 1904–XX–712 (205/1903).

position of the Hungarian government towards the Slovak problem was summarized in the following question: Under the particular circumstances in America, would it be possible to make the Braddock school Hungarian in spirit and put the required emphasis on the Magyar language?[32] In other words, if it had been a matter of a Magyarization of Slovak teaching in the USA, it would have been much easier to find Magyar-speaking nuns. Finally, in July 1905, Prime Minister Fejérváry decided against the further dispatch of Slovak nuns, but emphasized his willingness to send nuns for the Magyar Roman Catholic parishes.[33]

Thus, the leading idea of the so-called American Action, i.e. "keeping alive the people's feelings of a relationship to their homeland"[34] was not realized in even a single point of the program. The guiding principle of the American Action, which had been defined at the Conference on Emigration Issues in Budapest in 1903, and modified over and over again, kept Premier Széll's government as busy as it did the Hungarian Episcopate. While, in principle, Prime Minister Széll accepted the proposals of the Pittsburgh consulate, especially as they related to sending politically reliable Roman Catholic priests in place of "Pan-Slavic" ones, he suggested that the plan of action regarding the Slovaks should be classified until the Hungarian government publicly came up with definite proposals.[35] From the point of view of the Hungarian leadership, however, confirming the national identity of the Magyar emigrants was the most important duty.[36] In June, 1902, Emperor Francis Joseph sanctioned the plan of action and authorized Premier Széll, when speaking with the episcopate, to invoke his authority as King of Hungary to declare the action necessary.[37] The 1903 Conference on Emigration raised questions concerning statistics about the emigrants, the matter of an ecclesiastical head office, issues relating to parishes, clergymen, schools, textbooks, and the press.[38] In the interest of a meaningful population policy and with regard to the development of the Hungarian state, Széll felt "compelled" to take the view that by far the most important part of the action was the preservation of the Magyars' national identity.[39] This meant, first of all, that the number of Magyar-speaking emigrants returning home should be as large as possible. Secondly, the Magyar emigrants' unceasing affection and support for their churches, schools and newspapers should be sustained. Although the loss in Hungary's population as a result of the mass

[32] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 67, No. 642.

[33] *Ibid.* Kart. 77, No. 2242.

[34] *Ibid.* Kart. 63, No. 1 and Gábor G. Kemény, *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában* (Documents on the history of the nationality question in Hungary during the Dualist era), III, 7 (Budapest, 1966).

[35] *Ibid.* (HHSTA) Kart. 65, No. 307.

[36] *Ibid.* No. 347–O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1902–XXIII–319. Kemény, *Iratok* III /36/I/F.

[37] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 65, No. 424–O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XX–228 (1887/1902) (2321/1902).

[38] *Ibid.* (HHSTA) Kart. 67, No. 642 and O. L. 1903–XVI–71 (140) (879). Kemény, *Iratok* III/36/III/G.—Bielik, *Dokumenty* I, Nos 90, 91, 92.

[39] *Ibid.* (HHSTA) Kart. 68, No. 702 and O. L. 1903–XVI–79 (79).

emigration of the Slovaks was regrettable, Széll "by no means" felt that the return of these elements to Upper Hungary was "desirable". The return of the Slovak emigrants could not, however, be stopped; moreover, there was a fear that in case an economic crisis arose in the USA, the Slovaks would return in large numbers. In such a case their subversive sentiments would be dangerous, and Széll felt that the promotion of the (Hungarian) national consciousness of the Slovak and Ruthene emigrants must not be neglected. Thus, while the policy for the Magyar emigrants had a positive character, that for the Slovak and Ruthene emigrants had a negative one. The program of the three policies, i.e., Magyar, Slovak and Ruthene, was announced by the Emperor on March 9, 1903.[40] At the same time Széll declared that Magyar interests were "in fact even identical" to those of the US and stated that the Hungarian government would not pursue political aims which might hinder the Americanization process. Since the return to Hungary of the Slovaks appeared to be dangerous, there was no reason to hinder the Americanization of the Slovaks, whose sense of national identity was already askew.[41] If the American government should take steps to integrate the Slovaks as citizens, the Hungarian government would not interfere at all.[42] Széll's successor Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1903 and 1910–12) went so far as to declare that the Hungarian government was not in the least interested in protecting the Slovaks from Americanization.[43] The direction of the Hungarian government's "American Action" was centered in Budapest and the diplomats in the USA and the Foreign Minister in Vienna played the part of mediators. By 1904, the American Action further shifted to the disadvantage of the Slovaks in terms of priority—the Slovaks were now behind the Ruthenes.[44] This, despite the fact that in 1900 of a total of 38,888 Hungarian emigrants, 14,169 were Slovaks and only 3,102 Ruthenes.[45]

Of all aspects of this American Action, the most important was its religious/political effort. An attempt was made to establish a "Central Church Authority" among the Slovaks as a tool for Hungarian government policy, but the proposal was rejected by the Vatican. In July 1905, Prime Minister Fejérváry publicly stated that the Hungarian government thought itself "one might say helpless" regarding the huge number of Slovak emigrants, because the local dioceses did not place at its disposal a sufficient number of Slovak priests "able to commence the battle in various parishes".[46] Since, under these circumstances, a systematic action could not be started, the Catholic part of the action was cancelled.

Just as the Hungarian government tried to find reliable priests to be sent to the USA, it also tried to hamper the departure of "non-patriotic Roman Catholic

[40] *Ibid.* (HHSTA) Kart. 68, No. 704.
[41] *Ibid.* Kart. 68, No. 732.
[42] *Ibid.* Kart. 70, No. 1075, Kart. 71, No. 1103, No. 1104.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.* Kart. 67, No. 642 and Kart. 75, No. 1825.
[45] *Ibid.* Kart. 64, No. 401.
[46] *Ibid.* Kart. 77, No. 2202.

priests" mainly those from the four nationally endangered dioceses of Nyitra, Besztercebánya, Rozsnyó and Szepesváralja, whence an increasing number of Slovak nationalistic priests left for the USA after 1900. The Hungarian Minister of Education pressured the four bishops concerned to prohibit such journeys to the USA, and, if a priest did not obey this prohibition, his name had to be reported to the Hungarian government.[47] American bishops were also pressured to abide by this prohibition, but the leading American clergy, mostly Americans or Irishmen, had absolutely no insight into the nationality issue in Hungary,[48] and their cooperation was therefore illusory. While such pressure may have been effective, the American Slovaks could not be prevented from sending for young seminarists from Hungary and educating them at their own expense in American seminaries. Thus the Hungarian government stood by helplessly as this new generation "became poisoned by anti-state sentiments".[49]

It is conceivable that a policy of sending "loyal" priests to Slovak emigrant communities while removing disagreeable ones, might have hampered the Czech-Slovak rapprochement in the USA for a long time. One might question, however, whether this would have resolved the inner-Hungarian Slovak question, especially at a time when this question had already passed beyond the borders of Austria-Hungary. After 1905, when Fejérváry became Prime Minister, the government lost what little interest it had in the Slovak emigrants. In 1907 the American Action became an Upper Hungarian issue, as is clear from a detailed letter to the Minister of Interior Gyula Andrássy from Premier Sándor Wekerle (1906–1910). According to the Prime Minister, efforts to bring about a change of mind among the American Slovaks should not be abandoned; on the contrary, Wekerle wanted to do everything possible in the future to uphold Hungarian state ideology outside Hungary as well. The centre of gravity of the defensive action was to be in Upper Hungary. Thus, the American Slovaks were reduced to an inner-Hungarian problem and their existence provoked increased government measures in upper Hungary.[50]

In examining the domestic policy of the Hungarian government concerning the Slovak emigration, we must examine how the issue was raised in Parliament, at the Council of Ministers, the ministries and the various local authorities of the counties.

In the Hungarian Parliament there were hardly any major debates on the relationship between the government and the Slovaks in America or in Hungary. This, however, did not hold true for the phenomenon of emigration in general. After 1901 especially, the Parliament dealt intensively with the situation of emigrants and with the prohibition of emigration; for example, 26 memoranda on this topic were sent to several counties and cities.[51] The subject of Slovak

[47] *Ibid.* Kart. 65, No. 307.
[48] *Ibid.* Kart. 63, No. 12.
[49] *Ibid.* Kart. 87, No. 4346a and Kart. 78, No. 2483.
[50] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1907–XXIV–94 (227).
[51] *Ibid.* 1901–XXXI–4541.

emigration was in fact raised several times in connection with other questions, but there was no discussion of possible domestic consequences, least of all by the Slovak parliamentary representatives themselves.[52] The Northern Hungarian delegates of Magyar descent elected by the Slovak people, on the other hand, demonstrated political responsibility and concern. One such delegate was György Szmrecsányi, nephew of the highest official of the church, Pál Szmrecsányi, who was descended from ancient nobility living in Árva, Liptó and Sáros. In one of his speeches in Parliament in February 1907, he urgently demanded a policy bringing an end to national quarrels, especially since foreigners had interfered in Slovak matters (he was probably thinking of Robert William Seton-Watson): "The most disgraceful matter of all", said Szmrecsányi, "was that the Slovak Club, Národý Slovenský Spolok, in New York, granted scholarships to Slovak students in Hungary".[53] Then he criticized the fact that if somebody in Upper Hungary was Slovak, he was regarded as Pan-Slavic whether he was a patriot or not. Szmrecsányi regarded the word "Pan-Slavic" as the most offensive word of all, "because it stands for someone who wants to unite the Slavs and destroy the Hungarian state". In his view, for Hungarian society to dismiss even loyal Slovak citizens, who cherished the Hungarian culture as well as their own Slovak culture, was an inexcusable mistake. "Those neglected Slovaks who had fallen into the hands of rabble-rousers had to be brought back to the mass of faithful citizens, and Hungary should get rid of the unscrupulous agitators." This speech shows how a convinced Magyar championed the cause of the Slovaks who had elected him to Parliament, because the Slovak deputies were not able to do so.

The main issue for Hungarian domestic policy was the activity of the Slovak national press in the USA. Almost all the discussions in the council of ministers dealt with stopping postal delivery of American-Slovak newspapers. In the ministerial conferences between 1889 and 1913, the Minister of the Interior announced prohibitions on more than 40 American-Slovak newspapers in Hungary. Most of these restrictions took place in the years 1893/94, during Wekerle's first period in office (1892–95). Neither in the ill-fated era of Bánffy (1895–99) nor before, during Kálmán Tisza's tenure (1875–90), did the government keep a sharper eye on the Slovaks than under Wekerle. The reproaches against these newspapers were aimed mainly at the "instigation of hatred towards the nationalities", at offenses against the House of Habsburg and the monarchy, at hostile articles on state and religion and especially at the rapprochement of Czechs and Slovaks.[54]

The political ambitions of the American Slovaks were especially felt in the Upper Hungarian school system, and in 1903, Minister of Education Wlassics informed Premier Széll that, because of the American Pan-Slavic activity, the school inspectors of the Upper Hungarian counties had been urged to watch carefully the

[52] In 1901 three Slovak delegates were elected, in 1905 two, in 1906 seven and in 1910 three.
[53] *Képv. Napló* (Parliamentary minutes), pp. 411–417, 110th session, Febr. 16, 1907.
[54] Glettler, *Pittsburg*, pp. 313–316.

teachers of dubious national sentiments.[55] The same control had been introduced in the local seminaries for priests, who were watched even after they left seminary, because, in the view of the government, the younger clergy were especially filled with Pan-Slavic feelings.[56] This government concern with priests and teachers grew out of the fact that the majority of Slovak children came from poor peasant families (i.e. 90%), they did not receive any financial aid from their parents,[57] and only the colleges for priests and teachers were free. As a result, in the context of the American-Slocak problem, not only the spokesmen of the US-Slovaks in Hungary, but also the spokesmen of the Hungarian government in the US, belonged to the clergy.[58]

After 1903,—i.e. after the American Action took effect—the Minister of the Interior repeatedly assured the Prime Minister that special attention was being devoted to the propagation of the American-Slovak national movement among the Slovaks in Hungary and the prefects *(főispán)* of the Northern counties were instructed to watch developments keenly, especially the transfer of money from the USA to Hungary.[59] The Minister of Justice raised the fines on Slovak newspapers edited in Hungary in cases of "instigation against the Hungarian state", and took measures against the smuggling of newspapers from the USA. The government also attempted to contradict news in the American-Slovak papers through reports in loyal, subsidized Slovak papers in Hungary.

A special matter for domestic policy was the return of the Slovaks to their native land. The Pittsburgh consul had pointed out, already in 1895, that the anti-Hungarian campaign in the US was making the returnees into eloquent apostles of ideas dangerous to the state. In March 1898 the Minister of Interior sent a circular to the municipal boards instructing them to collect statistical data on the returnees.[60] This questionnaire developed a political character later under Premier Széll who was not enthusiastic about the return of the Slovaks. Also, Premier Wekerle declared in point 1 of his "basic note on the project regarding the action to promote the return of Hungarian emigrants in America and their resettlement at home", only that those whose mother tongue was Magyar were to be resettled. He rejected the repatriation of Slovaks in order to preserve the domestic peace of the Hungarian state on nationality issues.[61] According to the statistics, however, at least one third of all Slovaks wanted to go home. The main questions in the circulars sent out by the Minister of the Interior to the prefects which were aimed at checking the national "mood" in the country did not change basically during the whole period, as they pertained to Slovak emigration. One of the most important starting

[55] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XX–594 (778/1903).

[56] *Ibid.* 1903–XX–594 (2460/1903) (2545/1903).

[57] Ján Hučko, "K otázke sociálneho postavenia slovenskej vlasteneckej inteligencie v období národného obrodenia (1780–1848)", *ZFFK* 19(1968), pp. 105–130.

[58] For details see: Glettler, *Pittsburg*, p. 326.

[59] O. L. M. E. K. 26. 1903–XX–594 (March 31, 1903).

[60] Bielik, *Dokumenty* I, No. 50 (1898).

[61] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 100, No. 3531a.

points for an analysis of whether, and if so, how a national psychosis could spring up at all, is depicted by the reactions of the counties' public authorities in answering these circulars. However, a homogeneous general picture cannot be constructed, neither for single problem districts, for a particular year, a certain group of counties, the reaction of individual county officers (e.g. for the chief constables = *főszolgabíró* or deputy constables = *szolgabíró)*, nor for particular individuals. This is due to problems with the source material, which does not present an objective picture, since the documents are incomplete. Attempting to construct an overall picture for all Upper Hungarian counties based on these sources would be wrong both chronologically and factually. One should not assume that the greater the Slovak percentage of the population, the larger the numbers for emigration and re-immigration, and, therefore, the more dangerous the "infection" by nationalistic ideas. There are many examples in Eastern and Western Slovakia showing that, especially in the poorest regions, no, or almost no emigration took place.[62] Conversely, in areas where it was easy to find work during the whole year, the Slovak population left to make money in the US.[63] The state of national consciousness depended neither on the percentage of migration in or out of, nor on the percentage of the Slovak population in a certain county. Otherwise the national issue would have been most pressing in those counties where the emigration was highest, or where the percentage of Slovaks in the population was highest, or one might also conclude that most of the Slovaks left from the poorest counties.

The deputy prefects *(alispán)* and chief constables *(főszolgabíró)* were of course afraid of the spreading of Pan-Slavism by the returnees from America, but concrete examples were registered only in a few cases. Because the reports the prefects sent to Budapest reported no national activity among the Slovaks in the sense that no financial aid, no American–Slovak newspapers, and no "agitators" could be traced, recent historical analysis is inclined toward the following interpretation: Hungarian government bodies deliberately reported negatively in order to save labor and annoyance, in proving a claim that can be proved only with great difficulty. How difficult it is to answer some of these questions critically can be shown by two examples; one Magyar and one Slovak: The prefect of Zólyom county complained to the Deputy prefect that the local councils were neglecting their duty to announce the existence of Pan-Slavic movements, and were not delivering reports at all. Therefore the prefect felt forced to read the Pan-Slavic newspapers himself.[64] On the part of the Slovaks there is a statement from 1904 from Milan Hodža among papers of Archduke Francis Ferdinand along the same lines. Hodža wrote that "the fact that a great portion of the state and county officials in the non-Magyar counties already are veiled nationalists, parading their Magyar Chauvinism only for personal advancement, is significant. In a time of crisis they

[62] Glettler, *Pittsburg*, pp. 348, 379.

[63] Bielik, *Dokumenty* I, No. 69.—ŠA. Košice. Župa Abovsko-Turnianska. Podž. rôzne záležitosti 501/1897 (April 3, 1902).

[64] ŠA. B. Bystrica. Zvolenská župa. Podž. prez. 1904/52 (June 8, 1904 and June 1, 1904).

will resaddle without further ado".[65] In fact, in many cases, Slovaks evidently took part in the county committees and Slovak politicians often were on good personal terms with the heads of the counties.

Altogether it should be stated that the attacks in the national controversies came primarily from Budapest and not from the county officials. Initiative on the part of these officials and concerning the American Slovaks came only in very few special cases over the whole period. Everyone laid the matter to rest simply by responding to the circulars from the Ministry of the Interior.

As for the opportunities of the county leadership to criticize the changing economic, social, and national situation caused by the emigration, case studies must be conducted for the various counties. The studies should be centered on the representatives of the Hungarian government in their personality and their contacts with the Slovaks. Why the Slovak delegates in Parliament did not raise their voices more, should also be investigated. To inquire as to the degree the course of events until 1914 was a result of the politically dominant personalities (and the peculiarities of their decisions) is not necessarily a one-sided, personality-oriented approach. At any rate, it appears that nationalistic political activity on the part of the returnees was limited to meaningless individual instances, such as provocative speeches in taverns, and joining the Socialists. Thus, the American Action seems to have been an unsuccessful effort in Hungary's policy toward the Slovaks. The East Slovak mass emigration posed no real danger, since earning money and being able to enjoy the good life in Slovakia all but ruled out opposition on the part of the Slovak masses toward the government. In this way, the Slovak emigration was really a kind of palliative, rather than a danger, to the nationality issue. After 1917, 30.5% of the Slovak emigrants wanted to return to Hungary,[66] a fact which emphasizes their economic motivation and undermines the nationalistic arguments.

[65] HHSTA. Depot Hohenberg. Nachlaß Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand. II. Denkschriften und Broschüren.

[66] HHSTA. P. A. XXXIII. USA. Liasse I. Kart. 100, No. 3531a.

ANDRZEJ BROŻEK

SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF EMIGRATION FROM POLAND BEFORE 1939

Difficulties concerning sources on emigration from East-Central Europe, quite different from those encountered in studying emigration from other parts of the Continent and the British Isles, are a shared feature of this particular segment in the history of virtually all the nations in the region. The same problems apply to both the origins and the survival of the relevant sources.

1) The above state of affairs results from the fact that, in the period when mass emigration started from East-Central Europe, Poland did not exist as an independent national state. The partitions of the country in 1772—1793—1795 had abolished her sovereignty as an independent political unit and her territory was divided up between Russia, Prussia and Austria, under whose rule the Poles continued right until 1918. Ultimately, there is no clear criterion as to what might be considered "emigration from Poland". Also, the crossing of state boundaries as a criterion for emigration cannot be adopted for our present discussion, since migrations between the Polish provinces of Russia, Germany and the Austrian Empire cannot be considered emigration, properly so-called. At the same time, internal migration from German-occupied Polish territories to Berlin or to the Ruhr (as well as migrations from Polish provinces under Russian rule to genuine Russian provinces) ought to be considered emigration in a very real sense. This explains the dearth of dependable statistics on the question.

2) The lack of clear criteria for "emigration from Poland" stems not only from the political situation that existed in the region before 1918, but also from the ethnic and national composition of the population there, combined with the varying degrees to which ethnic and national consciousness had evolved by different points in time. From this latter viewpoint, , "emigration from Poland" was not equivalent to "Polish emigration" even in the 1918—1939 period of Poland's independence, as attested by the character and the value of the particular sources both from before and after 1918.

3) World War I and World War II were crucial events with regard to the survival of our sources. The waste of Polish archives wrought by the two wars is fairly widely known. Still, I must mention here the loss of a collection, unique even by world standards, of thousands of letters written by emigrants from 1890–91 onwards and subsequently confiscated by the censors of the tsar. Of the letters, which were later

acquired by the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, (Central Archives for Historical Documents) Warsaw, only 300 have survived.[1]

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The fact that, before 1914, Polish territories provided the largest quota of emigrants from Europe as a whole, is of great importance for the matter at hand. About 5 million people (Poles, Jews, Ukrainians and Germans) are estimated to have emigrated from our partitioned country before 1914. This represents a net migration of 3.5 million persons (i.e. 30 per cent of the total European emigration) out of a population of 27 million in 1910 (i.e. 6–7 percent of Europe's entire population)[2], excluding the seasonal migrations to Germany from the provinces under Russian and Austrian rule. In 1913/14, these seasonal migrations involved 300,000 people. World War I gave rise to mass migrations in Polish districts, which, according to some estimates, lost the same number of inhabitants through migrations in 1914–1918 as in the period between 1870 and 1913. In the interwar years of 1918–1939 some 2.1 million people left Poland, with the net migration affecting 950,000 persons, leaving the country with about 35 million inhabitants in 1939.

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First, I would like to comment on the sources bearing on the numerical framework of the migrations. Then, I shall discuss the archival material, the press, and other printed sources. Finally, I would like to review the bibliographies on the problems under discussion, and comment on the main published results of scholarly investigations in the field, including studies, contributions, and attempts at a synthetic approach.

STATISTICS

The standard publication of the National Bureau of Economic Research, prepared by Imre Ferenczi and Walter Willcox, offers some data on Poland in the pre-1918 period. These, however, refer only to the so-called Kingdom of Poland—i.e. a section of the Russian dominion, within boundaries established by the

[1] The letters preserved were published in: *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych, 1890–1891* (Letters of Emigrants from Brazil and the United States, 1890–1891), W. Kula, N. Assorodobraj-Kula, M. Kula, eds, Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1973. Cf. my review in: *Polish Western Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1974), pp. 143–146.

[2] A. Brożek, *External migrations and natural increase on Polish territories at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries*, in: *Congrès international de démographie historique, Paris-Unesco 27, 28, 29 Mai 1980, Malthus hier et aujourd'hui, Résumés des rapports et des communications* (Paris 1980), p. 218; I. T. Berend and G. Ránki, *Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (New York–London: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 20.

Congress of Vienna (1815). The figures on emigration were collected by the former Warsaw Statistical Committee and are based on data supplied by the local administration. "They are somewhat inexact and incomplete (...) but are not without value. In fact these figures faithfully reflect the general tendencies of the migrations."[3] And this statement seems to be right. Furthermore, the figures available do not comprise emigration to Russia—the third most popular country for Polish emigrants (after the United States and original German provinces such as the Ruhr area or Berlin with Brandenburg). The value of Russian statistics is very poor: details were discussed already after the rebirth of Poland.[4] Thanks to comparatively dependable statistics in Prussia and the German Reich, our topic has quite a considerable body of historical and demographic research to its credit on the Polish territories under German rule. The most interesting findings of this research have been presented by Stanisław Borowski, who in his publications relied on official Prussian statistics, both those concerning migrations and those allowing us to extrapolate the numbers lost through migration by balancing the natural movement of the population with the actual numbers of inhabitants as revealed by census figures.[5] A comprehensive volume, featuring data compiled from German official statistics by Heinz Rogmann, also deserves to be mentioned here.[6] Karol Englisch, in his studies and contributions, has stressed that, in Austria, the authorities of the Habsburg Empire, too, showed little interest in emigration statistics until, in the 1880s, Karl Th. Inama von Sternegg was appointed chief of the Austrian statistical administration. Still, it was not until 1905 that the Central Commission for Statistics adopted the sort of attitude that made for the collecting of more reliable data.[7]

[3] *International Migrations*, Vol. I, Statistics (...) with Introduction and Notes by Imre Ferenczi, ed. by Walter F. Willcox, (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), p. 218.

[4] St. Szulc, *Wastość materjałów statystycznych dotyczących stanu ludności b. Królestwa Polskiego* (The Value of Statistical Material Concerning the Number of Population of the Former Polish Kingdom), (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1920).

[5] St. Borowski, "Emigration from the Polish Territories under German Rule, 1815–1914", in *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae*, Vol. 2, Poznań: Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza, 1967, pp. 151–184; Borowski, "Demographic Development and the Malthusian Problem in the Polish Territories under German Rule, 1807–1914", *ibid.*, Vol. 3, (Poznań, 1968), pp. 159–179, and in: *Population and Economics*, ed. by P. Deprez, (Winnipeg, 1970), pp. 35–54.

[6] H. Rogmann, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung im preussischen Osten in den letzten hundert Jahren*, (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937).

[7] Finally in parts of L. Caro, *Emigracja i polityka emigracyjna ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem stosunków polskich* (Emigration and Emigration Policies with Special Reference to Polish Conditions), translated from the German edition (cf. below footnote 30), revised and supplemented by K. Englisch, (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1914); earlier in his articles, K. Englisch, "Die Lehre der amerikanischen Einwanderungsstatistik" (The Experience of American Statistics on Emigration), *Statistische Monatsschrift*, (Brünn, 1911), pp. 345–389; "Die Methoden der statistischen Erfassung der Auswanderung" (Methods of Statistical Expression of Emigration), Summary by R. Meyer, "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des statistischen Seminars an der Universität Wien in den Wintersemestern 1907/08, 1908/09 und 1909/10", *Statistische Monatsschrift*, (Brünn, 1910), pp. 504—505; "Die österreichische Auswanderungsenquette" (The Austrian Poll on Emigration), *Arbeitsnachweis*, (Wien, 1912); "Die

All these statistics betray the political divisions that existed in Russia, Prussia, and Austria, not only in ethnic Polish territories, but in non-Polish or ethnically mixed areas as well. For instance, in the Prussian province of Silesia (40,335 sq. kilometres, population: 5,226,000 in 1910), only a part of Upper Silesia was strictly ethnic Polish territory (Opole Regency district, area: 13,230 sq. kilometres; population: 2,208,000, out of which no more than 60 per cent were Polish). The same applies to lands referred to as Pomerania (Prussian provinces of Pommern, Westpreussen, and Ostpreussen, area: 121,679 sq. kilometres, population: 7,584,000 in 1910), and Poznań (Prussian Posen province), which, too, was only partly Polish, with regard to its ethnic mix, with the area between the Puck—Lębork— Syców and Gdańsk—Kętrzyn—Ełk lines, inhabited in 1910 by 4.3 million people. Galicia, too, under Austrian rule, cannot be treated as ethnically entirely Polish, though Austrian statistics made it impossible to separate Eastern Galicia, with its predominantly Ukrainian (Ruthenian) population, from the rest of "Kronland" Galicia (55,315 sq. kilometres, population: 5,336,000 in 1910). Under Russian rule, across the border from the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Kingdom), lay the Polish-Lithuanian-Byelorussian borderlands in the gubernyas (provinces) of Wilno and Grodno, with the Białystok district (total area: 80,600 sq. kilometres, population: 3,987,000 in 1912, out of which 10 per cent were Polish). In order to obtain approximate figures on emigration from "Poland", one has to define the boundaries of that hypothetical entity in the period before 1914, and set the numbers of inhabitants against the respective areas of the migration figures. This is an important methodological problem that every attempt to study Polish emigration in the period under review must inevitably get to grips with.

The next question to answer is how far the migrations under discussion were "Polish emigration", i.e. whether Poles and non-Poles were equally represented in them or not. Available statistics on the nationality structure of the population inhabiting Polish lands (and, in the case of the Prussian partition, also the statistics dealing with migrations, e.g. Polish migrants to the Ruhr) are not entirely reliable because of certain shortcomings rooted in political factors. Here only non-statistical sources can be used in our investigations.[8]

Attempts to determine the numerical patterns of migrations from Poland, including the features and divisions discussed above, were undertaken back in the early years of the interwar period by Samuel Fogelson, who, while presenting his

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österreichische Auswanderungsstatistik" (The Austrian Statistics on Emigration), *Statistische Monatsschrift*, (Brünn, 1913), pp. 65–167; "Die überseeische österreichische Wanderung in den Jahren 1908 und 1909 sowie die Einwanderungs- und sonstigen Verhältnisse in den wichtigsten Einwanderungsländern", *Statistische Monatsschrift*, (Brünn, 1910), pp. 721–733; "Zu unserer Auswanderungsfrage", *Statistische Monatsschrift*, (Brünn; Friedr. Irregang, 1911), pp. 89–120.

[8] The author of this paper undertook such an attempt—cf. A Brożek, "The Influence of Migrations on the Nationality Structure of Silesia (1870–1945)", *Polish Western Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1967), pp. 403–430.

estimates on emigration from Polish lands before 1914, with a breakdown of the figures for 1895–1913 and for each of the three divisions of the partitioned country, offered statistics on the global and net migration of Poles, Ukrainians and Jews.[9]

Another interesting attempt of this kind to determine the main direction of the emigration wave under discussion can be found in a comprehensive study on Polish immigration into the United States by Mieczysław Szawleski, who collated various statistics and presented the results in a graph included in his book (the graph being also reprinted by Joseph Slabey Rouček).[10] It is, however, interesting to compare these data with the relevant official US statistics on immigration from Poland in 1861–1898 (for the period 1899–1919, US figures refer to immigration of Poles only)[11] and to note the discrepancies:

Years	US statistics	Szawleski
1861	48	2,648
1871	535	12,935
1881	5,614	47,614
1891	27,497	44,497
1898	4,726	18,848

Although M. Szawleski did not reveal the method by which he had arrived at his estimates, the extent to which he relied on the US figures, based on a fiscal year (ending on June 30), in calculating his own, based on a calendar year, is amply demonstrated by his figures almost invariably ending in the last two digits of the former.

In the interwar period (1918–1939), Polish statistical data on migrations were collected by various agencies and were published in *Rocznik Statystyczny* (Statistical Yearbook), *Statystyka Pracy* (Statistics of Labor), *Miesięcznik Statystyczny* (Statistical Monthly), and other series. Apoloniusz Zarychta, section head in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, used these materials in two of his studies—one printed in 1933 (with a second edition in 1939), and the other one prepared in typescript form.[12] These data include information on the nationality and occupational structure of migrants.

[9] S. Fogelson, "Les migrations et leur rôle démographique en Pologne (1871–1936)", in: *Congrès International de la Population: Paris 1937*, Vol. IV (Paris, 1938), pp. 126–137.

[10] M. Szawleski, *Wychodźtwo polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (Polish Immigration in the United States of America), Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1924, insert after p. 16 "Graficzny rozmiar wychodźtwa polskiego do Ameryki" (Graphical Proportions of Polish Emigration to America); Cf. J. S. Rouček, *Poles in the United States of America*, (Gdynia: The Baltic Institute, 1937), insert after p. 20 "A Graphical Survey of the Polish Immigration to the United States of America".

[11] A. Brożek, *Polonia amerykańska, 1854–1939* (The American Polonia, 1854–1939), (Warszawa: Interpress, 1977), p. 224, table II, (English translation: *Polish Americans 1854–1939*, Warsaw, 1985).

[12] A. Zarychta, *Emigracja polska 1918–1931 i jej znaczenie dla państwa* (Polish Emigration 1918–1931 and Its Meaning for the State), Warszawa: Liga Morska i Kolonialna, 1933; 2nd ed. Warszawa: Związek Pisarzy i Publicystów Emigracyjnych, 1939; Zarychta, "Dwudziestolecie emigracji z Polski 1918–1939"

There are, however, some doubts concerning the accuracy of these figures. Starting with the volume on emigration, one is immediately struck by a discrepancy between Polish statistics and those of the countries of immigration, a discrepancy apparent in similar comparisons between virtually all countries of emigration and immigration, as found e.g. by the International Labour Office in Geneva.[13] Having compared the US statistics with M. Szawleski's Polish estimates, I would now like to list Polish official figures on emigration from Poland and on the emigration of Poles, along with the US figures in the period 1920–1938:

Years	Migrants from Poland		
	US statistics		Polish statistics
1920	2,519	4,813	48,095
1924	19,371	28,806	4,290
1920–1924	62,603	183,881	202,836
1928	4,238	8,755	8,507
1932	639	1,296	1,433
1936	489	869	969
1938	1,109	2,403	3,024

The inaccuracy of statistics on the nationality of the migrant population raises some other doubts as well. Combined with denominational statistics, the above figures could provide a more exact picture of the Jewish (denominationally Mosaic), Ukrainian (Greek Catholic and Orthodox), Byelorussian (Greek Catholic, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic), etc. emigration.

Nevertheless, the calculations of S. Fogelson quoted above also furnish detailed estimates on various features of emigration from Poland in the part of the interwar period covered by his investigations.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

In the pre–1918 period it was both the central and local administration of the partitioning powers which, interested to learn about different social and political phenomena, produced materials on the population's migratory movements.

(Twenty Years of Emigration from Poland, 1918–1938), Warszawa 1939, typescript in Archiwum Akt Nowych (Archives of Recent Documents), Warszawa, Collection "Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Vol. No. 9886. Parts of this material, confronted with some primary sources, were presented by E. Kołodziej, "Emigration from II Polish Republic [sic] to America on Background of Employment-Seeking Emigration Process from Poland: Number and Structure", in: *Emigration from Northern, Central and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research, International Symposium, Kraków, November 9–11, 1981* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1984), pp. 165–184.

[13] *International Migrations*, pp. 185 f., 193–196, passim.

At the central level, one has to look at the measures which formed part of immigration policy (controlling the volume and direction of migrations from Polish lands between the partitioning states), as well as emigration policy which affected their own, non-Polish subjects as well. Here, for instance, the closing of the Prussian (actually, the German) frontier in 1885 against immigration of Poles and Jews from Austria and Russia served a dual purpose. On the one hand, it excluded Germany as a possible destination for the constant stream of Polish immigration from the other partitioning zones, while, on the other hand, it forced the wave of excess population from these territories to look for alternative receiving countries at the time when masses of emigrants first started to leave these provinces. Thus, the problems of emigration are reflected not only in materials produced by offices and agencies responsible for internal affairs and social policy, but also in those to do with foreign policy. The relevant material is therefore located in collections of German archives (Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR, Merseburg; Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin-Dahlem [West]; Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Bonn; and Zentrales Staatsarchiv der DDR, Potsdam) and, of course, in archives in Austria and the Soviet Union. The main seaports from which emigrants from Poland set sail overseas, primarily Bremen and Hamburg (the latter's passenger lists, covering the whole period of Polish mass emigration are still extant), offer similar source-materials, allowing an insight into the whole movement.

On the local level, there exists a considerable amount of material, though scattered in various Polish archives. These documents were produced by the administration of the three partitioning powers. However, due to frontier changes after 1945, part of the archival sources produced by the local Russian and Austrian administrations remains outside Poland, i.e. in the Soviet Union. The same applies to the collections of institutions that operated within the autonomic structures of Galicia, in the Habsburg Empire. Apart from sources kept in official Polish archives, there are some files kept in Church archives. These deal with pastoral duties performed among emigrants and they include material produced in diocesan chancellaries.

In a project co-sponsored by various Polish administrative and science departments and co-ordinated by Cracow's Jagiellonian University, a comprehensive catalogue of all the collections to be found in Poland is being put together at present.

However, the initial results gained so far under the project cover only the interwar period of 1918–1939. But the Directory of Source Material, compiled by E. Kołodziej, offers detailed information on the contents of all the collections located in the Archives of Recent Documents (Archiwum Akt Nowych), Warsaw.[14] Another directory, compiled by Andrzej Klossowski under the same project, lists

[14] *Polonia zagraniczna, Informator o materiałach źródłowych do 1939 roku przechowywanych w Archiwum Akt Nowych* (Polonia Abroad, Directory on Source Material for the Period before 1939, Located in the Archives of Recent Documents), Comp. E. Kołodziej, (Warszawa: Archiwum Akt Nowych, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1981).

the archival collections and manuscripts of the National Library, Warsaw.[15] Some years ago, Marek M. Drozdowski launched a project on these files (located abroad, especially in the United States) of the interwar Polish administration.[16]

THE PRESS

Contemporary newspaper accounts relating to emigration also belong to this kind of sources, which are widely used in migration research worldwide. In the case of the Poles, too, newspapers in the migrants' own language, as well as those in other languages, i.e. the press of the nationalities living in the same areas and involved in the same migratory movements (Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, etc.), and the press of the partitioning powers themselves published in their languages in both the Polish lands and the other (central) provinces of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, reflect the process under discussion.

A characteristic example is furnished by *Posener Zeitung*, a German newspaper based in Poznań, which ran an item on the departure, in 1854, of the first group of Polish emigrants bound for Texas. From the item the exact date of that event, which incidentally, marked the beginning of Polish mass emigration to the US, can be gleaned. The paper's Berlin correspondent reported that the group had arrived there from Upper Silesia on September 26, 1854. This, in turn, was repeated in the Cracow daily *Czas* (October 3), and next in the Silesian *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* of Cieszyn-Teschen (October 7).[17]

It seems plausible that contemporary press accounts on Polish emigration covered a wider range of languages than those dealing with emigration from other parts of East-Central Europe.

Polish research on emigration has so far failed to explore fully this rich array of press materials. Admittedly, though, the immigrant press, published outside

[15] *Zbiory i prace polonijne Biblioteki Naradowej*, (Polonia Collections and Works of the National Library), *Informator* (Directory), Comp. A. Kłossowski, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1982; H. Natuniewicz, *Zbiory i prace polonijne Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza w Warszawie, Informator* (Polonia Collections and Works of the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature, Warsaw, Directory), (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, Muzeum Literatury im. A. Mickiewicza, 1984); *Zbiory i prace polonijne*... etc.

[16] M. M. Drozdowski, "Zabezpieczenie i gromadzenia źródeł do historii emigracji" (The Preservation and Collection of Source Material on Emigration History), in: *Stan i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi*, H. Kubiak, A. Pilch, eds, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976), pp. 234 f.

[17] A. Brożek, "Początki emigracji z Górnego Śląska do Ameryki w świetle współczesnej prasy polskiej na Śląsku" (Beginnings of the Emigration from Upper Silesia to America as Reflected in the Contemporary Polish Press in Silesia), *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1968), No, 1, p. 5 f.; Brożek, *Ślązacy w Teksasie* (Silesians in Texas), (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972), pp. 11–12; Brożek, "Z najstarszych polskich relacji prasowych o pionierach górnośląskich w Teksasie" (The Oldest Polish Press Accounts of Upper Silesian Pioneers in Texas), *Studia Śląskie*, New Series, Vol. 20, (Opole: Instytut Śląski, 1971), pp. 49–64.

Poland, is way up front in our migration research. The material found in these sources has been scrutinized by studies dealing with the particular Polish communities abroad, and the emigrants' press in general has been studied in the context of other fields of emigrant activity, such as the school system, religious life etc. This facet of the problem, however, lies outside the scope of the present study.

OTHER PRINTED SOURCES

Of the other printed sources, I would like to discuss here some examples, almost exclusively characteristic of Polish migration research. Few, if any, such records are available to research on analogous segments of other nations' history. The records in question are collections of letters and memoirs.

The first such collection, compiled by Florian Znaniecki on the eve of World War I, was published in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by William I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki. It consists of 50 series, comprising a total of 763 letters. Originally published in 1918, the letters were translated from Polish into English. Since the original material had been lost, all the letters (as well as the memoirs, which are also an integral part of the publication) were translated back from English into Polish when the book of W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki was published in Polish in 1976.[18] Another case in point is the above-mentioned letters from 1890–91 of Polish immigrants into Brazil and the United States, of which, unfortunately, only a small part has survived. These were published in 1973.[19]

The series of the above-mentioned memoirs included in *The Polish Peasant* was successfully continued, thanks chiefly to a project launched by the Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego (Institute of Social Economy), Warsaw, in the mid-1930s. The Institute invited Polish immigrants settled in foreign countries to take part in a competition. The response: 179 entries from France, South America, Canada, and finally from the United States,[20] to be published in the form of a series. Let me stress here that this is only the major series of memoirs concerning Polish migrations. There have been a number of similar editions that we cannot give space to in these comments, though some of them are no less rich than those of the Warsaw Institute of Social Economy.[21]

[18] W. I. Thomas, F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Monograph of an Immigrant Group*, Vols 1–5, (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918–1919); Polish ed. *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce*, Vols 1–5, (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1976).

[19] Cf. fn. 1.

[20] *Pamiętniki emigrantów: Francja* (Memoirs of Emigrants: France), (Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1938); *Pamiętniki emigrantów: Ameryka Południowa* (Memoirs of Emigrants: South America), (Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1939); *Pamiętniki emigrantów: Kanada* (Memoirs of Emigrants: Canada), (Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1971); *Pamiętniki emigrantów: Stany Zjednoczone* (Memoirs of Emigrants: The United States), Vols 1–2, (Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1977).

[21] E.g. *Pamiętniki imigrantów polskich w Kanadzie* (Memoirs of Polish Immigrants in Canada), Vols 1–2, ed. B. Heydenkorn, (Toronto: Kanadyjsko-Polski Instytut Badawczy, 1975, 1977); J. Samulski,

Finally, a recent publication from 1983 must be mentioned here—a volume presenting reports, recollections, letters, etc. sent by Jesuit missionaries (12 authors) who worked among Poles in the United States between 1864 and 1913.[22] This material allows a fascinating insight into various aspects of the movement and its mechanism (as well as into the life of Polish local communities in the US). Further research will, by all means, have to take into account this volume to the same degree as the other editions of sources mentioned in this report have been utilized until now.

There is, finally, an important printed source that Polish research on emigration has only occasionally tapped, to wit, the material of the US Immigration Commission appointed under the Congressional Act of February 20, 1907, and presented by William P. Dillingham, which is a treasure-trove of sources on the phenomena under discussion.

ON THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

The realization, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, of the growing impact that emigration was having on the social and economic life of the population inhabiting partitioned Poland gave rise to a new discipline: research on emigration from Poland. That's how it all started. It was first and foremost the overseas emigration that became subject of published comments and investigations. Thanks to a bibliographical directory published in 1979 at Cracow's Jagiellonian University, which comprises 6700 items (part of them covering not only the migrations themselves but also the life of Polish communities overseas),[23] we now have a comprehensive insight into the relevant output, up to 1975, of groups of researchers at academic institutions, as well as of individual authors.

In the framework of the above-mentioned inter-departamental project, co-ordinated by Cracow University, bibliographical investigations naturally form an important part of the research in progress. The current state of these investigations and a program of tasks to be carried out was spelt out by Władysław Chojnacki in 1975, at the Cracow international conference on the present situation of research into Polonian communities.[24] The bibliographies on the subject, published in the

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Pamiętnik emigranta polskiego w Kanadzie (Memoir of a Polish Emigrant in Canada), Vols 1–2, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978, 1982).

[22] *Burzliwe lata Polonii amerykańskiej, Wspomnienia i listy misjonarzy jezuickich, 1864–1913* (Stormy Years of the American Polonia, Recollections and Letters of Jesuit Missionaries, 1864–1913), Comp. L. Grzebień, (Kraków: Apostolstwo Modlitwy, 1983).

[23] *Materiały do bibliografii dziejów emigracji oraz skupisk polonijnych w Ameryce Północnej i Południowej w XIX i XX wieku* (Materials to the Bibliography on History of Emigration and Polonian Communities in North and South America in the 19th and 20th Centuries), eds I. Paczyńska, A. Pilch, (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1979).

[24] Wł. Chojnacki, "Prace bibliograficzne o Polonii w latach 1961–1975" (Bibliographical Works on Polonia in the Years 1961–1975), in: *Stan i potrzeby* ..., pp. 237–251; Cf. also Chojnacki, "Stan i

late 1970s and early 1980s, rank among the most valuable results of the whole project. Wojciech Chojnacki publishes an updated bibliography each year, creating the most interesting and useful series within this group of publications.[25]

The fruits of both academic and non-academic interest in emigration from Poland can, of course, be found scattered in pre-World War II Polish scholarly journals. *Kwartalnik Instytutu Naukowego do Badań Emigracji i Kolonizacji* (1926–1927), continued as *Kwartalnik Naukowego Institutu Emigracyjnego oraz Przegląd Emigracyjny*, a publication of the Institute for Research on Emigration and Colonization, established by the Polish Society of Emigration. *Przegląd Emigracyjny* was published 1926–1927 by the Emigration Office—an official agency. However, earlier (*Wychodźca*, published by the Polish Association for Colonization between 1922–1932) and later journals (*Polacy Zagranica*, published by the Alliance of Poles Abroad and her predecessors between 1930 and 1939) published material which is merely of documentary interest to academic research. Simultaneously, other Polish scholarly journals, too, published studies on emigration. The leading journal in the field was *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, which featured articles by an eminent student of F. Znaniecki's who later became an outstanding representative of Polish sociology, Józef Chałasiński.[26] There did exist, of course, a range of other Polish journals, too, before 1939. Mere contents included contributions, based on current research on emigration.[27] Other publications, too, were completed before 1939. The most interesting of these is a book by Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz on the influence that emigration to America had on a village in the Rzeszów region.[28] In addition to the above publications, some synthesizing attempts were made as well. In the following, we shall look at these.

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potrzeby bibliografii Polonii zagranicznej" (Situation and the Needs in Bibliography of the Polonia Abroad), in: *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, Vol. 2, (Warszawa, 1961), pp. 7–37; Chojnacki, "Stan i potrzeby w zakresie dokumentacji historii ruchów emigracyjny i Polonii zagranicznej" (Situation and Needs in the Field of Records on History of Emigration Movements and Polonia Abroad), *Przegląd Zachodni*, (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1977), Nos 5–6, pp., 32–42; *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, Vol. 2, (Warszawa: Polonia, 1961).

[25] W. Chojnacki, *Polonia Zagraniczna, Bibliografia publikacji wydanych w kraju w roku 1976* (Polonia Abroad, Bibliography of Publications Published at Home in 1976), (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1977); later published as *Polonia, Bibliografia publikacji wydanych w kraju w roku 1979 wraz z uzupełnieniami za rok 1978* (Polonia, Bibliography of Publications Published at Home in 1979 with Supplements for 1978), (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1980); the latest bibliography for 1982 with supplements for 1981 published in 1984.

[26] J. Chałasiński, "Emigracja jako zjawisko społeczne" (Emigration as a Social Phenomenon), *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, Warszawa 1936, Vol. 4, Nos 3–4, p. 495–501; Chałasiński, "Parafia i szkoła parafialna wśród emigracji polskiej w Ameryce, Studium dzielnicy polskiej w poł. Chicago" (The Parish and the Parish School among the Polish Emigration in America. A Study on the Polish Section of South Chicago), *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, Warszawa: Polski Instytut Socjologiczny, 1935, Vol. 3, Nos 3–4, pp. 631–711.

[27] E.g. *Ekonomista*, Warszawa 1937, Vol. I, pp. 55–77, published the Polish version of the paper by S. Fogelson, quoted above in footnote 9.

[28] K. Duda-Dziewierz, Wieś *małopolska a emigracja amerykańska, Studium wsi Babica powiatu rzeszowskiego* (A Village in Little Poland and the American Emigration, A Study of Babice Village in Rzeszów County), (Warszawa—Poznań: Polski Instytut Socjologiczny, 1938).

The outlined trends in Polish research on emigration were disrupted by World War II. However, in the early years of the post-1945 period, too, they surfaced only sporadically in individual studies. It was not until the late 1950's that the renewed interest in research on emigration was given some scope. In 1960, a new journal, *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, was launched. After nine volumes had been issued, it was renamed *Przegląd Polonijny* and was published by the Committee for Research on Polonia (i.e. Polish communities abroad and communities of Polish origin) of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Committee is responsible for co-ordinating research in Poland on problems of emigration, concentrated in three centers: Polonia Research Institute of Jagiellonian University, Cracow; the Polonia Research Laboratory of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Poznań; and the Institute of the Polonian Ministerial Office and Migration at the Catholic University, Lublin. Research is also carried out by individual scholars of various Polish academic institutions. In addition to *Przegląd Polonijny*, there are other similar journals that deserve to be mentioned here. *Przegląd Zachodni*, a bi-monthly of the *Instytut Zachodni* (Western Institute), Poznań, offers every year one issue prepared by the Poznań Laboratory of the Polish Academy of Sciences, presenting contributions based on current research on emigration and Polish settlement (mainly in Western Europe). *Studia Polonijne* is published yearly by the Catholic University of Lublin, while the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University of Lublin puts out another yearly publication, *Rocznik Polonijny*. In the United States, the Polish American Historical Association has published since 1944 the *Polish American Studies*, a semiannual journal concerned with the origins and development of the Polish community in the USA. There are, of course, other journals in Poland, too, publishing studies on particular questions of emigration, as viewed from their respective professional standpoints, including *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, published by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences; the above-mentioned *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, which concentrates on the sociological aspects of the process; *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, a quarterly devoted to a broad spectrum of social problems; and, last but not least, those with a special interest in emigration itself. Finally, *The Polish Review*, published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York, could be added to the list.

The first attempts to study the process of emigration or major areas of it as a whole were undertaken, as I have already had the opportunity to emphasize,[29] not by research teams affiliated to particular institutions, but by individual authors occupying themselves with the problems of emigration. Leopold Caro, a lawyer and later on a professor at Lwów university, having presented his views on the topic in a set of publications, with statistical and legislative materials gathered from questionnaries, published, in 1909, in the respected Leipzig series *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, a study on emigration and emigration policies in Austria.

[29] A. Brożek, "Selected Methodological Problems Found in the Literature on the Polish Ethnic Group in the United States of America", in: *Emigration from Northern, Central and Southern Europe . . .*, pp. 110 f.

A revised Polish version, published in 1914, contains special references to Polish conditions.[30] This was followed by a book on Polish emigration and settlement, published in 1920, by Józef Okołowicz.[31] An opponent of Caro's, J. Okołowicz had links with the Polish Society of Emigration, which had been the target of an attack by L. Caro. In his work, Okołowicz tried to generalize his rich observations and experiences. W. I. Thomas' and F. Znaniecki's outstanding work, published in 1918, also ranks among these initial individual undertakings. The line of individually undertaken efforts was continued by Mieczysław Szawleski, an economist and politician, who while a consular official, wrote a comprehensive study on Polish emigration to the United States, which was published in 1924.[32] Finally, another Foreign Ministry official, A. Zarychta,[33] quoted above, is closing the line of Polish attempts to provide a synthesizing study of emigration in the pre-1939 period.

In spite of numerous contributions, post-World War II studies on emigration have not resulted in an up-to-date monograph on the former main direction of emigration, i.e. emigration to the United States, a monograph worthy of the efforts of W. I. Thomas, F. Znaniecki and M. Szawleski after World War I. Apart from the US, the two other favourite destinations of would-be emigrants before 1914 were Germany (in the Ruhr alone, there were some 500,000 Polish immigrants in 1910, while in Berlin and Brandenburg province there were about 100,000), and Russia (which had about 500–600,000 Polish immigrants in the Russian gubernyas across the pre-partition Polish frontier of 1772). Polish emigration to the Ruhr, which was legally nothing more than migration within the German Empire, but, from the Polish point of view, was emigration from Polish ethnic territory, has been the subject of complex studies by Krystyna Murzynowska.[34] However, German scholars, too, have recently shown interest in the subject (Christoph Klessmann).[35] Emigration to Russia has been examined by Zygmunt Łukawski.[36] Of countries receiving Polish immigrants before World War I, Brazil was given intensive attention by Krzysztof Groniowski.[37] Under the above-mentioned inter-

[30] L. Caro, *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Oesterreich*, (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1909); Caro, *Emigracja i polityka*...

[31] J. Okołowicz, *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo polskie przed wojna* (Polish Emigration and Settlement before World War I), (Warszawa: Urząd Emigracyjny, 1920).

[32] Cf. footnote 10.

[33] Cf. footnote 12.

[34] K. Murzynowska, *Polskie wychodźstwo zarobkowe w Zagłebiu Ruhry w latach 1880–1914* (The Polish Immigration in the Ruhr District in the Years 1880–1914), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972); German translation: *Die polnischen Erwerbsauswanderer im Ruhrgebiet während der Jahre 1880–1914*, (Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1979).

[35] Ch. Klessmann, *Polnische Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet 1870–1945* (Polish Miners in the Ruhr, 1870–1945), (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).

[36] Z. Łukawski, *Ludność polska w Rosji 1863–1914* (The Polish Population in Russia, 1863–1914), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978).

[37] K. Groniowski, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii 1871–1914* (Polish Employment-Seeking Emigration in Brazil, 1871–1914), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972).

departamental project concerning Polish emigration, a comprehensive report, covering the whole of Latin America, has been prepared by a research team co-ordinated by Marcin Kula.[38] Certain particular areas of emigration in Polish lands have been looked at in complex studies: this is true especially of three provinces under Prussian rule: Eastern and Western Pomerania (the German provinces Westpreussen and Pommern), and Silesia. The authors are Bogusław Drewniak, Kazimierz Wajda and Andrzej Brożek.[39] Another aspect of emigration—the movement as reflected in Polish social and political thought—has been studied by Benjamin P. Murdzek.[40] In contrast with emigration, Polish research has shown little interest in re-migration, though, in the early 20th century, a full third of the Poles who emigrated to the USA later returned to their homeland. The only study worthy of mention here is Adam Walaszek's on re-migration from the United States after World War I.[41]

As far as the other destinations for emigrants in the interwar period of 1918–1939, are concerned, Polish emigration to France has been studied by Halina Janowska,[42] who later also tried to present the emigration movement from interwar Poland as a whole, as did Edward Kołodziej.[43]

Finally, let me mention a volume prepared by a research team headed by Andrzej Pilch as editor. The volume, developing an earlier draft presented in 1975 in a volume edited by Celina Bobińska and A. Pilch,[44] traces the history of Polish emigration from the late 18th century right up to the present.[45]

[38] *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej* (History of the Polonia in Latin America), ed. M. Kula, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983).

[39] A. Brożek, *Ostflucht na Śląsku* (Flight from the East in Silesia), (Katowice: Śląsk, 1966); Brożek, *Problematyka narodowościowa ostfluchtu na Śląsku* (National Problems of the Flight from the East in Silesia), (Wrocław: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969); B. Drewniak, *Emigracja z Pomorza Zachodniego, 1816–1914* (Emigration from Western Pomerania, 1816–1914), (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1966); K. Wajda, *Migracje ludności wiejskiej Pomorza Wschodniego w latach 1850–1914* (Migrations of the Rural Population of Eastern Pomerania in the Years 1850–1914), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969).

[40] B. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870–1914*, (New York: East European Quarterly, Boulder, 1977).

[41] A. Walaszek, *Reemigracja ze Stanów Zjednoczonych do Polski po I wojnie światowej, 1919– 1924* (Re-migration from the United States to Poland after World War I. 1919–1924), (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1983).

[42] H. Janowska, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa we Francji 1919–1939* (Polish Employment-Seeking Emigration to France 1919–1939), (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1965).

[43] Janowska, *Emigracja zarobkowa z Polski, 1918–1939* (Employment-Seeking Emigration from Poland, 1918–1939), (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981); E. Kołodziej *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski, 1918–1939* (Employment-Seeking Emigration from Poland 1918–1939), (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1982).

[44] *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)* (Emigration from Polish Lands in Modern and Recent Times [18th–20th centuries]), A. Pilch ed., (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984).

[45] *Employment-Seeking Emigrations of the Poles World-Wide, XIX and XX c.*, C. Bobińska, A. Pilch, eds, (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1975).

RALPH MELVILLE

PERMANENT EMIGRATION AND TEMPORARY TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: JEWISH, POLISH AND RUSSIAN EMIGRATION FROM TSARIST RUSSIA, 1861–1914

Although internal migration and colonization are considered persistent factors in Russian history,[1] emigration from Russia remained an unimportant part of overall population history until the reforms of the 1860s. Emigration expanded only in the later 19th century, and between 1890 and World War I it became a mass movement, whose proportions approximated those of the great migrations from European Russia into Asia across the Urals. In the three decades preceding the Reforms, only about 30,000 Russian citizens emigrated, while between 1860 and 1914, four and a half million left Russia; one-quarter of these before 1889 (1.1 million or 38,000 per annum) and three-quarters after 1890 (3.4 million or 129,000 per annum).[2]

The United States was by far the most important destination for the Russian mass emigration, accepting three-fifths of all emigrants (nearly 450,000) in the 1890s and over 2.5 million Russians of various nationalities at the apex of the emigration wave between 1900 and 1914. In comparison, other destinations, notably Canada, as well as Argentina, England, and Brazil, took less than 10 percent each. Germany was the destination of a continuously growing number of seasonal migrants from Russia, whose yearly total reached about 400,000 by 1914, although Germany was not truly a land of immigration. England also undertook, in 1906, restrictive measures to prevent the entry of poor migrants from the Continent.

Among the more than 2.8 million emigrants from Russia to North America in the period 1899–1914, there were over 1.1 million Jews (40 percent), nearly 780,000 Poles (28 percent), over 300,000 Russians (11 percent, mostly White (Byelo-) Russians and Ukrainians, one-third of whom went to Canada), about 250,000 Lithuanians (9 percent), 200,000 Finns (7 percent), and 150,000 people of German

[1] V. M. Kabuzan, *Izmenenija v razmeschcenii naselenija Rossii v XVIII–pervoj polovine XIX v. (po materialam revizij)*, (Moscow, 1971).

[2] V. V. Obolensky (N. Osinskyii), Mezhdunarodnye i mezhdukontinental'nye migratsii dovoennoj Rossii i SSSR, (Moscow, 1928); a shorter English version: V. V. Obolensky–Ossinsky, "Emigration from Rossii and Immigration into Russia", in: W. F. Willcox (ed.) *International Migrations*, vol. 2: *Interpretations*, (New York, 1931—Reprint 1969), pp. 521–580. This survey of the mass emigration in the last decades of the Russian Empire from one of the best known early Soviet economists and politicians is still irreplaceable. This study uses a wide variety of source materials, to provide an overview of migration from and to Russia in relation to the larger migratory patterns within the Empire. The statistics can be found in: W. F. Willcox (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1.

ancestry (5 percent). The seasonal migrants who oscillated between Russia and Germany were nearly all Poles.

The overarching explanation for this migration potential, and thus for the emigration, in the last decades of Tsarist Russia can be found in socio-economic conditions: the scarcity of land and employment for broad strata of rural and, in the case of the Jews, urban people. Rapid population growth brought forth a pauperized and partially proletarianized "surplus population" who sought to escape their critical situation through permanent or temporary migration. In these years, in which massive numbers of the poor emigrated from Southern and Eastern Europe (1899–1910), the value of the belongings of Jewish and Polish immigrants to the United States was barely half of the already low average of all immigrants. Of course, alongside these socio-economic causes, the various forms of legal discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities in Russia were of considerable importance as a motive for emigration.

The realization of the latent migration potential, that is, the forms of the mass emigration, were in large part determined by acute social conflicts and by the interventions of the tsarist Russian state. Here we must consider first the pogroms and the rebelliousness of the rural poor, as well as a variety of political measures, including the suppression of the revolutionary movement, the reforms in agriculture, the regulations concerning migration and other changes in the social situation and legal rights of the potentially migratory social groups. Thus the streams of Jewish, Polish and Russian emigrants, with their specific preconditions, characteristics, volumes and high points, indicate the sources of crisis in the last years of the tsarist Empire.

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Nothing shows this more blatantly than the mass exodus of Jews from tsarist Russia between the coronation of Alexander III and World War I.[3] The total of over 1 million Jewish emigrants between 1897 and 1914 should be compared to the 5.2 million Jews counted in the 1897 census. The broad stream of Jewish emigration brought with it especially craftsmen struggling for their economic existence among sharp competition in the cities and towns of the Pale; some had more or less already lost their economic independence. These small craftsmen and skilled workers made up more than two-thirds of the Jewish emigrants (whose occupation is given in our

[3] Obolensky, *Migratsii*, pp. 45–56; Obolensky–Ossinsky, *Emigration*, pp. 539–546; S. Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, (New York, 1914–Reprint 1969); M. Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety. The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800*, (Philadelphia, 1948); G. Schramm, "Die Ostjuden als soziales Problem des 19. Jahrhunderts," in: H. Maus (ed.), *Gesellschaft, Recht und Politik. Festschrift für Wolfgang Abendroth*, (Neuwied, 1968), pp. 353–380; H. Rogger, "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigration," in: *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, 3 (1973), pp. 26–36; L. Dinnerstein, "The East European Jewish Migration to the United States, 1880–1924", in: *Les migrations internationales de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours*, (Paris, 1980), pp. 57–78.

Table), although they represented less than two-fifths of the employed Jews. On the other hand, merchants and tradesmen, mainly small shopkeepers and peddlers, who were nearly one-third of the population, composed only 5.3 percent of the emigrants.[4]

The very high proportion of women and children among Jewish emigrants indicates that this was nearly exclusively family migration. The extremely low level of return, temporary, and repeat migration among those who went to America confirms that the decision to leave tsarist Russia was for Jews definitive. From the course of development, the size and the high points of Jewish emigration, the acute crises and the interventions of the state can be clearly discerned. These crises led to erratic jumps in the realization of the growing migration potential. Two phases can be seen: the first culminated in 1892–1893; the second had its highest points in 1906–1907 and in 1914.[5]

Jewish mass emigration began in conjunction with the 1881/1882 pogroms in Southwestern Russia, and the reactionary transformation of tsarist policies concerning Jews under Alexander III. The reforms of Alexander II had cautiously allowed Jews to migrate to the countryside and into previously forbidden regions of Russia, creating some limited opportunities for social mobility. The May Laws of 1882, followed by the rigorous reductions in the number of Jewish students in secondary schools and universities in the year 1886–1887, clearly demonstrated to Jews in the Pale that these safety valves were again closed. The strict application of the May Laws reached a high point in 1891 with the expulsion of about 20,000 Jews from the Moscow Gouvernement (Gubernya); a jump in Jewish emigration followed 1891–1892. Only then did emigration receive official legal toleration, with the provision that emigrants were forced to renounce any right to return.

A second, more powerful wave of Jewish emigration began before the turn of the century. Inextricably linked with the increasing crisis of state and society, the flood of pogroms swelled and spread over the entire Pale, from Kishinev (1903) and Gomel (1904) into the Polish Gouvernements of Białystok and Siedlce during the worst period of pogroms in late 1905 and 1906, until in 1907 the wave of persecution gradually ebbed away. The result was a stream of hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Russia. The United States took nearly half a million from 1904 to 1908, and another 300,000 by 1914; 1906 was the year of highest emigration, 125,000. The outbreak of war in 1914 brought the flow to an almost complete halt.

The origin of Jewish emigration was the 25 Gouvernements of the Pale, in which 4.9 million Jews lived, 94 percent of the total in Russia in 1897. This area can be further divided into four regions: the ten Gouvernements of Congress Poland, with 27 percent of the Jews in the Pale; the six Gouvernements of the northwest region (Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Mogilev, Vitebsk) with 29 percent; the five Gouvernements of the southwest (Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Poltava, Chernigov)

[4] Here and below: see our Table: "Social Characteristics of the Jewish, Polish, and Russian Immigrants and Temporary Migrants into the United States, 1899–1910".

[5] Here and below: see *Diagram* 1.

with 29.1 percent; and the four Gouvernements in the south (Bessarabia, Kherson, Tauria, Ekaterinoslav) with 14.9 percent.

The Polish Gouvernements east of the Vistula (Suwałki, Łomża, Płock) together with the neighboring northwestern region made up a central zone of higher than average density of Jewish population, especially intense pauperization, and therefore high population pressure. Here emigration led to a considerably below average population growth, even in places to a decline in the Jewish population. The center of primarily economically motivated emigration lay in this region. Since the pogroms broke out especially in the southwestern and southern regions, the years of crisis there led to sudden, overlapping streams of emigration, which could properly be called expulsion and flight.

While there was hardly an alternative to emigration for those Russian Jews who were potentially mobile (if they wished to escape economic distress and persecution), the emigration of Poles and Russians must be seen in conjunction with the various manifestations of internal migration. And, while Jews emigrated permanently and in family groups, this form of emigration among Poles and Russians in the late tsarist period was accompanied by labor migration, most clearly seen in temporary individual migration. Finally, while the majority of Jewish emigrants were skilled workers from a more or less urban milieu, unskilled rural laborers with a high proportion of illiterates dominated Polish and Russian migration.

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The Polish mass emigration from late tsarist Russia should be considered mainly as transnational labor migration, permanent or temporary.[6] Political emigration had already ceased as a mass phenomenon, after about 10,000 Polish rebels had left for the West in 1863/1864, as had occurred after the revolt of 1830/1831. The overseas labor migration of Poles from Russia began in the late 1870s, strongly accelerated in the 1890s, and continued to grow up to World War I. The stream of Poles to the United States reached its high point, with over 300,000 emigrants, from 1909 through 1913. America was by far the most important destination of Polish

[6] Obolensky, *Migratsii*, pp. 36–44: Obolensky-Ossinsky, *Emigration*, pp. 533–538; J. Zubrzycki, "Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in: *Population Studies* 6 (1952/53), pp. 248–272; Ch. J. Mehan, *Polish Migration and Settlement in the USA*, (New York, 1963); W. Kula, N. Assorodobraj-Kula and M. Kula (eds), *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890–1891*, (Warszawa, 1973); Z. Stankiewicz, "The Economic Emigration from the Kingdom of Poland Portrayed on the European Background", in: C. Bobińska and A. Pilch (eds.), *Employment-Seeking Emigrations of the Poles World-Wide XIX and XX C.*, (Kraków, 1975), pp. 27–52; C. Bobińska, *Mechanizmy polskich migracji zarobkowych*, (Warszawa, 1976); C. Bobińska and A. Galos (eds), "Poland: Land of Mass Emigration (XIX and XXth Centuries)", in: *Les migrations internationales de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours*, pp. 467–502; K. Groniowski, "Gorączka Brazylijska" in: *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 74 (1967), pp. 317–341; *ibid.*, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii 1871–1914*, (Wrocław, 1972).

overseas migration, although Canada, Argentina, and Brazil (the "Brazil fevers" of 1890–1892 and 1910–1911) also played a major role.

The great mass of Polish emigrants had been occupied in agriculture in their homeland, over two-thirds of them as landless peasants or agricultural laborers (in the proportions 3 to 1). Noteworthy is the high number of servants, mainly women. Urban workers made up about 12–15 percent of emigrants. A survey of return and temporary migrants showed that over half had earned their income in America as industrial or railroad workers.

The majority of Polish emigrants to the United States, probably including most female servants, migrated alone, as the low mumber of women and children under 14 years old compared with the Jewish emigration indicates. Thus the high proportion of return and temporary migrants, about 30 percent is not surprizing. The stream of returning migrants continued through the early 1920s. It is estimated that money, to the amount of 60 million rubles, was sent or brought back from America from the 1890s through 1914. These funds had a crucial function for those family members who had been left behind on the land, being used mainly for renting and buying property.

The massive and continuously expanding seasonal migration of workers from Congress Poland (that part of the Russian Empire) since the 1890s was, alongside the overseas migration, also a very important phenomenon.[7] A forerunner of this type of mobility had been the so-called *"Sachsengängerei"*, which was officially cut off by the German authorities in 1885. This was an extreme form of pure labor migration. In the mid-1890s, Germany had ceased to be a land of emigration, becoming a land of "spurious immigration" or of "labor importation", with compulsory return for imported labor. Male and female workers from Russian Poland were not allowed to enter Germany as families and had to return home during a winter *"Karenzzeit"*. Inside Germany, they had no freedom of movement: migration to western Germany, and thereby an intermingling with the German Poles in the Ruhr Valley, was forbidden. About three-quarters were employed in agriculture east of the Elbe, mainly on large estates, but also in agriculture-related

[7] B. Drewniak, *Robotnicy sezonowi na Pomorzu Zachodnim (1890–1918)*, (Poznań, 1959); J. Nichtweiss, *Die ausländischen Saisonarbeiter in der Landwirtschaft der östlichen und mittleren Gebiete des Deutschen Reiches. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der preußisch-deutschen Politik von 1890 bis 1914*, (Berlin, 1959); J. Szajbel, "Ruchy migracyjne ludności polskiej w Niemczech w latach 1892–1913 w świetle statystyki pruskiego ministerstwa spraw wewnętrznych", in: *Polska klasa robotnicza. Studia historyczne*, vol. 3, (Warszawa, 1973), pp. 348–366; B. Szczepański, "Wychodźstwo sezonowe i emigracja zamorska z terenu ziem kaliskiej w końcu XIX i na początku XX stulecia", in: *Rocznik Kaliski* 4 (1974), pp. 139–177; L. Schofer, *The Formation of a Modern Labor Force: Upper Silesia, 1865–1914*, (Berkeley, 1975), (German translation: *Die Formierung einer modernen Arbeiterschaft. Oberschlesien 1865–1914*, Dortmund, 1983); K. J. Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Überseeische Auswanderung, interne Abwanderung und kontinentale Zuwanderung", in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 20 (1980), pp. 265–323; *ibid.*, "Transnationale Migration und Arbeitsmarkt im Kaiserreich: Vom Agrarstaat mit starker Industrie zum Industriestaat mit starker agrarischer Basis", in: T. Pierenkämper and R. Tilly (eds), *Historische Arbeitsmarktforschung. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Vermarktung von Arbeitskraft*, (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 182–214.

Table 1

Social Characteristics of the Jewish, Polish, and Russian Immigrants and Temporary Migrants into the United States, 1899–1910 (in %)*

	Jews	Poles	Russians
Tradesmen, shopkeepers	5.3	0.1	0.9
Craftsmen, skilled workers	67.1	6.3	9.1
Unskilled workers	11.8		
Agricultural laborers	1.9	75.3	82.7
Peasants	0.2		
Servants	11.1	17.9	5.4
Illiterates (among those over 14)	26.0	35.4	38.4
Value of possessions (in $)	12.8	11.9	19.2
Female[a]	44.0	32.9	14.0
Under 14 years old [a]	24.4	9.8	5.9
45 years old or older [a]	5.8	2.4	2.4
Return migrants [b]	5.3	21.7	21.8
Temporary migrants [b]	2.8	7.8	13.2
Re-immigrants[b]	2.1	6.9	4.1

Note: Only for return and temporary migrants and re-immigrants do the above data specifically apply to migration between Russia and the United States. Although other categories were not divided by country of origin, the great majority of Jewish and Polish immigrants, and all the Russians, came from Russia.

(a) 1899–1914.

(b) 1908–1914. Figures refer to the percentage of immigrant aliens in the same period. Temporary migrants (non-immigrant aliens), in contrast to return migrants (emigrant aliens), did not apply for a permanent domicile in the United States upon entry.

* Sources: Willcox (ed), *International Migrations*, vol. 1: Statistics, pp. 432–439 (tab. X), 444–447 (tab. XI), 497 (tab. XLVII); Obolensky, *Migratsii*, p. 25 (tab.); Joseph, *Jewish Immigration*, pp. 158–196 (tables).

industries and in the Silesian coal and metal industry, in order to fill the demand for labor created by internal east-to-west migration in Germany. For the regions of Congress Poland where this controlled seasonal labor migration originated, it was an important economic factor: hundreds of thousands in the rural "surplus population" found work and brought considerable sums back home every year.

As the total of foreign workers in Germany passed one million in the last years before the war, the number from Congress Poland reached 380,000 (See: Diagram 2) in the summer season, according to a 1912 estimate by the Deutscher Caritasverband (German Charity Organization Society). There were also migrants from Galicia, 200,000 Poles and 90,000 Ukrainians (Ruthenes). The workers from tsarist Russian territories were trapped in Germany by the outbreak of war and, along with another 100,000 deportees from conquered Poland, were set to

compulsory labor, until they were freed in 1918.[8] Thus three periods of labor migration into Germany can be distinguished: the extremely high seasonal migration before the war; the war years, when the seasonal fluctuations were generally stopped; and finally the years after 1918, marked by the return of most of the foreign workers.

The relationship among overseas emigration, transnational seasonal migration and internal mobility in Poland can be discerned by glancing at the regional sources of these forms of movement. By far the highest proportion of Polish emigrants to America came from the Gouvernements of Suwałki (with a high number of Lithuanians), Łomża, and Płock. These purely agrarian districts on the Prussian border had the lowest wages in Poland and high, in some places the highest, proportions of landless and smallholder peasants. The neighboring Warsaw Gouvernement, with an industrial zone ranking behind only Moscow and equal to St. Petersburg within late tsarist Russia, sent out only 10–20 percent as many emigrants. For entirely different reasons, the Gouvernement Kalisz had only a slightly higher proportion of emigrants than Warsaw: this district on the far western edge of Congress Poland was (in 1900–1904) the source of almost half of all seasonal migrants from Poland to nearby Germany. Together these two migration streams so reduced the oversupply of cheap labor that some of the large landlords organized against emigration.

*

The mass emigration of ethnic Russians from the tsarist Empire can be divided into two fundamentally distinct groups.[9] The "older" type was the overseas emigration of sectarian Christians, while labor migration to North America formed a "newer" type. The emigration of mainly Great Russian sectarians, reaching back to the reign of Nicholas I, is typologically related to Jewish emigration. It took place in family groups and had a permanent character. The major cause was repression by the state. In this case, though, the emigrant sectarians were mainly peasants, and relatively well-off. This is clear from the value of the possessions which these travellers carried into the United States in 1899–1910, averaging between three and four times the value brought by Jewish and Polish immigrants.

[8] L. Elsner, "Die ausländischen Arbeiter in der Landwirtschaft der östlichen und mittleren Gebiete des deutschen Reiches während des I. Weltkrieges, Phil. Diss. Rostock" (MS); *ibid.*, "Zur Lage und zum Kampf der polnischen Arbeiter in der deutschen Landwirtschaft während des ersten Weltkrieges", in: *Politik im Krieg 1914–1918. Studien zur Politik der deutschen herrschenden Klasse im ersten Weltkrieg*, (Berlin, 1964), pp. 167–188; *ibid.*, "Sicherung der Ausbeutung ausländischer Arbeitskräfte. Ein Kriegsziel des deutschen Imperialismus im ersten Weltkrieg", in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 24 (1976), pp. 530–546; F. Zunkel, "Die ausländischen Arbeiter in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft des I. Weltkrieges", in: G. A. Ritter (ed.), *Entstehung und Wandel der modernen Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg*, (Berlin, 1970), pp. 280–311,—See Diagram 2.

[9] Obolensky, *Migratsii*, pp. 57–74; Obolensky-Ossinsky, *Emigration*, pp. 546–552; J. Davis, *The Russian Immigrant*, (New York, 1922); V. J. Kaye (Kyselevsky), *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895–1900*, (Toronto, 1964).

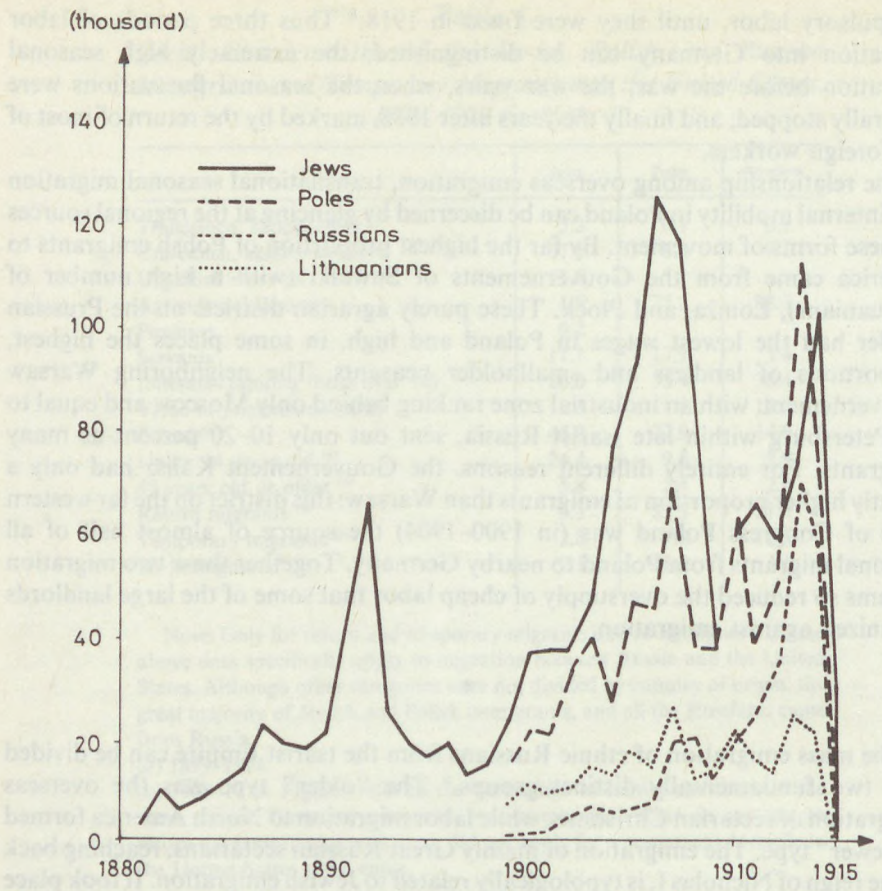

Diagram 1. Jewish, Polish, Russian, and Lithuanian Immigrants from the Russian Empire into the United States and Canada 1881–1915.

Sources: Willcox (ed.), *International Migrations*, vol. I: *Statistics*, p. 364 f. (Canada: Tab. VI), 488 (Tab. XXXII); Joseph, Jewish Immigration, p. 162 (Tab. IX); Obolensky, *Migratsii*, p. 60; Obolensky–Ossinsky, *Emigration*, p. 548 (Tab. 245).

The emigration of sectarians, who utilized internal migration as another means of escaping governmental persecution, seems to have reached its peak around the turn of the century. Within a few years, about 20,000 sectarians left Russia, including 8,500 *Dukhobors* to Canada, 1,000 *Shtundists* to North Dakota, and 8,200 *Molokans* to California. Although the persecution abated after 1905, the overseas emigration of sectarians continued, such as the movement of 2,000 members of the group *Novyj Izrail* (New Israel) to Uruguay in the years 1910–1912.

Similarly, the overseas labor migration of Russians is closely related in its structure to that of the Poles. In comparison, the Russian movement began later, but with greater acceleration, suddenly reaching mass proportions in 1907. Within

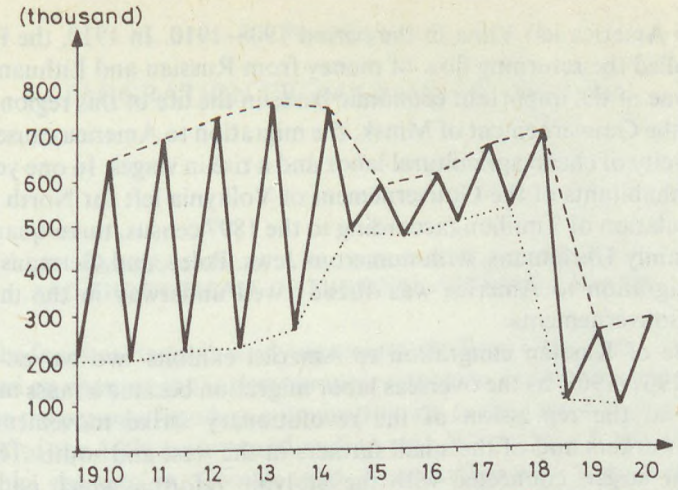

Diagram 2. Yearly Fluctuation of Labor Migration into Germany, 1910–1920

See: Bade, *Massenwanderung*, p. 314; and *ibid.*, *Transnationale Migration*, p. 195 (Legitimationsdaten der Preußischen Feldarbeiter bzw. der Deutschen Arbeiterzentrale).

a brief time Russian emigration soared upwards in two jumps, nearly reaching the levels of Jewish and Polish emigration by the outbreak of World War I (see diagram 1). Between 1907 and 1914 over 260,000 Russians left for North America, 70,000 in 1913 alone.

Thre great majority of Russian emigrants to America were agricultural laborers, servants, landless peasants, and small farmers between 15 and 44 years of age, who left their parents or own families behind. Family migration played a completely subordinate role. The number of return or temporary migrants reached 35 percent of total emigrants in the great migration wave of 1908–1914. The return flow lasted until 1920. For these so-called "birds of passage" *(pereletnye pticy)*, this was also a form of temporary labor migration *(vremennyj otchod na zarabotki)*, which is fundamentally similar to the corresponding form of internal migration.

The major source of Russian overseas labor migration between 1907 and 1914 was a group of eight neighboring Gouvernements in western Russia. All lay inside of the Jewish Pale, four being White Russian (Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Mogilev) and four Ukrainian (Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Poltava), comprising the strip of land between the River Dnieper (except for Poltava) and the border with Austria and Poland. The dominant ethnic group, whether White Russian or Ukrainian, lived in close proximity with Lithuanians, Poles, and Jews. The centers of Russian labor migration to America were the Gouvernements of Vilna and Volhynia, where, as in the Gouvernement of Minsk, too, emigration began before the 1905 Revolution, although only slowly due to governmental interference.

The Gouvernement of Vilna, adjacent to Suwałki, the Polish Gouvernement with the highest overseas emigration (1890–1904), had 1.6 million inhabitants in 1897, 56 percent of them White Russians, plus Lithuanians, Jews, and Poles. About 18,000

emigrants to America left Vilna in the period 1908–1910. In 1910, the Provincial Governor called the returning flow of money from Russian and Lithuanian labor migrants, "one of the important economic bases in the life of this region." Just to the south in the Gouvernement of Minsk, the migration to America caused in 1913 an acute scarcity of cheap agricultural labor and a rise in wages. In one year (1910) over 5,000 inhabitants of the Gouvernement of Volhynia left for North America, out of a population of 3 million (according to the 1897 census, three-quarters were Russians, mainly Ukrainians, with numerous Jews, Poles, and Germans). At that time the emigration to America was already well underway in the three other Ukrainian Gouvernements.

The course of Russian emigration to America exhibits two waves. The first occurred in 1907–1908, as the overseas labor migration became a mass movement, in response to the repression of the revolutionary strike movements of the agricultural workers and of the small farmers in the west and south. The second wave was far larger, connected with the Stolypin reforms, which had released peasants from the legal and economic chains binding them to their communities. This resulted not only in a mass movement across the Urals, but also in a continuous flow of the "surplus population" overseas, only to be abruptly stopped by the outbreak of the war.

The Russian emigration to America, its regional distribution and periodization, like the Polish emigration, can only be properly understood in relation to the total development of mobility in late tsarist Russia. This is demonstrated, for example, by the case of the central black earth region, which, except for the Gouvernement of Poltava, was not touched by the emigration to America; this area of the most acute social conflicts and the greatest population pressure, on the other hand, was the most important source of the movement across theUrals, with 3.8 million registered migrants in 1906–1914. The River Dnieper formed the watershed between transoceanic and transcontinental migrations.

Thus the massive overseas emigration was restricted nearly entirely to the western part of Russia. About 2.4 million of the more than 2.8 million emigrants to North America in 1899–1914 came from the 25 Gouvernements of the Jewish Pale. This explains the high socio-economic importance of the transoceanic migration, which was concentrated in this limited region. In conjunction with the seasonal migration to Germany, this population movement exerted strong pressure on the labor market of this region, on the level of wages, as well as on the rural market in land and on the rural family economy as a whole.

Finally, the emigration from tsarist Russia displays a broad spectrum of migration forms, from permanent migration in family groups to individual migration with high rates of return movement, the latter often signifying that the labor migrant has spent a certain portion of the best working years far from his family and home. These migration patterns can be quite clearly understood and quantified on the basis of available statistics, which are in many ways very precise. They may also provide valuable indications for the types of internal migration, which are much more difficult to grasp.

Ivan Čizmić

EMIGRATION FROM CROATIA, 1880–1914

EMIGRATION AS A FACTOR IN THE INCREASE AND THE DECREASE OF THE POPULATION OF CROATIA

One of the foremost tasks in studying emigration from Croatia is to establish the effects it had on changes in the demographic structure. In this article we shall limit ourselves to the period of modern colonization, i.e. to the period beginning with the second half of the 19th century and ending with World War I. We shall analyse demographic changes in Croatia and Austria-Hungary comparatively, and sometimes we will also give data on the emigration of South Slavs outside Austria-Hungary, both for the sake of comparison and because such data are given together in American statistical sources.

A study of censuses in Croatia shows a great population increase, especially in the period 1857–1869.[1] In the period 1869–1880, the population increase slowed down, because of the wars, between Austria and Italy in 1859, and between Austria and Prussia in 1866, in which many soldiers from Croatia fought and perished. Between 1871 and 1874 there was also a cholera epidemic, and other contagious diseases killed many people too. Those losses could hardly be replaced by the population growth between 1875 and 1880, although it was great. The increase in the decade 1880–1890 was the result of favourable economic conditions, but still more of the immigration of foreigners from Hungary, Bohemia and Slovenia.[2] At the same time a process of emigration out of Croatia started, but in the period 1880–1890 few emigrated abroad. The first more numerous migrations were turned towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, directly after their occupation by Austria-Hungary in 1878, when the population of the counties of Lika-Krbava and Modruša-Rijeka, and partly also of Zagreb county, moved there temporarily or permanently to earn

[1] In 1857, Croatia had 2,074,776 inhabitants; in 1869, 2,400,795; in 1880, 2,506,545; in 1890, 2,854,585; in 1900, 3,160,613; in 1910, 3,460,350. (Institute for Statistics of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Population 1857–1961, according to Settlements and Parts of Settlements, Zagreb, 1964).

[2] On population changes in this period, Cf. Z. Zorčić, *Popis žiteljstva godina 1890* (Population Census in the Year 1890), (Zagreb, 1890); J. Lakatoš, *Narodna Statistika* (National Statistics), (Zagreb, 1914); F. Frbanić, "Jedno stoljeće u razvoju broja žiteljstva Hrvatske i Slavonije" (One Century in the Development of the Number of Inhabitants of Croatia), *Rad JAZU 140, 1889;* M. Šenoa, "Doseljavanje tudjinaca u Srijem" (The Immigration of Foreigners into Syrmia), *Ibid.*, 201, 1914; *Statistički atlas Kraljevine Hrvatske i Slavonije* (Statistical Atlas of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia), (Zagreb, 1915); M. Makale, *Zadnji popis pučanstva u Dalmaciji* (The Last Census in Dalmatia), (Vienna, 1912).

a higher income. According to data from the 1880 census, of the persons found absent many thousands had gone to Bosnia and Herzegovina.[3]

Of the seventeen Austrian provinces, Dalmatia was tenth in number of inhabitants. On December 31, 1910, 645,666 persons were registered as present; 10,811 of them were foreign citizens. In that decade, the Dalmatian population increased by 51,882, or 8.7 percent. The average increase for the whole of Austria was 9.3 percent. Dalmatia was thus somewhat below the average. In the period 1890–1900, the increase was much greater: 12.6 percent of the population of 1890. Since the increase for the whole of Austria was 9.44 percent, it follows that the increase in Dalmatia exceeded the Austrian average by 3 points. In the period 1890–1900, Dalmatia had the fourth largest population increase, surpassed only by Lower Austria, Trieste and the Bukovina. However, in the period 1900–1910 it dropped to eleventh place. The reason for this small population increase in the mentioned period must not be sought in a low birth rate. In Dalmatia the birth rate was quite high, and at 14.1 percent it greatly exceeded the average for the whole Monarchy, which was 11.9 percent. Only three Austrian provinces had a higher birth rate than had Dalmatia: Istria, Galicia and the Bukovina.[4]

During the whole 19th century, people emigrated on a smaller or larger scale from the Croatian littoral and Dalmatia. But emigration on a larger scale from the rest of Croatia started between 1880 and 1890, from the Modruša-Rijeka County, and the Karlovac, Jaska and Zagreb Districts. In the period 1890–1900, emigration increased greatly and spread to almost the whole area of the former Military March, the Pisarovina and Samobor Districts, as well as the former area of the Modruša-Rijeka County. At the end of that period it also extended to the Lika-Krbava and Bjelovar-Križevci Counties. After 1900, emigration fever gradually spread over the whole of Croatia.[5]

[3] Stenographic Records of the Diet of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, years 1910–1915. The Foundations of the Emigration Act, Supplement 8.

[4] R. Bičanić wrote of the effects of emigration on the population increase in Croatia: "The average growth of the total population in Croatia and Slavonia after the 1880s was positive. While there had been considerable stagnation in the population in the 1870s, the decade of the 1880s shows an increase. During all the 12 years between 1869 and 1880, the population in Croatia and Slavonia increased by only 2.8 percent. In the following decade, that percentage suddenly jumped to 15.5 percent; in the decade 1890–1900 it was 9.8 percent, and in the following decade, until 1910, it was not more than 8 percent during ten years. A very characteristic feature was that the natural population growth, i.e. the excess number of people born over the number of people deceased, was 325,000. But the number of persons actually registered grew by only 208,000. That means that in those ten years Croatia lost, through emigration, the difference of 123,000 persons, or 5.13 percent of its population. But, before the 1890s, the growth was small and slow in absolute numbers. In those years it increased suddenly. In the decade 1880–1890, their index was only 104, and later it quickly grew to 118, and in 1900 to 141. Rudolf Bičanić, "Ekonomska podloga dogadjaja u Hrvatskoj, 1903" (The Economic Foundations of Events in Croatia in 1903), *Historijski zbornik 1974–1975*, (Zagreb, 1976), p. 63.

[5] On the causes and consequences of emigration from Croatia, cf. Ivan Čizmić, "O iseljavanju iz Hrvatske u razdoblju 1880–1914" (On Emigration from Croatia in the Period 1880–1914), *Historijski zbornik*, Zagreb, 1974–1975. XXVII—XXVIII.

Croatian statisticians were immediately aware of the effects of emigration on changes in the population of Croatia. Thus M. Zoričić wrote: "...that there is no doubt that the inhabitants of these two counties (Lika-Krbava and Modruša-Rijeka) still leave their homes in large numbers in winter. Only the direction of the migrations has probably changed, and so has its scope. While people usually used to seek employment in other parts of the country before, today many more than before go to distant lands, to America and elsewhere, where there is work to be had and where it is well paid, not only from the areas of the above-mentioned counties, but also from neighbouring districts (Jastrebarsko and Karlovac) and the Zagreb County. The fear that the 1890 census will find a great many people absent in those parts of the land is certainly well founded, and the results of that census will be just as incomplete as were those of the 1880 census—if we decide again to record the personal relations only of the inhabitants who are present, and merely put down the number of absentees on the house list, as will be done for the country as a whole."[6]

Emigration had a direct effect on the population growth in Croatia. This was clearly shown by the difference between the natural and the net real population growth.[7] The real growth of the population was greater than the natural growth only in the period 1881–1890. In that period the real growth was 15.5 percent and the natural population growth was 14.5 percent. Although emigration on a larger scale started at that time, the real growth nevertheless exceeded the natural growth, thanks to the great immigration from other provinces of Austria-Hungary. Later, until just before World War I, the natural growth exceeded the real growth.

In the period 1891–1900, the natural population growth in Croatia and Slavonia was 10.4 percent, while the real growth was only 9.8 percent. The difference is thus 0.6 percent. In the following decade (1901–1910) the situation deteriorated. The natural growth was 13.4 percent, while the real growth was only 8.5 percent. The difference of 4.9 percent must, without reservations, be sought in emigration. In the first decade of the 20th century, emigration was so great that, of the seventy administrative districts in Croatia and Slavonia, only eight showed a population increase—and that was because of the immigration of foreigners. In all the others (62), the real growth was smaller than the natural growth. Meanwhile, between 1900 and 1910, 43,000 foreigners moved into Croatia and Slavonia. From the data on the native language of the emigrants and immigrants, it follows that, in that period, 85 percent of the total number of emigrants were Croats and Serbs, and 15 percent belonged to other nationalities. Of the immigrants in the same period, 19 percent were Croats and Serbs, and 81 percent were foreigners.

M. Makale says: "The reason for the slow increase in the population of Dalmatia was not, as I have already pointed out, a low birthrate, but massive emigration, which in the last decade reached the number of 31,814 persons. That great mass, which one popular economist compares to a strong and vigorous army, leaves our

[6] M. Zoričić, *Popis žiteljsktva godine 1890* (Population Census in 1890), (Zagreb, 1890), p. 6.
[7] See Table 1.

seas and mountains, and only a small and uncertain number return to their native land. They left our small Dalmatia to seek more thankful soil for their work abroad. That emigration totaled over 5 percent of the population in 1909, which means that every twentieth person emigrated."[8]

As the population increases and decreases, its density also grows and falls. Population density is taken as the number of inhabitants per one square kilometre, i.e. the proportion between population and area. Emigration has a direct influence on population density, and thus also on the demographic image of a region.

Except in towns, where the population density grew rapidly, of all the Croatian counties the Varaždin County had the greatest population density, a figure twice as high as in the rest of Croatia. The Lika-Krbava County was the most sparsely populated. The 1910 census even showed a decrease here. Population density increased as follows (according to counties): Varaždin 11.1 percent, Bjelovar-Križevci 5.7 percent, Zagreb 4.9 percent, Požega 7.3 percent, Srijem 4.5 percent, Virovitica 4.7 percent, Modruša-Rijeka 0.7 percent, Lika-Krbava 0.7 percent of inhabitants per square kilometre.

The average population density of Croatia was much lower than the average population density of Hungary; also, it was more than thirty inhabitants short of the population density in the Austrian part of the Monarchy. As the potential prospects for economic development in the Croatian Lands were at that time no worse than were those in other parts of the Monarchy, it follows that the reasons for the low population must be sought in the unfavourable economic and social treatment of these Lands.

Emigration had a direct influence on the population density in Croatia, and decreased it by about 5 inhabitants per square kilometre. Had there been no emigration, the population density in Croatia would have been 66.4 instead of 61.6 persons per square kilometre. Croatia was thus relatively sparsely populated in comparison with Austria-Hungary as a whole. However, the country's economic potentials were such that this density could have been much higher. Krunoslav

[8] M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 6. Trying to determine the number of emigrants from Dalmatia, M. Makale says: "If we subtract the number of inhabitants present in 1900, which was 593,784 in Dalmatia, from those present in the 1910 census, which was 645,666, we get the population increase in Dalmatia through the last decade (1901–1910) as

1900	593,784
1910	645,666
1901–1910	+51,882

The difference between the birth and death rates in Dalmatia in the same decade was:

born 1901–1910	232,905
died 1901–1910	149,209
natural population increase 1901–1910	+83,696

The population should naturally have increased by 83,696 persons, but we see that it only increased by 51,882 persons. This means that the difference of 31,814 persons emigrated. This could serve as a sort of balance of emigration, which was passive by 31,814 persons in the last decade." (M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 14).

Janda stresses that overpopulation "is obviously not a reason for emigration from Croatia (...) it is known that Germans and Hungarians still immigrate into Croatia, which is the best evidence that overpopulation there is out of question".[9]

EMIGRATION FROM CROATIA

The slow growth of the population and the decline of its density clearly shows that emigration had an unfavourable effect on the population increase in Croatia. The number of the people who emigrated from Croatia between 1880 and World War I can best be seen from emigration statistics, but we must bear in mind that data on emigration were not collected in Croatia before 1898. In 1898, the Ban of Croatia-Slavonia's decree ordered data on emigration to be collected, together with other statistical data, and the work was actually started in that same year. Within Austria-Hungary, statisticians could not gather correct data on migration. They could only follow cases that were statistically recorded for some reason (for instance requests for a passport), or cases of which they accidentally learned (data gathered by steamship companies that transported emigrants). Because of this, statistical data from that period can only be of second-rate importance. Much more reliable are immigration data obtained from the countries of immigration. But even these latter statistics are not completely reliable in the case of emigrants from Croatia, because the Croats were very often registered as Austrians or Hungarians. Although nationality was registered in the 1899 census in the United States, it seems that this principle was not consistently applied. For this reason, Slavs living in the U.S.A. protested during the 1910 census. They held a congress in Pittsburgh on March 7, 1910, which sent a delegation to point out this injustice to the director of the census office and even to the President of the United States himself. This delegation achieved its goal completely. From that year onwards, Slavs were registered according to their nationalities, and the most complete data on immigration into the U.S.A. can since then be obtained from the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

According to these data, in the period from the end of the 19th century to World War I, most of the immigrants into the U.S.A., 25 percent of the total number, came from Austria-Hungary. Between 1901 and 1909, 1,887,238 persons emigrated from Austria-Hungary to the U.S.A. Emigration was heaviest in 1907, when 338,507 persons left the Monarchy. In the following year, there was a depression in the United States, and the number of immigrants fell to half, but already in 1909, their number again increased greatly. Broken down by nationalities, emigration from Austria-Hungary in the period 1901–1909 was as follows: Poles, 333,672; Slovaks, 297,479; Croats and Slovenes, 226,504; Serbs, 30,778.[10] But even these American

[9] *Naše iseljeničko pitanje* (Our Emigration Question), Spljet, 1913, p. 33.

[10] M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Table 1

Difference between the natural and real population growth of Croatia

Years		Natural growth		Real growth		Real growth according to natural growth	
		absolute	percent	absolute	percent	absolute	percent
Croatia and Slavonia	1880–1890	274,002	14.5	293,911	15.5	+19,909	+1.0
	1891–1900	229,495	10.5	214,356	9.8	−15,139	−0.7
	1901–1910	324,861	13.5	201,778	8.5	−123,083	−5.0
Dalmatia	1880–1890	65,170	13.7	51,325	10.8	−13,845	−2.9
	1891–1900	78,857	14.9	66,358	12.6	−12,499	−2.3
	1901–1910	83,696	14.1	51,882	8.7	−31,814	−5.4
Istria	1900–1910	53,392	15.5	58,516	17.0	+5,124	+1.5

Sources: M. Kreser, *The Population Density in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia* (Zagreb, 1917), p. 109. M. Lorković, *The People and Land of Croatia* (Zagreb, 1939), p. 145. J. Lakatoš, *National Statistics* (Zagreb, 1914), p. 9.

data—as we have already pointed out—are not completely reliable. The data given by the Annual Reports are, to a great extent, unusable for the study of South Slav emigration, because South Slav emigrants were incorrectly grouped into the following three categories, according to their nationality:

a) Croats and Slovenes
b) Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians
c) Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins.

But even so, students of South Slav emigration into the United States will doubtlessly find that the best single series of American official statistics is the thirteenth population census of the U.S.A. This was first published in 1910, and its complete results were published in 1913. This census registers both the country of origin and the native language of persons born outside the United States. Yet even here there are serious difficulties and drawbacks. The Serbo-Croatian language is given as a common category; on its basis, 105,669 persons of South Slav origin born outside the United States were registered, and 129,234 of their descendants. As to their country of origin, that number can be broken down as follows:

Table 2

Country of origin	Number of people born abroad	Total number with descendants
Austria	80,295	99,934
Hungary	14,068	16,770
Montenegro	5,065	5,173
Serbia	4,384	5,191
European Turkey	934	987

The 1910 census showed that 129,254 persons stated Serbo-Croatian as their native language. Of these, 76.4 percent were Croats, and the rest were Serbs and Montenegrins (23.6 percent).

The number of South Slav immigrants continued to grow after 1910, but there were also very many who returned. The following table shows this for the period 1911–1914:

Table 3

Nationality	Immigrants in the U.S.A.	Returnees to country of origin
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	45,050	33,126
Croats and Slovenes	123,131	52,347
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	17,741	3,589
Total:	185,922	89,062

According to the Annual Reports of the Secretary of Labor, the emigration of South Slavs from Austria-Hungary in the period 1899–1923 was as follows:

Table 4

Bulgarians and Serbs	Croats and Slovenes	Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	Total
162,609	481,242	51,835	695,686

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1923, p. 130.

Using data from the Annual Reports, Lakatoš made the following estimate of emigration of Croats and Serbs for the period 1889–1909:[11]

Table 5

Year	1889–1900	1900–01	1901–02	1902–03	1903–04
Croats	no data	17,815	30,223	32,892	21,105
Serbs	13,574	717	1,014	1,723	2,023
Total	13,574	18,532	31,237	34,615	23,128

Year	1904–05	1905–06	1906–07	1907–08	1908–09
Croats	34,932	43,157	47,125	19,712	19,473
Serbs	2,252	4,424	7,263	7,444	3,628
Total	37,184	47,581	54,388	27,156	23,101

As we have already stressed, we cannot take American data at their face value. We can have even less confidence in data given by the Croatian Regional Statistical Office in Zagreb, according to which 186,573 persons emigrated from Croatia in the period 1889–1914.[12] That number probably refers only to emigrants whose departure was recorded by the authorities.

Data from the same statistical office on the number of emigrants (186,573) from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in the period 1899–1913 show that 166,579 persons immigrated into the United States and, among them, 165,156 Croats. The remainder were Serbs, Magyars and Germans. This number probably shows only emigrants whose departure was recorded by the authorities. However, if we compare reports from various steamship companies that transported emigrants

[11] Lakatoš, *ibid.*, p. 64.
[12] *Ibid.*

with the number of passports issued, we can see that, only from Croatia-Slavonia, 257,212 persons emigrated between 1900 and 1913.[13]

Although statistical data about passenger traffic issued by steamship companies are very reliable for South Slav overseas emigration, the exact number of emigrants from Croatia cannot be established in this way either, because those reports do not give separate data for Croatia, but for Croatia and Hungary together, or even for the whole of Austria-Hungary. Only after its foundation in 1909 did the Croatian Emigration Department intervene with some shipping companies, demanding that emigrants from Croatia be recovered separately. For all these reasons, statistical data on emigration can only give an approximate picture of the volume of emigration from Croatia before World War I. M. Makale rightly states: "Speaking about Croatian emigrants (...) I must mention that the number of Croats in regions of immigration is not known. Statistics from the United States only show the number of Croats who immigrated during the last two decades. No one knows how many of those immigrants returned. The conditions in South America are even worse, and no one knows how many of them are there."[14]

According to estimations by M. Lorković and J. Lakatoš, 309,954 persons emigrated from Croatia in the period 1890–1910.

Table 6
Emigration from Croatia 1890–1910

Years	1890	1900	1910	1890–1910
Croatia and Slavonia	24,913	36,650	150,233	211,796
Dalmatia	13,845	12,499	31,814	58,158
Istria	no available data		15,000	40,000
Croatia Total	38,758	49,149	197,047	309,954

Source: J. Lakatoš, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 25. Makale also wrote about the difficulties of keeping statistics about the number of emigrants: "Official statistics on emigration are rather lacking. There is a regulation that obliged harbour authorities to send data on emigration to the Statistical Commision. These data were sent at the end of every third month, and besides, the main personal data do not contain receivers' reports on the emigration of Austrian citizens from authorities of other European seaports. The Commission also gets various reports from consulates of the Monarchy, which are mostly concerned with the economic conditions of emigrants in the towns and settlements covered by the consulate. There are therefore various data, some complete, some incomplete; but if we combine them all, we nevertheless reach the conclusion that all those data together cannot shed enough light on the problem as a whole, and this would be so significant for the study of this important question, and can, furthermore, be the only foundation for possible action which it might be found necessary to undertake." (M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 3).

However, Lakatoš was not satisfied with this figure. He was aware that a large number of Croatian emigrants left illegally. Illegal emigration increased especially just before World War I, when the emigration of persons subject to military conscription was prohibited because of army needs, and reached, according to Lakatoš, a considerable number. Accordingly, Lakatoš combined all the data relevant to emigration and estimated that in the period mentioned above, i.e. from 1889 to 1913, about half a million people emigrated from Croatia. Though his figure seems to be slightly exaggerated, there are some facts that support his estimate. Several facts indeed. For instance, according to official data from the Zagreb County, 1,497 persons moved out of that county in 1889, 351 persons moved out of it in 1908, 3,122 people in 1909, 3,475 in 1910, and 1,255 in 1911.[15] However, if we examine the statistical data on emigration from the area of Karlovac and compare them with those from the whole of Zagreb County, we reach a disproportionation. According to the newspaper *Karlovački glasnik* (The Karlovac Herald), 1,912 persons emigrated from the Karlovac District in 1908, 3,388 in 1909, 1,104 in 1910 and 389 persons in 1911.[16] Thus, from the official data, it follows that in some years more persons left the Karlovac District than the whole Zagreb County.

Data showing the intensity of emigration also show that there were many more emigrants than the official statistics recorded. According to another paper *Dom* (The House), 1,530 people moved out of Croatia and Slavonia in February 1902.[17] According to *Zajedničar* (Fraternalist), 2,116 Croats emigrated via Trieste in April 1909, and 3,073 persons emigrated in the same month of 1910.[18] The same source says that Zagreb emigration agencies sent off 600 emigrants every Monday and Friday.[19]

Data on emigration from Croatia and Slavonia provide us with insight into emigration from particular counties. In the period 1889–1912, there came most emigrants from the Zagreb County. According to official data, 65,690 persons emigrated from the county, which was 24 percent of its total population. This is understandable, as that county was the largest both in terms of territory, and in the number of inhabitants.

Directly after the Zagreb County comes the Modruša-Rijeka County (49,174 emigrants), then the Bjelovar-Križevci County (20,839 emigrants); finally, the Lika-Krbava County (14,407 emigrants) comes bottom of the list. The Požega and the Srijem Counties (about 11,000 emigrants) could have been excepted because this region was overpopulated.

Rudolf Bičanić says that emigration was great from some passive and wine-growing district and from the towns. Out of 1,000 inhabitants, the following number emigrated according to towns:[20]

[15] J. Lakatoš, *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[16] *Karlovački glasnik* (Karlovac Herald), July 22, 1912, no. 34.
[17] *Dom* (The House), March 13, 1902, no. 6.
[18] *Zajedničar* (Fraternalist), Pittsburgh, May 4, 1910, no. 6.
[19] *Ibid.*, March 2, 1910, no. 8.
[20] Bičanić, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Delnice	32
Crikvenica	22
Vrbovsko	18
Senj	17
Jastrebarsko	17
Ogulin, Pisarovina, Vojnić	14
Karlovac, Topusko	13
Garešnica, Glina	12

Few people emigrated from Slavonia and Srijem (Syrmia). Most emigrants here came from Ilok (5 per thousand) and Djakovo (4 per thousand).

E. Balch also gives a survey of emigrants from some regions for the period 1899—1907:

Table 7

County	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1907
Lika-Krbava	46	37	153	102	407	2,439
Modruš-Rijeka	1,300	1,742	2,563	3,804	3,787	3,039
Zagreb	1,453	1,108	2,850	4,040	5,167	5,616
Varaždin	3	1	78	115	199	7,658
Bjelovar-Križevci	78	207	767	1,051	1,333	3,389
Požega	37	55	100	342	574	1,551
Virovitica	1	2	6	17	123	2,424
Srijem	5	85	196	350	290	2,285
Total	2,923	3,237	6,713	9,821	11,880	28,401

Source: Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 452.

According to data from the periodical *Iseljenički muzej* (Emigrant Museum), (Zagreb, no 19/1940), which are based on the 1910 population census, 350,000 people emigrated from the coastal and island regions of Croatia before World War I. This was almost one third of the population at the time.

Statistical data for Dalmatia, including data from the area between the Šibenik District and the Dubrovnik District, show the following figures for the period 1880–1910.

In the years 1880–1890, emigrated 13,845 persons
In the years 1890–1900, emigrated 12,490 persons
In the years 1900–1910, emigrated 31,840 persons
In the years 1880–1910, emigrated 58,175 persons

This again tells us only about legal emigration. Most emigration from Dalmatia, however, was illegal, and thus could not be recorded. We can have again more precise insight into the scope of emigration only from data about the very decreased number of inhabitants in certain places.

For the period 1900–1910 there are official data on the number of persons who emigrated according to districts. In that period, starting with Zadar, which had most emigrants, the order is as follows:

Zadar	4,194	Benkovac	2,432
Supetar	4,023	Makarska	1,773
Hvar	3,777	Korčula	1,362
Knin	3,553	Imoteski	1,155
Sinj	3,277	Metković	895
Split	2,974	Šibenik	117
Dubrovnik	2,880		

There are no separate statistics for emigration from Istria. Certain conclusions can nevertheless be drawn if we analyse differences between the natural birth rate and the real number of inhabitants. According to that calculation, Lakatoš supposes that about 40,000 Croats moved out of Istria before the beginning of World War I.[21]

THE RETURN OF THE EMIGRANTS

To enable us to determine more clearly the consequences of emigration from Croatia, it is essential to note some of the basic characteristics of emigration and emigrants. The emigrants from Croatia belonged to the group of so-called "temporary emigrants", who even before leaving their homeland had an *animus revertendi*—the "intent to return." At the beginning of our century, the temporary character of migration abroad was always stressed in Croatia as one of the peculiarities of Croatian emigration. In his report before the Croatian Diet *(Sabor)* in 1900, F. Potočnjak said: "When our people go abroad, this does not have the character of emigration proper; it is not what is usually called that. They only go temporarily, to make more money, for some years and, when they have made the money, when they have achieved what they went for, they return. That is so even when they take their families with them."[22] Erazmo Barčić also said in the Diet in 1905: "And so this is not emigration in the true sense of the word because, of all the people who go to America, only about 3 percent do not return to their homeland, and 97 percent came back home after several years, after making a good pile of money, and then they remain at home."[23] The foundations of the Emigration act of 1910 say that its "main purpose is to regulate temporary emigration."[24] In fact,

[21] J. Lakatoš, *Ibid.*

[22] *Sten. zapis. Sabora* (Stenographic Records of the Croatian Diet), 1897–1902, IV, 95.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1901–1905, V. 294.

[24] *Ibid.*, 1910–1915, appendix 8.

however, things took a different turn. Due to the passage of time and many circumstances, emigrants prolonged their stay abroad, and most of them decided to remain in their new homeland for ever. That was noticed in Croatia by A. Pinterović, who spoke in the Diet about the small number of emigrants who return to their homeland.[25] In 1907, D. Krmpotić said—in his letter from the United States to the Diet—that it might be "concluded with great probability that about 20 percent of them will return to their homeland, if circumstances in the United States remain as they are at present."[26] I. Lupis-Vukić says that "although almost everyone goes abroad with the firm decision to return home, quite a high percentage remain abroad permanently for various reasons, and so they can be counted as permanently lost for their homeland."[27]

Official statistics about the number of people who returned between 1900 and 1913 are given by the Royal Territorial Statistical Office in Zagreb for Croatia and Slavonia. According to these statistics, 41,760 persons returned.[28]

Obzor (Review) gives data about the number of people who returned to Croatia and Slavonia: 2,072 persons in 1909; 3,319 in 1910; 4,439 in 1911; and 3,099 in 1912.[29]

Frances Kraljich estimated that about one third of the Croatian emigrants returned to their homeland. In her opinion, the decision of whether to remain permanently or to return home depended primarily on the economic conditions of the immigrant.[30]

American official statistics also give data about the number of people who returned. Their proportion can be seen from the following tables:

Table 8

Return of emigrants from the USA during the period 1908–1924

Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	Croats and Slovenes	Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	Total
51,361	99,784	5,712	156,857

Source: Walter F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations*, New York, National Bureau for Economic Research, 1929, p. 887

[25] *Ibid.*, 1908–1913, I. 807.
[26] *Archiv Hrvatske, Spisi Sabora* (Archives of Croatia, Records of the Diet), br. 1069/1906–1911.
[27] *Naše iseljeničko pitanje*, Spljet 1913, p. 16.
[28] Lakatoš, *Ibid.* p. 66.
[29] *Obzor*, March 23, 1913, no. 81.
[30] Frances Kraljich, *Croatian Migration to and from the United States, 1900–1914.*, (Ragusan Press: Palo Alto, 1978), p. 96.

Table 9

Immigration into and emigration from the USA during the period 1908–1923

Nationality	Immigration	Emigration	Difference	Returnees/ 100 immigrants
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	104,808	92,886	11,922	89
Croats and Slovenes	225,914	114,766	111,148	51
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	30,690	8,904	21,786	29

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Labor, for 1929*, p. 133.

Table 10

Return of immigrants during the fiscal years of 1908, 1909 and 1910

Occupation	Croats and Slovenes	Dalmatians, Bosnians and Hercegovinians
Professionals	42	3
Tradespeople	7,821	198
Farmhands	808	43
Agriculturalists	887	36
Laborers	30,169	1,493
Domestic servants	792	24
Without occupation	3,546	147
Other occupations	350	49
Total	44,415	1,993

Source: U. S. Immigration Commission, 1907–1910, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. 41, Washington 1911, 4:47.

W. Shriver says that 123,563 Croats and Slovenes moved into the U.S.A. in the period 1907–1912, and 72,434 returned home. Thus 51,129 of them remained in the U.S.A. We think his data are incorrect: more people remained abroad than returned home.[31]

[31] William P. Shriver, *Immigrant Forces* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1913), p. 43.

PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, SEX AND AGE OF EMIGRANTS

Statistical data at our disposal show that over 86 percent of the emigrants were peasants.[32] Urban emigrants included only a few shop assistants or apprentices; some craftsmen also requested to emigrate. One of the drawbacks of the emigrants was widespread illiteracy, which the emigrant press pointed out as one of the main reasons for the difficulties Croats had in their new environment. The Chicago *Branik* (Defender) wrote in its editorial, "The Life of Croats in America": "According to statistics collected during disembarkment by the Immigration Office, over 40 percent of Croats who arrive from Croatia and Slavonia are illiterate (. . .) it is true that not even one percent of the 200,000 Croats are trained craftsmen. Until not long ago almost all the immigrant Croats used to be peasants before they left home, but more recently, during the last two years, some apprentices have started to arrive."[33]

Nevertheless, the proportion of apprentices was always small. In 1908, only 1,052 of the 20,472 immigrants were craftsmen. These, however, also included sailors who had abandoned their ships. As we can see, the majority were peasants and day labourers: 65 percent of all emigrants in 1908, and 74 percent in 1909.

Official American statistics give the following percentages of immigrants by occupation (for the period 1899–1910, see Table 11).

As to their occupation, the immigrants made a complete change in their new environment. Most of them got jobs in factories, down mines, as manual labourers in forestry and on construction sites and the like. This turned peasants into unqualified manual workers.

Stjepan Gaži supplied the following data about the occupation of Croatian and Slovenian immigrants: "Of the 365,239 Croats and Slovenes who immigrated into the United States before 1910, only 17,600 declared themselves to be workers, 270 said they had some experience as craftsmen, office workers etc., while all the rest did not give any profession at all, so it can almost certainly be concluded that they were peasants."[34]

These peasants usually became manual workers in industry, mining and construction, then, during their long working life, they obtained qualifications for their jobs.

Whole families did not emigrate at the start. Usually a young man, who was less heavily occupied at home, was first sent to work abroad, to earn the money the whole family needed for their various spendings: to return debts, build a house etc.

In the first period of emigration from Croatia to America there were very few women among the emigrants. Even during the era of mass immigration, before World War I, a great majority of the Slav immigrants were men. As most of them

[32] Lakatoš, *Ibid*, p. 63.
[33] *Branik* (Defender), Chicago, August 1, 1902.
[34] S. Gaži, *Croatian Immigration to Allegheny County, 1882–1914*, (Pittsburgh, 1956), p. 24.

Table 11

Profession and occupation of immigrants from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, 1900–1912 (percent)

Year	Primary production	Farming	Mining	Crafts	Intel-ligentsia	Household members	Other occupations	Trade	Day labourers
1900	48.1	37.6	0.2	11.2	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.1	1.0
1901	47.8	37.5	0.4	11.2	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.2	0.8
1902	47.9	37.6	0.3	11.1	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.1	0.9
1903	48.0	37.7	0.3	10.6	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.8
1904	47.4	37.2	0.5	12.0	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.2
1905	47.3	37.2	0.4	10.3	0.4	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.2
1906	48.7	36.9	–	10.5	0.9	1.2	0.7	0.2	1.2
1907	48.8	37.1	0.1	10.5	0.8	1.9	0.3	0.1	0.4
1908	41.4	17.7	1.3	27.1	1.7	4.1	4.8	0.5	1.5
1909	56.0	15.4	1.1	20.8	0.6	2.1	2.5	0.2	1.3
1910	62.7	15.2	0.1	14.5	1.2	2.2	2.3	0.2	1.6
1911	43.1	26.5	0.2	19.2	1.5	2.5	5.1	0.4	1.6
1912	55.8	24.6	0.1	10.4	1.0	2.4	4.2	0.2	1.3

did not intend to permanently remain in America, the women stayed at home waiting for the men to return after spending several years abroad. Both the immigrants who came to America with the intention of staying there permanently and those who changed their minds there and decided to remain in America faced difficulties and spent long years before they could bring out their families to join them in the U.S.

People who intended to emigrate did not normally have enough money at home to pay for the voyage. It was difficult to raise the money; and many ended up borrowing from relatives and friends who were in America already. When enough money for the trip was gathered, the physically strongest man in the family went to America. He created the financial basis for the rest of the family to follow him. The women, children and the old people had to wait for their turn.

In the years before World War I, the percentage of women requesting permits to emigrate increased. They either set out to join their husbands, or to get married in America. In 1913, whole families in ever growing numbers started to emigrate. In 1901, there were 10 percent women among the emigrants, and in 1912 this percentage increased to 30.1 percent.

Table 12

South Slav immigrants according to their sex, during the period 1899–1910

	Total	Males	Females	Percentage	
				Males	Females
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	97,391	93,200	4,191	95.7	4.3
Croats and Slovenes	335,543	284,866	50,677	84.9	15.1
Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians	31,696	29,252	2,444	92.3	7.7
Hungarians	338,151	244,221	93,930	72.2	27.8
Germans	754,375	448,054	306,321	59.4	40.6

Source: Emigration Conditions in Europe, p. 376.

Data were also collected about the age of the immigrants. According to age, the following percentage of persons emigrated in the period 1900–1912: 25.8 percent under 20; 35.6 percent between 20 and 29; 24.3 percent between 30 and 39; 13.3 percent between 40 and 49; and 3 percent over 50 years of age.[35]

These data show that emigrants usually belonged to the most favourable age and work groups.

According to American statistics, the age groups of South Slav emigrants in the period 1899–1910, were as follows (percent):

[35] Lakatoš, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Table 13

	Under 14 years	14–44 years	45 and over
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	1.7	95.8	2.5
Croats and Slovenes	4.3	92.5	3.2
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	2.5	94.3	3.2

Source: Emigration Conditions in Europe, p. 375.

Emigration statistics also show the level of education among South Slav emigrants. Between 1901 and 1904, one third of all of them were illiterate (33.9 percent); in the period 1905–1908 this percentage increased (34.9 percent).

Of the 367,239 Croats and Slovenes in the U.S.A., 128,438 were illiterate—almost 45 percent.[36]

THE PROPORTION OF NATIONALITIES AMONG THE EMIGRANTS

It must be stressed that the emigrants from Croatia were mostly Croats and Serbs, but there were also Germans and Hungarians (Magyars). There were about twice as many German emigrants from Croatia as there were Hungarians. Together, they made up about 10 percent of all the emigrants, and this is a relatively higher percentage than was the percentage of Germans and Hungarians living in Croatia.

It was a deeply entrenched view that the members of some Yugoslav peoples did not emigrate in proportion with their numbers. This reflected on the relatively small number of Serbian emigrans from the Kingdom of Serbia, the usual explanation for which was that the Serbs had their own independent state in which they did not

	Professionals	Skilled	Farm laborers	Laborers	Others
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	0.1	3.3	47.7	44.3	4.6
Croats and Slovenes	0.1	5.0	32.8	53.6	8.5
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	0.1	9.6	36.3	48.3	5.6

Source: US Immigration Commission, *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, Washington, 1922, p. 377.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

suffer from national oppression. They therefore did not emigrate in large numbers. But the small number of Serbian emigrants can be better explained by using the theory of diffusion, the fact that the idea of emigration had not spread to Serbian lands.

The Hungarian historian of migration, G. Thirring was the first to explain the effect of the theory of diffusion in this region. According to this, the idea of emigration spread, from the Ruthenians in Galicia to the Ruthenians in Upper Hungary. Then the Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs and other nationalities were taken by it in succession. From the Slovenes, who were in the west and therefore closest to Austria, the migration movement spread in the direction of the Balkan Peninsula. The emigration movement did not spread over to Bosnia or to the Kingdom of Serbia.

M. Makale says that, in 1907, over 54 thousand Serbo-Croat speakers emigrated, of whom 47 thousand were Croats.[37]

Emily Balch compared emigrants from Austria-Hungary by nationalities. She was interested in how many people, according to nationality, emigrated from Hungary proper, and how many from Croatia and Slavonia. Here are her findings for 1907:

Table 14

Language	Hungary proper	Croatia-Slavonia	Total
Hungarian	57,974	765	58,739
German	35,721	1,890	37,611
Slovak	32,439	298	32,737
Romanian	26,481	10	26,491
Ruthenian	4,939	149	5,088
Croatian	1,128	15,461	16,589
Serbian	7,020	6,494	13,514
Other	1,787	426	2,213
Total:	167,489	25,493	192,982
Destination:			
America	149,372	22,828	172,200
European countries	16,945	2,648	19, 593
Other parts of the world	1,172	17	1,189

Source: Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, New York, 1910, pp. 441—442.

Balch also showed emigration from Croatia and Slavonia for the period 1900–1903 according to sex, language and religion:

[37] M. Makale, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Table 15

According to sex:		
Man	28,912	
Woman	2,793	
Total	31,705	
According to religion:		
Roman Catholic (Croats)		21,358
Byzantine Catholic (Serbs)		499
Orthodox Catholic		9,584
Others		264
Total		31,705
According to language:		
Serbo-Croatian	30,339	
Others	1,366	
Total	31,705	

Source: Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 454.

Gustav Thirring analysed emigration and return to Hungary according to nationality, and gave the following table:

Table 16
Emigrants from Hungary during the period from 1905 to 1913 in 1000

	Emmigrants	Returnees	Number	Gain (+) or loss (−); Percent of Population
Hungarians	331	77	−254	−2.3
Germans	188	40	−148	−7.2
Slovaks	199	60	−139	−7.0
Romanians	152	33	−119	−4.0
Croats	96	27	−69	−3.7
Serbs	61	17	−44	−4.0
Others	12	3	−9	−1.9

Source: dr Gustav Thirring, "Hungarian Migration of Modern Times", *International Migrations*, vol. II, p. 438.

Finally we give data on immigration into the U.S.A. according to nationality, in the years 1899–1910, based on official statistical reports. How that process ran in the period 1908–1923 can be seen in the following table:

Table 17
Immigration to the United States of nationalities, fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive

Race or people	Total number of immigrants	From Austria-Hungary	
		Number	Per cent
Bohemian, Moravian	100,189	98,469	98.3
Bulgarian, Serbian, Montenegrin	97,391	39,099	40.1
Croatian, Slovenian	355,543	331,154	98.7
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian	31,696	31,047	98.0
German	754,375	265,366	35.2
Hebrew	1,074,442	180,802	16.8
Italian, North	372,668	19,410	5.2
Magyar	337,351	333,429	98.8
Polish	949,064	432,809	45.6
Romanian	82,704	76,755	92.8
Ruthenian	147,375	144,710	98.2
Slovak	377,527	374,624	99.2

Source: Reports of the Immigration Commission: Emigration Conditions in Europe, New York 1970 (2nd ed.), p. 375.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

Statistical data show also the dispersion, i.e. the spatial distribution of South Slav immigrants throughout the United States. There were most of them in Pennsylvania—42.3 percent; 73.4 percent Croats and Slovenes immigrated into Pennsylvania, and into Ohio and New York. The dispersion of South Slavs throughout the United States in the period 1900–1909 was as follows:

Most South Slavs immigrated into the U.S.A. from Austria-Hungary. This can be seen from the following table (see Table 18 on next page).

Most Croatian emigrants moved to the U.S.A. Yet a smaller number also moved to other countries or other continents. J. Lakatoš says that, according to data given by the Tables relating to Emigration from and Immigration into the United Kingdom and by the Canada Year Book, in the period 1902–1911, 142,349 immigrants sailed to Canada from Austria-Hungary, but only 946 of them were Croats and Serbs.[38] However, V. Tomović gives different data, according to which 17,898 Yugoslavs moved to Canada in the period 1900–1920. During the 1921 census, however, only 3,906 were registered. Tomović sceptically concludes: "It is difficult to believe that four fifths of the immigrants moved elsewhere or died in twenty years. It would be logical to expect the census to give a greater figure of persons than those given by immigration data. Unfortunately, as we have seen, Canadian statistics provide us a different picture (. . .) and if we bear in mind how

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Table 18

State	1900–1905 in aps. in No.	%	1907–1908 in aps. in No.	%	1908–1909 in aps. in No.	%	1900–1909 in aps. in No.	%
Pennsylvania	65,401	47.6	6,760	33.0	6,066	30.1	114,305	42.3
Illinois	16,630	12.2	2,358	11.5	3,181	15.8	34,590	12.8
Ohio	14,262	10.4	2,594	12.7	1,783	8.8	28,213	10.4
New York	10,146	7.4	2,119	10.4	1,543	7.7	21,377	7.9
Missouri	4,439	3.2	394	1.9	626	3.1	8,818	3.2
Minnesota	3,570	2.6	628	3.1	1,322	6.6	9,086	3.4
Michigan	3,334	2.4	761	3.7	996	4.9	7,664	2.8
Colorado	3,039	2.2	366	1.8	391	1.9	5,370	2.0
Wisconsin	1,962	1.4	884	4.3	894	4.4	7,140	2.6
W. Virginia	2,554	1.9	361	1.8	332	1.6	5,064	1.9
California	1,532	1.1	264	1.3	201	1.0	2,851	1.0
New Jersey	1,362	1.0	255	1.2	313	1.6	2,884	1.1
Indiana	1,061	0.8	369	1.8	372	1.8	2,905	1.1
Montana	1,133	0.8	123	0.6	270	1.3	2,084	0.8
Kansas	888	0.6	387	1.9	282	1.4	2,330	0.9
Utah	313	0.2	142	0.7	154	0.8	1,208	0.4
Others	4,694	3.4	1,457	7.1	1,061	5.2	11,551	4.3

Source: M. Makale, *Last Census in Dalmatia,* Wien, 1912, p. 26.

Table 19

Nationalities	Total		From Austria–Hungary	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins	97,391	100	39,099	40.1
Croats and Slovenes	335,543	100	331,154	98.7
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians	31,696	100	31,047	98.0

Source: Emigration Conditions in Europe, p. 375.

difficult it is to obtain statistics about Croats in Canada, we can be only partially satisfied, as the data are no more than an approximation of the actual figures."[39]

The number of Croatian immigrants in Canada probably corresponded to the number given by the 1921 census.

Croats started to emigrate to Australia much later than to the United States. The reasons might be the great distance of the immigration area, the higher costs of the trip, the low level of economic integrations, relatively low development, etc. In the period 1900–1914, people from Central Dalmatia and the islands did emigrate to Australia. There were less emigrants from the interior. In the above period, 3,080 people moved there. On the list of the countries of overseas emigration, Australia held fifth place. However, according to official Australian sources, there were far fewer immigrants from Croatia, as can be seen from the following table:

Table 20

Nationalities	1891	1921	Growth in percent
Croats	250	720	190
Macedonians	—	50	—
Slovenes	20	40	100
Serbs	20	40	100
Total	290	850	225

The table is composed on the basis of data given by the National Statistics of the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, London, 1922, pp. 18–19.

Immigration on a larger scale from Yugoslavia to New Zealand started almost a century ago, and 10,931 Yugoslav immigrants who intended to move there

[39] Vladislav Tomović, "Broj i društveni položaj naših iseljenika u Kanadi" (The Number and Social Position of our Immigrants in Canada), *Zbornik Iseljeništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije, Zavod za migracije i narodnosti*, (Zagreb, 1978), p. 363.

permanently were recorded (1897–1971). The rate of immigration changed from year to year: this can be explained by changes in the economic and political conditions, both in Yugoslavia and in New Zealand, in restrictive laws, and in the changes of aspirations among the immigrants. In periods of war or depression, immigration decreased, or stopped completely, so that immigration from Yugoslavia can be divided into three periods, each of which has its special characteristics.

Before World War I, there were about 5,471 Croatian immigrants in New Zealand, mostly from Central Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands.[40]

We have no data on the number of Croatian immigrants in South America. Lakatoš gave only the number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary as a whole. There were 35,649 of them in Argentina in the period 1905–1912, and 20,993 in Brazil in the period 1906–1912.[41]

Data on Croatian immigration in Chile are more exact. The following table gives the number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary in Chile, and their proportions to 1,000 foreigners, and 1,000 Chileans. The national structure of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary was not registered, so we must depend on the estimates of contemporaries, according to which Croats made up as much as 90 percent of the total number. Most of them came from Dalmatia, especially from the island of Brač.

According to some estimates, by 1915 the number of Croatian immigrants to Chile increased by 20 percent, which means that in the year there were over 4,500 Croatian immigrants in that country.[42]

Table 21
Immigrants from Austria-Hungary to Chile, from 1854 to 1907

Year	Number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary	Percent of Austro-Hungarian immigrants compared to other immigrants
1854	25	1.3
1865	36	1.6
1875	375	14.8
1885	674	7.7
1895	1,550	19.6
1907	3,913	28.2

[40] Ivan Čizmić, *Iz Dalmacije u Novi Zeland* (From Dalmatia to New Zealand; A History of Yugoslav Settlement in New Zealand), (Zagreb, 1981), p. 69.

[41] Lakatoš, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[42] Ljubomir Antić, "O jednom popisu naših iseljenika u Punta Arenas (Chile) 1916. godine" (On a Census of our Immigrants in Punta Arenas in 1916 [Chile]), *Migracije*, Zagreb, 1980, nos 8—9.

Research to date on the socio-political activities of Croatian immigrants in Argentina leads to the conclusion that there were twice as many of them there as in Chile: about 10,000. There were about 1,000 in Bolivia, and several hundreds in other South American countries. But in any case, the population censuses in South America from that period will have to be studied if we wish to gain some basis for reaching a more exact number of Croatian immigrants in the lands of South America.

CONCLUSION

Almost until World War I, emigration from Croatia increased progressively from year to year, with some exceptions. The factors that hindered greater emigration were to be found outside Croatia. They included restrictive regulations introduced from time to time by the American government, as well as economic depressions that occurred in the U.S.A. Earlier on, the authorities in Austria-Hungary did not hinder emigration, and were only careful to keep it under control. On the eve of World War I, however, they prohibited men subject to military conscription to emigrate. Thus on December 26, 1913, the Royal Commissioner for Croatia and Slavonia issued an order concerning emigration, which decreed: "The following regulation holds for the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (. . .). Male persons, beginning with January 1 of the year in which they reach 17 years of age, and as long as they are subject to military conscription based on this act, may emigrate only on the basis of a written permit, issued by the Ban, in agreement with the Minister of Defence. This permit may only be issued if the applicant pays 100–1,000 Hungarian crowns in security through the Ban."[43] This decree made the young males almost impossible to emigrate legally, both financially and administratively speaking.

Had there been no restrictive regulations on immigration or no occasional depressions in the U.S.A., and had Austria-Hungary not stopped emigration before World War I, it would have gone on growing progressively from Croatia. Nobody knows what consequences such massive emigration would have had. By that time perhaps as many as half a million persons had emigrated. And, in 1910, Croatia had 3,460,350 inhabitants.

[43] Historical Archives of Karlovac, City collection 1909–1918.

VESNA MIKAČIĆ

OVERSEAS MIGRATION OF THE YUGOSLAV POPULATION IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

In the modern era, the massive migration of the European population began in England, together with the traditional Industrial Revolution at the end of the 18th century, and later spread in the direction of the east, south and southeast of Europe. It was the world situation that started these great population movements. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, in the early 19th century, the rates of population growth in Europe were very high. However, they were not matched by any large-scale social changes or a stronger economic development. At the same time, new agrarian areas were captured in overseas countries, natural resources started to be intensively exploited, and the end of the century witnessed a more vigorous development of industry. Under the circumstances of a steep population growth, agrarian overpopulation and a volatile political situation in Europe on the one hand, and of underpopulation, the capturing of agrarian areas, industrial development, and the consolidation of newly-formed states in the countries of the New World on the other hand, Europe started exporting labour, populations, and even capital, filling in the overseas countries' demographic and investment-related shortages. In the 19th century, the United States of America experienced a particularly dynamic development. In the period of liberal capitalism and fast economic development, this young nation did not impose any legal or other restrictions on imports of capital and labour. Millions of colonists, workers and desperadoes from all over the world immigrated there freely. Other overseas countries, i.e. Canada, Australia, and the countries of South America, had not yet completed the process of their consolidation as independent states, or else they were still fighting for their independence. European immigration into the countries concerned was only sporadic in the early 19th century, but it gained momentum during an economic boom. Considerable changes in European migration overseas, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe, took place in the 1920s as the United States introduced a system of annual quotas on immigrants from the countries of the so-called eastern hemisphere, while immigration from Asia was banned altogether as early as the beginning of the 20th century. Due to such legal restrictions, the main flow of European migration took a new direction towards other overseas countries. (The flow had almost been brought to a standstill during the 1914–1918 war.)

There are certain specific traits related to these international political and economic trends affecting emigration from the Southern Slavic area, and later also

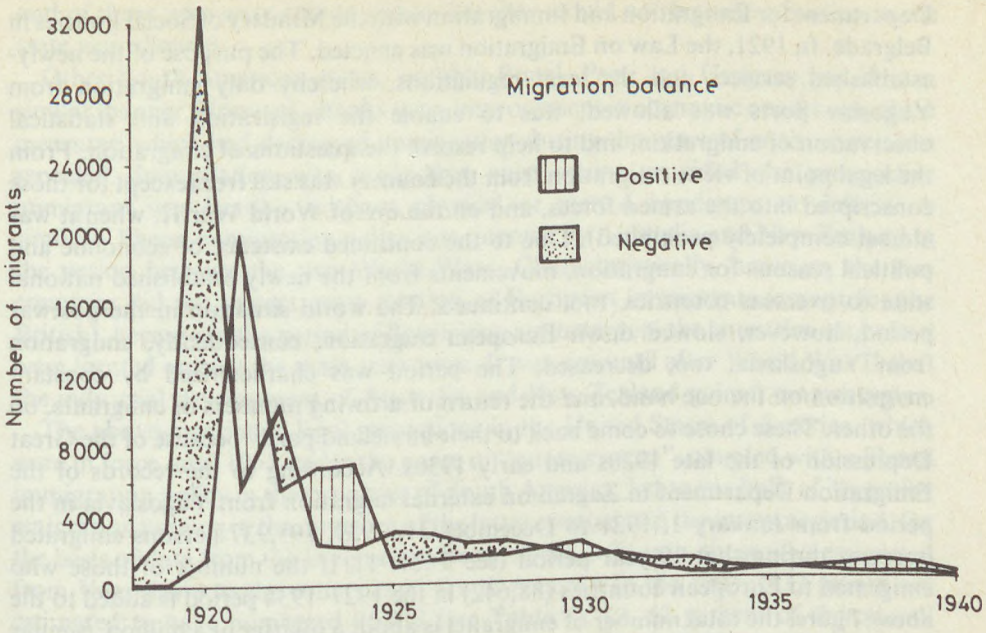

Figure 1. Yugoslav Migrants' Immigration in, and Emigration from U.S., 1918–1940.

from Yugoslavia. Larger-scale movements to overseas countries started at the end of the 19th century, although some people, mostly seamen from coastal regions had been involved in sporadic movements even before that. Due to its seafaring traditions and better transportation links with other parts of Europe, the Southern Slavic littoral area became the starting point of emigration, which would spread inland under the influence of local or regional conditions. In the initial phase of emigration, which lasted—with fluctuating intensity—until World War I, an estimated half a million people emigrated from the area that is today Yugoslavia. Their main destination in the prewar period was the United States of America. After World War I, important political and social changes happened in Europe. Several independent national states were formed in the area of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The consolidation of the state of South Slavs required finding solutions to certain political, social and economic questions that had influenced emigration in the prewar period to a greater or lesser degree. However, with no radical solutions applied to these questions, emigration from the region continued after the war. The need to set up emigration services in the country was urged by the large number of emigrants in overseas countries and the continuing process of emigration. Immediately after the war, the Emigration Department in Zagreb became responsible for affairs related to emigration from Yugoslavia. The introduction of this service was followed, in 1920, by the establishment of the

Department for Emigration and Immigration with the Ministry of Social Policies in Belgrade. In 1921, the Law on Emigration was enacted. The purpose of the newly-established services and the legal regulations, whereby only emigration from Yugoslav ports was allowed, was to enable the registration and statistical observation of emigration, and to help resolve the questions of emigration. From the legal point of view, emigration from the country was still free (except for those conscripted into the armed forces, and on the eve of World War II, when it was almost completely prohibited). Due to the continued existence of economic and political reasons for emigration, movements from the newly-established national state to overseas countries, too, continued. The world situation in the postwar period, however, slowed down European migration; consequently, emigration from Yugoslavia, too, decreased. The period was characterized by constant emigration on the one hand, and the return of growing numbers of emigrants, on the other. These chose to come back to their homeland partly because of the Great Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s. According to the records of the Emigration Department in Zagreb on external migration from Yugoslavia in the period from January 1, 1921 to December 31, 1939, 195,937 persons emigrated overseas during that 19-year period (see Table 1). If the number of those who emigrated to European countries (88,642) in the 1927–1934 period is added to the above figure, the total number of emigrants is about a quarter of a million. Similar data on the number of emigrants from Yugoslavia are obtained from compilations of statistical data in countries of immigration (cf. Tables 2–4 for the U.S., Canada and Australia) and from data of the Emigration Department in Zagreb (cf. Tables 5–6 for the countries of South America and New Zealand). According to this estimate, in the period between the two World Wars, about 195,580 persons immigrated into overseas countries, so that the above data from the Yugoslav service may be considered realistic. Unlike the prewar period, when the bulk of Yugoslav migrants had emigrated to the United States of America, emigration flows in the interwar period branched off to the two Americas, while the number of emigrants departing for Australia and New Zealand also increased. Changes in what had become steady emigration flows from Yugoslavia in the interwar period were brought about by several reasons. Through the introduction of U.S. immigration quotas concerning immigrants from the eastern hemisphere, Yugoslavia was allocated an insignificant number of immigration visas per annum (671 visas in 1924, and 845 visas in 1929). In comparison with the prewar period, when more than 10,000 persons from the Southern Slavic area immigrated into America each year, this virtually marked the end of free migration. At the same time, the countries of South America did help European immigration with the purpose of colonizing the extensive plains of the pampas. The countries of South America having been a traditional immigration area for settlers from the south of Europe, i.e. Spain, Portugal and Italy, no restrictions were imposed on the immigration of settlers coming from other South-European states. During the Great Depression in 1930, however, Argentina stopped receiving immigrants for a year, but the following year the immigration of family members of those who had already settled

and of those who were able to prove that they would not become a burden to the state was allowed.

Other South-American states, notably Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, acted in a similar manner. However, thanks to an improvement in economic conditions, these measures, which had decreased immigration during the years of crisis, were soon repealed. Immigration was made free once again, provided the prospective immigrant was healthy, without physical or mental handicaps or defects. A similarly liberal immigration policy was pursued by Australia and New Zealand in the period between the two World Wars. Characteristically, however, the two countries did not attract great number of European immigrants (except for the British), because in the period of flourishing sea transport the countries concerned were located outside the main sea routes. It was not until after World War II that the industrial development of Australia and New Zealand gained momentum.

The above-mentioned legal restrictions in the United States of America, which were in force until 1965 under the name of "quota system", coupled with a liberal immigration policy in the countries of South America, led to the bulk of Yugoslav emigration moving in the direction of the latter continent in the interwar period. On the basis of data from the Emigration Department in Zagreb, those who emigrated from Yugoslavia to the countries of South America in the 1923–1933 period are estimated to have numbered 96,418 (see Table 6), i.e. 62 percent of the overall Yugoslav overseas emigration registered in the same period. However, the actual figure is higher, because neither all the interwar years nor the "illegal" emigration on the eve of World War II were included in the records.

Besides overseas emigration, which reached its peak during the interwar years, the period under examination, i.e. the period up to the onset of the Great Depression of the 1930s, was characterized by pronounced homebound return migration. The highest emigration rate[1] (+ 0.4 percent) was that of Yugoslav migrants from the United States of America returning to their homeland in large numbers in the first five postwar years (see Table 2). The intensified return of emigrants from the States is easy to understand in view of the fact that emigration from the area of the present-day Yugoslavia to the country concerned had been one of very long duration, and that a great many emigrants had actively contributed to the formation of the new national South Slav state.[2] In the interwar period, the States was the only country with a negative migratory balance of Yugoslav migrants, because at the time there were 37.0 percent more Yugoslav emigrants than Yugoslav immigrants registered. Other overseas countries did not have such pronounced outflows of Yugoslav migrants (the emigration rates were: for

[1] The emigration rate is calculated on the basis of $\frac{E-I}{E}$ formula, whereby E stands for emigration and I stands for immigration.

[2] Cf.: I. Čizmić: *Jugoslavenski iseljenički pokret u SAD i stvaranje jugoslavenske države 1918.* (Yugoslav emigrant movement to the USA, and the formation of the state of Yugoslavia in 1918), Monograph No. 5, (Institut za Hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, 1974), p. 317.

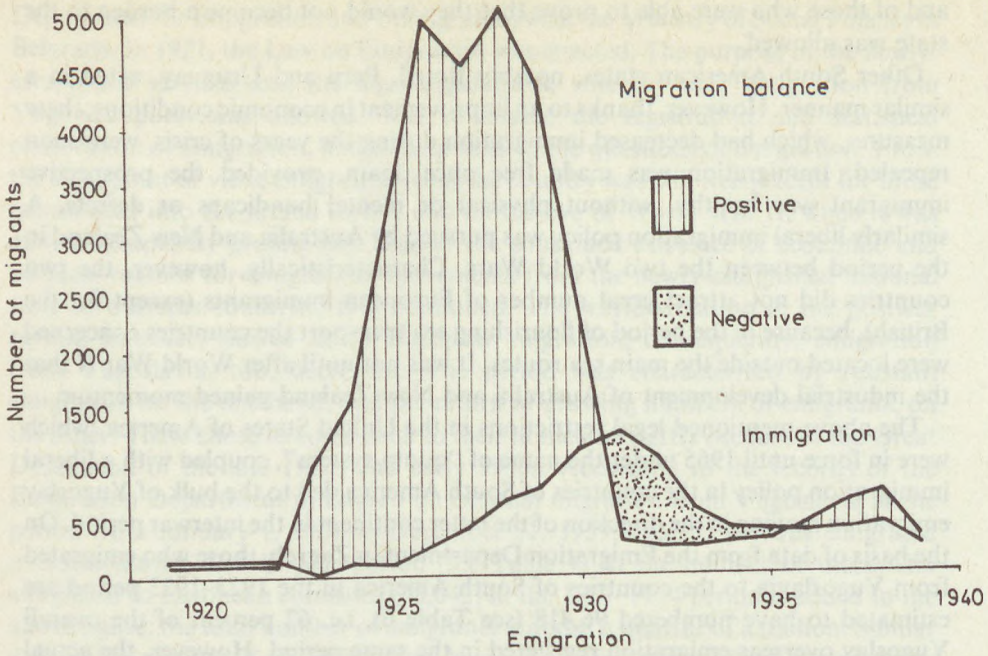

Figure 2. Yugoslav Migrants' Immigration in, and Emigration from Canada, 1918–1938.

Australia − 1.0, for New Zealand − 2.1, and for Canada − 2.6). The migratory balance was positive for each country: in the 1918–1940 period, it was + 27.5 percent for Canada, in the 1924–1940 period, + 51.0 percent for Australia and in the 1921–1939 period, + 32.0 percent for New Zealand (see Tables 3–5). The smallest outflow of Yugoslav immigrants in the interwar period (the emigration rate of − 4.8 in the period from 1923 to 1933) was that recorded in the countries of South America. This is understandable, in view of the fact that movements to the countries concerned became intensified only after the introduction of the American quota system in the 1920s. In the period observed, only 17.3 percent of the total immigrant stock, mostly seasonal workers who would depart from their homeland during the winter season for sharecropping in Argentina or Brazil, returned to Yugoslavia.

During the two decades observed (the years of World War I and the Great Depression), the international migration of labour was slowed down; unrestricted and intensive international migration had lasted for slightly over a decade. The severe world economic and political situation brought about changes within the migrant stock itself. According to data from the majority of host countries, the number of workers decreased during the war and crisis years, while the participation of non-active migrants, i.e. the wives and children of the already established immigrants, grew. On the other hand, there was a parallel increase in the number of migrants returning to their homeland. The United States in the interwar

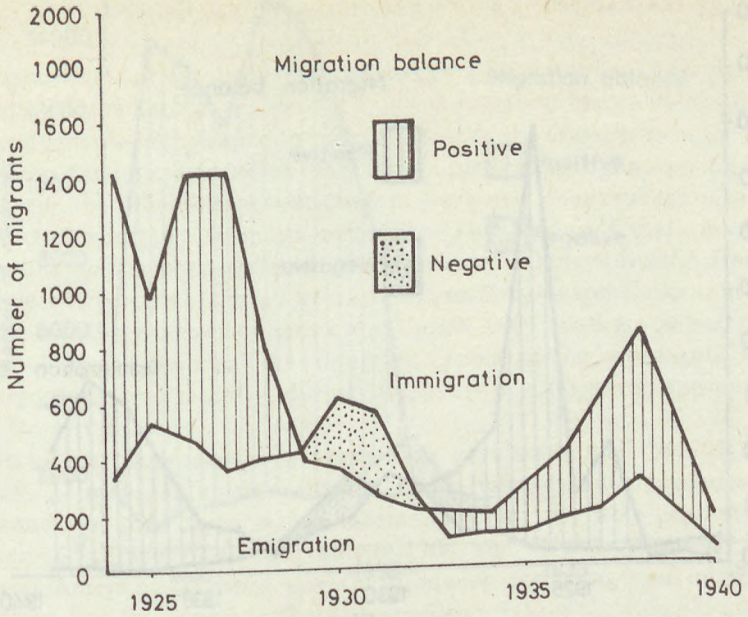

Figure 3. Yugoslav Migrants' Immigration in, and Emigration from Australia, 1924–1940.

period is a typical example of an immigration country which restricted immigration due to the new economic and political conditions. Its immigration was practically reduced to the reunification of bilocated families. While the majority of immigrants in the prewar period had been made up of men (representing, in certain years, more than 70 percent), in the postwar years and during the economic crisis, the share of women in the total immigrant stock grew, to reach at times more than 40 percent. The inflow of women into other overseas countries was less conspicuous (in Australia, for instance, they made up 24 percent of the total immigrant stock in the 1924–1940 period), probably due to a shorter stay of men in the countries concerned.

The bulk of Yugoslav historical materials and statistical sources shows that the majority of migrants came almost exclusively from the stratum of Yugoslav peasantry. Although the abolition of servitude in most of what is today Yugoslavia took place as early as the beginning of the 19th century, the penetration of capital into rural areas brought about an accelerated disintegration of family cooperatives; land was divided among the members of what had until then been a single household, which contributed to a further pauperization of the countryside. The country did not undergo the sort of powerful industrialization that could have offset the process of rural disintegration by enabling farmers to become industrial workers. Emigration to overseas countries continued, especially from the already established regions of emigration. Since, during the period of marked emigration from Austria-Hungary and, later, from Yugoslavia, the agrarian colonization of

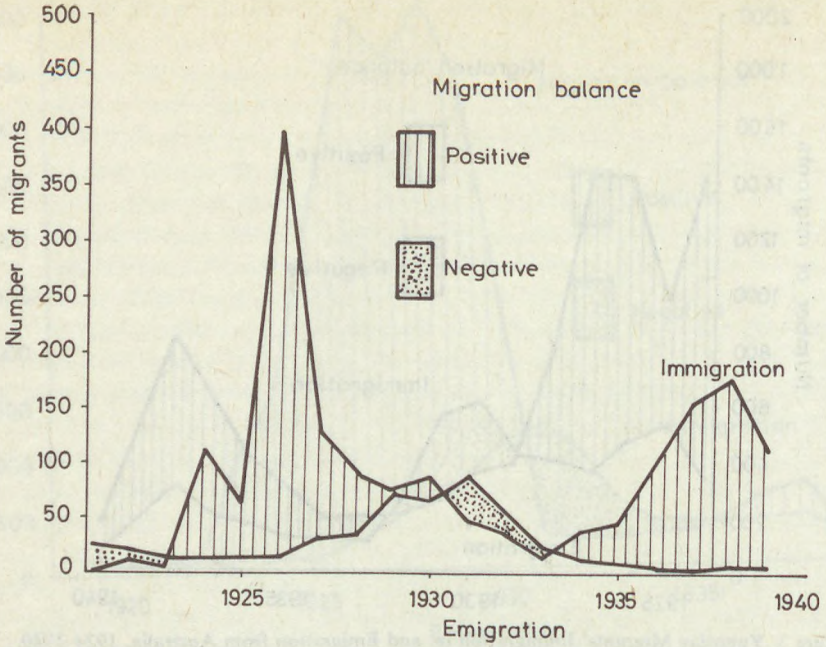

Figure 4. Yugoslav Migrants' Immigration in, and Emigration from New Zealand, 1921–1939.

the United States had mostly been completed, the majority of immigrants concerned obtained employment in the factories and mines of America. The qualification structure of Yugoslav emigrants in the interwar period remained more or less unchanged, so most emigrants were unskilled farmers, while the share of craftsmen grew somewhat. By contrast, in the countries of South America agricultural workers were still in demand, and the bulk of emigrants took up employment in agriculture (Argentina and Brazil) or in the mines of Chile and Bolivia.

From the standpoint of the country of migrant origin, it is important to recognize the main regions of emigration. Up to World War I, a part of present-day Yugoslavia had been divided between Austria-Hungary and Turkey, while Serbia and Montenegro had been independent states. As the process of emigration within Europe spread from the west and northwest to the south and the east, the western parts of what is today Yugoslavia were the first to get caught in emigration. The Croatian and Slovenian littoral, especially its individual islands and coastal regions, became the starting points of emigration in this area, and the process spread inland with a greater or lesser degree of intensity, depending on local circumstances. The development of the process of emigration from the area of present-day Yugoslavia shows that the number of emigrants departing from the continental regions of the country increased if the regions had better transport connections with the starting points of emigration. Other factors that influenced the levels of migration on a

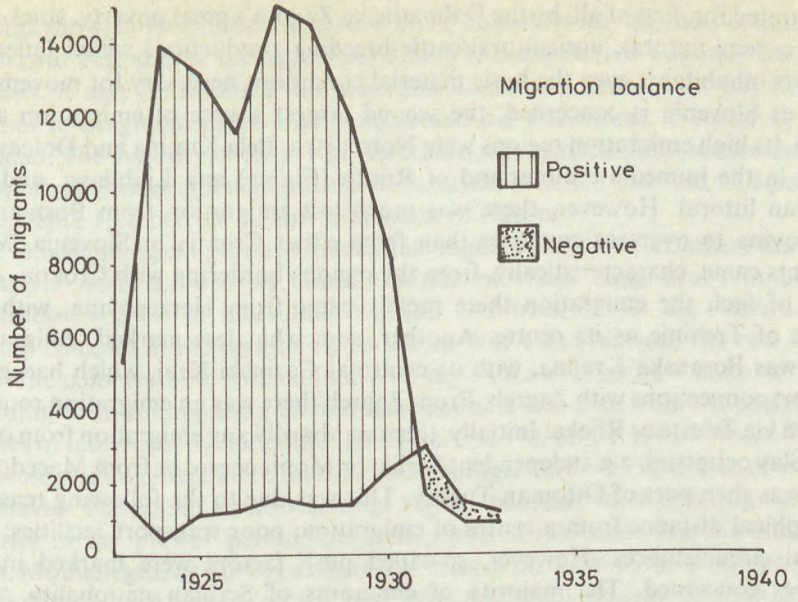

Figure 5. Yugoslav Migrants' Immigration in, and Emigration from the countries of South America, 1923–1933.

larger scale were: specific natural conditions, socio-economic and political factors, and local differences. Besides the Croatian and Slovenian littoral, which had a high rate of overseas emigration, the initial emigration of the population to overseas countries did spread more intensively to some inland regions. The high emigration regions of inland Croatia, for instance, were Lika, Banija, Žumberak and Gorski Kotar, and the Karlovac region. These regions, poor in natural resources and economically underdeveloped, were geographically well-located and, as regards transport facilities, they were fairly well connected with the starting points of emigration, Rijeka and Trieste, and—by rail—with many ports in West and North Europe, whence liner services (steamships) for overseas countries were operated. A somewhat greater number of emigrants came from the fertile Bjelovar-Križevci region, where there was a marked agrarian density and limited possibilities for supplementary earnings outside individual agricultural estates.

A smaller number of people emigrated from Varaždin, Požega and Syrmia regions, despite the existence there of some opportunities for them to work and earn their living as day-labourers on large estates and also for supplementary earnings in mining and forestry. The great distance of seaport-towns and poor transport connections also decreased emigration from the above-mentioned areas. There was, characteristically, hardly any emigration from the biologically highly active and overpopulated agricultural Dalmatinska Zagora, despite the fact that the region was a spatial extension of the coastal, high emigration area. This phenomenon may

be accounted for, first of all, by the Dalmatinska Zagora's great poverty, stuck as it was in a semi-natural, agricultural/cattle-breeding production, which failed to ensure its inhabitants even the basic material conditions necessary for movement. As far as Slovenia is concerned, the second largest source of emigration after Croatia, its high emigration regions were Notrenjska, Bela Krajina and Dolenjska, located in the immediate hinterland of Rijeka (Fiume) and Ljubljana, and the Slovenian littoral. However, there was much less emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina to overseas countries than from either Croatia or Slovenia. Most emigrants came, characteristically, from the regions bordering with Croatia. As a matter of fact, the emigration there mostly came from Herzegovina, with the District of Trebinje as its centre. Another, somewhat less marked, emigration region was Bosanska Krajina, with its centre at Cazinski Kraj, which had good transport connections with Zagreb. From Zagreb there was an emigration route to America via Trieste or Rijeka. Initially, there was hardly any emigration from other South Slav countries, e.g. independent Serbia or Montenegro, or from Macedonia, which was then part of Ottoman Turkey. This was due to the following reasons: geographical distance from a centre of emigration; poor transport facilities; and political circumstances. However, so-called push factors were marked in the countries concerned. The majority of emigrants of Serbian nationality, who, together with Croats and Slovenes, represented the component part of the Southern Slavic emigration flow, originated from the Vojvodina and Croatia, i.e. the regions that had belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until World War I.

The process of "chain emigration" had an impact on the formation of high emigration regions in the South Slav land. The emigrants themselves provided financial assistance for an increased emigration of their family members and the inhabitants of certain coastal and island localities, as well as of certain regions in inland Croatia and continental Slovenia. The process of chain emigration continued also in the interwar period. This was true especially in case of persons emigrating to the United States of America, where, under the country's immigration law, only close relatives of those who had settled there earlier were allowed to immigrate outside the quota system. The tradition of movements to overseas countries and chain emigration from certain regions resulted in postwar emigration starting mostly from the western parts of the country. In the 1921–1939 period, according to data from the Emigration Department, 53.1 percent of the emigrant stock left the region of Croatia for overseas countries; comparable percentages for Slovenia were 11.7, and the remaining 35.2 percent for other parts of Yugoslavia (see Table 7). On a lower regional level, the littoral regions of Croatia and Slovenia remained the main starting points of emigration. No new emigration foci of any significance appeared in the territory of Yugoslavia. According to data from the Emigration Department in Zagreb, the migratory balance of Yugoslavia with overseas countries was negative (see Table 7). In the period observed, the number of those who emigrated from Yugoslavia was 44.8 percent (or 195,934 persons) higher than the number (87,800 persons) of those who returned simultaneously. Data from immigration countries such as the United States and

Australia show, however, that there were more Yugoslavs leaving these countries in the interwar period than the figures pertaining to comparative Yugoslav data. On this basis, it may be assumed that a certain number of people who left the two countries re-emigrated to another country and did not choose to return to their homeland. The majority of those who did return, characteristically, settled down in the regions of their original migration. Croatia, for instance, received 53.4 percent, and Slovenia 13.8 percent of the total stock of returnees.

The longstanding emigration from certain regions of Austria-Hungary first, and Yugoslavia next, as well as concentrations of those emigrations in certain immigration regions of individual overseas countries, led to the formation of emigrant colonies in the periods up to World War I and between the two World Wars. The colonies were formed first on a regional and then on a national basis. According to an Immigration Department estimate and data from the population censuses of individual overseas countries (see Table 8), on the eve of World War II there were residing there more than 400,000 immigrants born in the area of today's Yugoslavia. The actual figure was even higher, because, when entering overseas countries in the prewar period, the immigrants would state Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Montenegro, or Turkey as their countries of birth. With the exception of the United States of America, which had kept statistical records of immigration according to the nationalities of immigrants until 1951, included in immigration records in other countries were: data related to the country of immigrants' birth, the country of their last residence, and their nationality. In those records, immigrants from the area of present-day Yugoslavia were introduced only after World War I. It can be seen from the estimates of individual countries for the period before World War I that immigrant stocks from the area in question were, characteristically, understated, while the figures representing Austrians and Hungarians were, as a rule, overstated.

The almost half a million immigrants resident in overseas countries on the eve of World War II were mostly concentrated in certain industrialized parts of immigration countries. Reasons for such high immigrant concentrations in certain regions were of two sorts. On the one hand, the longstanding and chain emigration from individual regions led to a concentration of those immigrants in the previously established colonies; the colonies, on the other hand, were established at the places and in the regions of those immigration countries which had to offer prospective settlers the possibilities of earnings. As regards the United States, the bulk of those immigrants settled, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the east, i.e. in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois and Michigan. Up to 1940, these states had hosted about 68.7 percent of the immigrants of Yugoslav descent (see Table 9). As regards Canada, the province of Ontario received the majority of such settlers (59.4 percent), up to 1941. In Australia, the heaviest concentration of such immigrants (57.6 percent) was the one recorded in Western Australia up to 1947, and, in New Zealand, Auckland held a major stock (87.4 percent).

On a lower regional level, the bulk of immigrants concentrated in several major industrial centres, i.e. their local districts. The countries of South America were an

exception at the time, because immigrants were dispersed there, having immigrated at a later date, due to a demand for agricultural labour prevailing in these countries. With the passage of time, however, Yugoslav immigrants would get together around miners' settlements in Chile and Bolivia, and in the cattle-breeders' regions of Tiera del Fuego (Punta Arenas) in Chile, developing their own centres.

The period between the two World Wars is a special one in the history of emigration from what is today Yugoslavia. Of a short duration (only 18 years), it was marked by significant economic, social and political turmoil in the world. The United States of America, known until the early 1920s for its unrestrictive and liberal immigration policy, imposed restrictions on immigration, taking a lead in regulated migration. The volume of international population movements was decreased by the years of war at the beginning and at the end of the period observed, and by what remains to this day the severest world economic crisis in the history of mankind. In individual years, the flows of migrants returning to their homeland gained momentum. At the same time, independent national states were consolidated in the Balkans, ones that could not successfully resolve their economic, social and political problems, which in turn gave rise to continued emigration, especially from the traditional regions of emigration. The international migration of labour, as has been proved in both the prewar and postwar periods, is a world process involving highly-developed industrial countries and developing countries at the time of a world economic boom; unless curbed by radical political restrictions, such migration is likely to turn into a large-scale process.

Table 1

Emigration from Yugoslavia in the period between the two World Wars, 1921–1939

Year	Argentina	Australia	Bolivia	Brazil	Canada	Chile	Columbia	Mexico
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1921	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1922	—	—	—	—	717	—	—	—
1923	2,824	135	—	1,535	717	46	—	—
1924	3,941	1,736	—	7,461	1,976	182	—	—
1925	2,337	314	—	7,771	2,487	364	—	—
1926	3,327	1,109	—	2,756	4,998	243	—	—
1927	7,127	1,138	7	2,527	4,656	425	2	33
1928	7,484	436	76	499	5,921	375	—	48
1929	6,688	205	20	636	4,030	279	17	21
1930	4,759	193	12	294	2,745	184	10	9
1931	883	87	7	39	604	99	1	6
1932	249	83	18	10	491	97	—	1
1933	281	144	10	38	537	37	—	2
1934	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1935	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1936	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1937	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1938	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1939	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 1 (cont'd)

Year	New Zealand	Peru	South Africa	Uruguay	U.S.	Other countries	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1921	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,965
1922	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,086
1923	4	—	7	—	6,130	75	11,473
1924	110	—	1	176	3,638	354	19,575
1925	62	—	8	221	3,891	188	17,643
1926	359	—	16	526	4,756	140	18,230
1927	130	184	62	905	4,759	21	21,976
1928	88	36	93	1,892	4,796	45	21,789
1929	78	154	57	1,168	4,792	44	18,189
1930	89	37	51	934	4,215	28	13,560
1931	49	5	26	495	2,499	8	4,808
1932	38	3	7	44	1,403	10	2,454
1933	16	2	21	27	1,016	—	2,221
1934	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,907
1935	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,345
1936	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,860
1937	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,378
1938	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,686
1939	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,789
							195,934

Source: Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1922–1940.

Table 2

South-Slavic migrants' immigration in, and emigration from the U.S.*, 1918–1940

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Migration balance
1	2	3	4
1918	198	962	− 764
1919	232	3,397	− 3,165
1920	1,620	32,858	− 31,238
1921	19,665	5,155	14,510
1922	5,460	10,423	− 4,963
1923	6,627	2,298	4,329
1924	6,914	2,108	4,806
1925	989	2,975	− 1,986
1926	1,299	2,818	− 1,519
1927	1,490	2,223	− 733
1928	1,564	2,291	− 727
1929	1,879	1,864	15
1930	2,166	1,245	921
1931	1,166	1,428	− 262
1932	534	1,073	− 539
1933	229	1,089	− 860
1934	236	602	− 366
1935	401	571	− 170
1936	577	403	174
1937	741	334	407
1938	1,021	298	723
1939	927	318	609
1940	276	162	114
1918–40	56,211	76,895	− 20,684

* Three groups in U.S. Immigration Statistics were referred to as South-Slavic migrants: the first included Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins; the second Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians; and the third Croats and Slovenes.

Source: Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labour, Washington 1914–1932, and *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labour*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1933–1940.

Table 3

Yugoslav migrants' immigration in, and emigration from Canada, 1918–1939

Year	Immigration*	Emigration**	Migration balance
1	2	3	4
1918	—	—	—
1919	10	—	10
1920	70	—	70
1921	157	543	−386
1922	147	—	147
1923	1,014	31	983
1924	1,541	130	1,411
1925	3,083	106	2,977
1926	4,930	253	4,677
1927	4,501	418	4,083
1928	5,048	673	4,375
1929	4,254	783	3,471
1930	2,383	1,115	1,268
1931	306	1,265	− 959
1932	244	1,057	− 813
1933	251	589	− 338
1934	299	410	− 111
1935	313	407	− 94
1936	446	372	74
1937	627	395	232
1938	717	448	269
1939	284	240	44
1918–39	30,625	9,235	21,390

* Data from the 1919–1925 period concern Yugoslav nationals. Data from 1926 onwards concern persons who were born in Yugoslavia. Source: *Canada Year Book, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce*, Ottawa, 1925–1941.

** *Source: Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1923–1940.

Table 4

Yugoslav migrants' immigration in, and emigration from Australia, 1924–1940

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Migration balance
1	2	3	4
1924	1,445	315	1,130
1925	950	538	412
1926	1,427	484	943
1927	1,432	367	1,065
1928	803	414	389
1929	390	429	− 39
1930	374	616	− 242
1931	270	571	− 301
1932	219	287	− 68
1933	206	112	94
1934	197	132	65
1935	311	132	179
1936	415	182	233
1937	653	214	439
1938	859	324	535
1939	499	202	297
1940	162	66	96
1924–1940	10,612	5,385	5,227

Source: Demography Bulletin, Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 1924–1940.

Table 5
Yugoslav migrants' immigration in, and emigration from New Zealand, 1921–1939

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Migration balance
1	2	3	4
1921	2	25	− 23
1922	12	21	− 9
1923	4	14	− 10
1924	111	13	98
1925	62	14	48
1926	294	14	380
1927	130	32	98
1928	88	36	52
1929	78	73	5
1930	89	68	21
1931	49	89	− 40
1932	38	59	− 21
1933	16	26	− 10
1934	40	15	25
1935	47	11	36
1936	105	7	98
1937	158	7	151
1938	180	10	170
1939	111	10	101
1921–1939	1,714	544	1,170

Source: Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1922–1940.

Table 6

Yugoslav migrants' immigration in, and emigration from the countries of South America, 1923–1933*

Year	Argentina		Brazil		Chile	
	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1923	2,824	—	1,535	—	46	—
1924	3,941	340	7,461	78	182	4
1925	2,337	533	7,771	622	364	4
1926	3,337	676	2,756	529	243	22
1927	7,127	575	2,527	903	425	19
1928	7,484	673	4,999	472	375	7
1929	6,688	1,004	636	259	279	11
1930	4,759	1,626	294	424	184	56
1931	883	2,114	39	377	99	166
1932	249	1,078	10	179	97	50
1933	281	948	38	25	37	29
1923–1933	39,910	9,567	28,066	3,868	2,331	368

* For 1923, the average number of returnees from all countries of South America was calculated

Table 6 (cont'd.)

Year	Uruguay		Other countries		South America — Total		
	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration	migration balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1923	717	—	72	—	5,194	1,513	3,681
1924	1,976	5	335	17	13,895	444	13,481
1925	2,487	5	181	14	13,140	1,178	11,962
1926	4,998	18	140	19	11,474	1,264	10,220
1927	4,656	41	214	22	14,949	1,560	13,389
1928	5,921	135	139	35	14,418	1,322	13,096
1929	4,030	73	225	31	11,858	1,378	10,480
1930	2,745	177	80	52	8,062	2,335	5,727
1931	604	323	21	62	1,646	3,042	1,396
1932	491	121	31	35	878	1,463	−585
1933	537	130	11	16	904	1,146	−242
1923–1933	29,162	1,028	1,449	303	96,418	16,635	79,813

Source: Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1923–1933.

Table 7

Emigration from Yugoslavia to overseas countries, and return migration to Yugoslavia in the period between the two World Wars, 1921–1939

Year	Ban's Province of Croatia		Ban's Province of Slovenia		Other Ban's Provinces		Total	
	emigration	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration	immigration	emigration	immigration
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1921	7,364	4,589	2,189	1,914	3,112	1,772	12,965	8,275
1922	3,783	3,653	440	1,523	1,863	1,412	6,086	6,588
1923	4,544	1,081	1,312	458	5,617	442	11,473	1,981
1924	8,130	2,654	1,197	666	10,248	1,924	19,575	5,244
1925	10,934	2,349	1,579	697	5,130	2,645	17,643	5,691
1926	9,816	2,517	2,134	649	6,283	2,388	18,230	5,554
1927	12,248	2,843	2,727	677	7,001	2,234	21,976	5,753
1928	12,109	3,003	3,162	674	6,518	2,150	21,786	5,827
1929	9,471	3,116	1,976	719	6,742	2,157	18,189	5,992
1930	6,470	3,675	1,671	1,264	5,419	2,668	13,560	7,607
1931	2,537	5,002	703	507	1,568	2,580	4,808	8,089
1932	1,392	3,478	339	708	7,023	1,845	2,454	6,031
1933	1,257	1,965	307	258	657	1,162	2,221	3,385
1934	1,556	1,416	420	232	931	661	2,907	2,309
1935	1,917	1,240	408	188	1,020	459	3,345	1,887
1936	2,254	1,123	434	220	1,172	518	3,860	1,887
1937	3,103	1,465	557	319	1,718	678	5,378	2,462
1938	3,156	1,089	648	319	1,882	662	5,686	2,070
1939	2,068	671	435	164	1,286	459	3,789	1,294
1921–1939	104,109	46,929	22,638	12,156	75,190	28,816	195,931	87,926

Source: Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1922–1940,

Table 8

*Yugoslav-born immigrants in overseas countries**

Country of residence	Census year	Number of Yugoslav immigrants	Chain index
1	2	3	4
U.S.	1920	169,439	—
	1930	211,416	125
	1940	161,093	76
Canada	1921	1,946	—
	1931	17,110	879
	1941	17,416	102
Australia	1921	829	—
	1933	3,969	479
	1947	5,866	148
New Zealand	1921	1,588	—
	1936	2,721	171
	1945	3,090	113
Argentina	1939	150,000	—
Bolivia	1939	2,000	—
Brazil	1939	15,000	—
Chile	1939	30,000	—
Peru	1939	15,000	—
Uruguay	1939	10,000	—
Other countries of South America	1939	1,000	—
Situation at the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s		410,465	

* Data on the number of Yugoslav-born immigrants in the countries of South America were supplied on the basis of an estimate by the Emigration Commissariat of Zagreb, 1939. Data for the rest of the countries were taken from the population census of the countries concerned.

Table 9

Spatial distribution of Yugoslav-born immigrants in overseas countries, by states and political-territorial units

State	Political-territorial Units	Yugoslav immigrants	
		number	%
1	2	3	4
AUSTRALIA 1947	*Total*	*5,866*	*100,0*
	A.C.T.	1	
	New South Wales	1,413	24,1
	Northern Territory	8	0,1
	Queensland	407	6,9
	South Australia	200	3,4
	Victoria	454	7,7
	Western Australia	3,377	57,6
	Tasmania	6	0,1
NEW ZEALAND 1945	*Total*	*3,090*	*100,0*
	Auckland	2,701	87,5
	Canterbury	32	1,0
	Hawke's Bay	44	1,4
	Marlborough	4	0,1
	Nelson	19	0,6
	Otago	11	0,4
	Taranaki	68	2,2
	Wellington	207	6,7
	Westland	4	0,1
SOUTH AMERICA 1939	*Total*	*223,000*	*100,0*
Argentina		150,000	67,3
Bolivia		2,000	2,7
Brazil		15,000	6,7
Chile		30,000	13,4
Peru		15,000	6,7
Uruguay		10,000	4,5
— Other countries of South America		1,000	0,5
CANADA 1941	*Total*	*17,416*	*100,0*
	Alberta	1,212	7,0
	British Columbia	2,598	15,0
	Manitoba	491	2,9
	New Brunswick	14	0,2
	Newfoundland	0	
	North West Territories	3	0,1
	Nova Scotia	134	0,8
	Ontario	10,354	59,4
	Prince Edward Island	0	
	Quebec	1,451	8,3
	Saskatchewan	1,097	6,3
	Yukon	62	0,2

Table 9 (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4
U.S. 1940	*Total*	*161,093*	*100,0*
	California	11,670	7,3
	Illinois	21,921	13,6
	Indiana	5,342	3,3
	Michigan	12,517	7,8
	Minnesota	7,369	4,6
	New York	9,743	6,1
	Ohio	31,264	19,4
	Pennsylvania	26,495	16,4
	Wisconsin	8,463	5,2
	Other U.S. states	26,309	16,3

Source: Data for the countries of South America were supplied on the basis of an estimate by the Emigration Commissariat of Zagreb 1939. Data for the rest of the countries were taken from the population censuses of the countries concerned.

Matjaž Klemenčić

SOURCES OF THE LANDS OF EMIGRATION AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING MIGRATION HISTORY: THE CASE OF THE SLOVENES

INTRODUCTION

In a discussion at the international symposium on the theoretical and methodological principles of research on Northern, Central and Southern European emigration, held in Cracow in 1981, Mark Stolarik, director of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia (Pa.), expressed his view that all researchers of U.S. immigration must also seek sources in American archives, and not only in European ones.[1] This is undoubtedly true, but then it is also true that for all researchers of U.S. immigration—especially American scholars—a certain degree of familiarity with the lands of emigration is no less warranted, as these are an important source for the study of the whole immigration—emigration process. It is important, too, that scholars research the current general conditions (natural environment, characteristics of the areas, and the way of life of the people who emigrated) of both the lands of emigration and the lands of immigration. Despite the great changes in the socio-political systems of the lands of emigration, particularly after World War II, knowing the general conditions prevailing in them will help scholars to a better understanding of the reasons and effects of emigration and immigration on both the lands of emigration and the host nations.

The scholar of the emigration process is interested in the migration cycle as a whole. Migration research thus begins with a study of the conditions in the homeland which provoked emigration—that is, with a study of the socio-political conditions, the economic conditions, and the socio-psychological reasons for emigration, which have been referred to as the "push factors". The next step in the process of the emigration of individuals or families or even groups of families is the legal or illegal crossing of the borders, inevitably necessitating the purchase of the tickets. In the age of the Habsburg Monarchy, emigration agents sold these tickets.[2]

[1] "Emigration from Northern, Central and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research", International Symposium at Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Kraków, November 9–11, 1981.

[2] Cf. Ema Umek, "Arhivi vir proučevanja slovenskega izseljenstva", *Slovenski izseljenski koledar*, (Ljubljana: Slovenska izseljenska matica, 1967), pp. 195–198; Ema Umek, "Prispevki k zgodovini izseljevanja iz Kranjske v Ameriko v letih 1910–1913", *Slovenski izseljenski koledar* (Ljubljana: Slovenska izseljenska matica, 1967), pp. 199–207; Ema Umek, "Viri za zgodovino slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA" (Sources of the history of Slovene emigrants to the US), *Slovenski izseljenski koledar* (Ljubljana: Slovenska izseljenska matica, 1972), pp. 190–194.

Emigration agents were also active in the Slovene ethnic territory in the period between the two world wars; for the displaced persons or "refugees" after World War II, however, fares were paid for through special organizations.[3] Following this, the emigrant moved on to a seaport—e.g., Bremen or Hamburg—and then on to the process of medical and other examinations and inspections before boarding transoceanic liners. Then came the journey across the Atlantic, the suffering of the emigrants, squeezed into steerage bunks, and then their arrival at Ellis Island or other ports of entry. There the emigrant underwent the tedious process of more or less routine inspection, about which many memoirs have been written; and finally our emigrant entered the "Promise Land".[4]

The first problem encountered by immigrants upon their arrival was that of finding work in order to support themselves and their families. Next followed the search for living quarters, which generally brought them into contact with their fellow countrymen in ethnic ghettos, the first form of the spontaneous organization of the immigrants according to ethnic background.[5] In the further course of developments, almost every ethnic group established national fraternal benefit societies, religious organizations in the framework of those already established by American church organizations (and also partly within the framework of the old homeland churches), and political organizations which were again very often mirror images of those existing in their homelands. The further development of individual ethnic groups in the U.S. is reflected, on the one hand, in the histories of the above-mentioned organizations, and, on the other hand, in the rise and development of individuals within certain ethnic groups and their contribution to American society and culture. Immigrants actively followed the events in their old country, especially during the First and Second World Wars, and were also very much in contact with the diplomatic consular representatives of their home countries. This is true particularly of those immigrant organizations which agreed with the regime which ruled their old homelands. Those who emigrated from their homelands and later returned to live permanently in the old country are known as emigrant-returnees.[6] There were also those emigrants who travelled back and forth across the ocean ten times before finally making a decision whether to remain in their new or old homeland. Today, in an era of air travel, we also find emigrants of Yugoslav origin who work seasonally in the U.S.—whose status, however, is, of course, quite unequivocal. That is the case with dual citizens who return with their families to the old country, or sometimes even children of emigrants born in the U.S. who for nine or ten months of the year work in the U.S. and visit their families for long holidays. This was the form of emigration once propagandized by F. Hey,

[3] Holborn, *The International Refugee Organisation. A Specialised Agency of the United Nations. Its History and Work 1946–1952*, (Oxford University Press, London–New York, 1956).

[4] For example, Ivan Molek's *Two Worlds* (translated by Mary Molek), (Dover, Delaware, 1978).

[5] *Ethnic Leadership in America*, ed. John Higham, (The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1978).

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

the high Imperial-Royal Austro-Hungarian official, who advocated the seasonal emigration of peasants to South America.[7]

Now we may proceed to the main theme of this paper, which is to identify, using the case of the Slovenes, the various kinds of sources available in the lands of emigration for the writing of the history of emigration.

For the study of the causes of emigration and their effects, it is necessary to take into account those sources which historians use for the study of the political, economic and social history of the 19th and 20th centuries in the lands of emigration. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to list all the various sources individually; they can be found in any introduction to history or other methodological texts.[8] Other important published sources regarding the lands of emigration are the statistical data for emigration. Until 1918, a large part of the Slovene ethnic territory was within the Austro-Hungarian Empire; only a small part, i.e. Venetian Slovenia, was ruled by Italy. Thus, for the study of the statistics on emigration from the Slovene ethnic area, it is necessary to consider above all Austro-Hungarian statistical data (sources). An overview of Austro-Hungarian statistics has been provided by Dr. Karl R. von Englisch,[9] and was partly published also in the Commemorative Volume for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Imperial-Royal Statistical Commission.[10]

The statistics available on emigration from Austria-Hungary may be divided into four periods. In the first period, up to 1884, the statistics of the political powers according to counties or provinces do not correspond to the statistics of the officials at the German ports of Bremen and Hamburg. Up to the year 1869, in accordance with the Emigration Act of 1832, all those who wished to emigrate had to obtain permission from government officials and fill in a special form. After 1869, the law was changed, to allow a free flow of emigration (decreed on December 31, 1869), and we no longer have such precise statistics. For this reason, there is a discrepancy between the number of emigrants counted by the Austrian officials, which were calculated by provinces, and the number of emigrants registered by the port officials in the German ports. The period from 1884 to 1899 was characterized by a discontinuation of emigration statistics by provincial governments. After 1884, the Austrian consuls had to report on the emigrants extensively. The forms used by the German port officials also contained questions on the sex, age and occupation of emigrants. The third period (between 1899 and 1910) is important above all because the consuls were required to supply an even more extensive report on the activity and number of emigrants from Austria-Hungary. The founding of the Austro-

[7] Friedrich Hey, *Unser Auswanderungswesen und seine Schaden*, (Wien, 1912), p. 12.

[8] Cf. Bogo Grafenauer, *Uvod c študij zgodovine, Struktura in tehnika zgodovinske vede* (An introduction to the study of history. Structure and technique), (Ljubljana, 1960).

[9] dr. Karl R. v. Englisch, Die österreichische Auswanderungsstatistik, *Statistische Monatschrift*, (Brünn, 1913), pp. 5–167.

[10] *Denkschrift der k. k. Statistischen Central Commission zu Feier ihres Fünfzigjahriges Bestandes*, (Wien, 1913), pp. 39–42.

Americana ship company in 1904 signifies the beginning of an organized transport of Austrian emigrants via Trieste to various countries around the world; after 1899, data exist also on the number, sex, age, occupation and place of residence of the emigrants who emigrated via Trieste. After 1911, the registration of emigrants by the officials in the German ports was transferred to the ship companies and was not as efficient.[11]

Between the wars, the Slovene ethnic territory was divided between Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria and Hungary. Therefore, we should also refer to the emigration statistic sources of these countries.[12]

In the period between the two World wars, the Yugoslav Bureau of Statistics, with the help of the Royal Emigration Commission in Zagreb, gathered data on emigration. Thus, only this Commission (within the framework of the Statistical Yearbook for the years 1929–1940) has any interesting data on emigrants, reaching back to 1919. Published are absolute data on migration from Yugoslavia to European and non-European lands and back, data for the whole country, including the regional units. Published also are data on nationality (here Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are counted together as one ethnic group), on religious affiliation, literacy, arrival and departure ports, age structures, occupational structures, the family conditions of the emigrants, and finally information on who paid for the emigrants' tickets. Similarly, data were gathered by the Italian Bureau of Statistics, though these did not cover the emigrants' nationality or language structure. The Slovene or Croat emigrants may be found among the emigrants from the Friuli-Julian districts and from Zadar.[13] The first Austrian republic held to the traditions of the Habsburg Monarchy, which did not gather such data after the middle of the 1880s.

As yet closed police records for the period after World War II up to 1960 would be helpful in studying the question of migration from the Slovene ethnic territory. The somewhat less useful data of the 1970 population census, for which the Yugoslav Bureau of Statistics collected data on its absent citizens, are nevertheless, interesting for the study of immigration to the United States. On the basis of these data, we may ascertain the number of absent citizens of a given community, as well as the country where they live.[14]

In order to determine the extent of emigration in individual periods, or to make a micro-geographical survey of the majority of emigrants, we should examine the comparisons between the actual and natural development of the population growth—a difference found in migration balances. On the basis of the data of the

[11] *Ibidem.*

[12] *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije* for the years 1929–1938, (Beograd, 1929–1940). The Austrian statisticians did not publish data on emigration of Austrian citizens between the two World wars.

[13] "Migrazioni da e per l' estero 1919–1940", *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, (Roma, 1919–1940).

[14] Vesna Mikačić did this for Australia. Cf. Vesna Mikačić,' "Jugoslavenski doseljenici u Australiji sa posebnim osvrtom etničku naseobinu na području Sydnija" (Jugoslav immigrants in Australia from the special aspect of ethnic communities in the area of Sydney), (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation of Geography, Faculty of Philosophy, Edvard Kardelj University, Ljubljana).

Austro-Hungarian, Yugoslav, Italian and Austrian Bureaus of Statistics, Živko Šifrer calculated the migration balance for the period 1846–1940.[15] After World War II, however, Yugoslav statistics give data on migration balances for individual communities in the Statistical Yearbook.

For a study of the effects of emigration, Austrian statistics provide us with information for individual census years on the age and population structure according to sex, not only with regard to individual regions, but also according to the language structure of the population of the Austrian part of the Monarchy.[16] Similar data are given in the postwar Austrian, Yugoslav and Italian statistics. The same is true of the period after World War II. One of the most important sources for researching the emigrants' ties with the homeland, and also the emigrant policies of the lands of emigration, are the diplomatic archives. These include the archives of the embassies or legations of the lands of emigration in Washington, D. C., as well as the archives of the general consulates and consulates which were, and still are, located near the immigrant settlements. These archives consist of all kinds of diplomatic correspondence: correspondence between the leaders of emigrant organizations and the consulates, consulates general and embassies; correspondence between the consulates and embassies; and between the embassies and the foreign ministries. All of this abundant material—at least in the period from before World War I to World War II—dealt mostly with the theme of immigration to the U.S.

For the Slovenes, the archives of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Washington, and from the Austro-Hungarian consulates and consulates general in Pittsburgh, New York, Chicago and San Francisco (held at the Vienna Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) are the most useful. Also of use is documentation which can be found in the Political Section of the Ministry for External Affairs Archives, the Bureau of Information (1867–1908), in the Political Archives, the Printing Department (1867–1914), in Political Archive 40, Interna. Liasse XLV/2–6, 7, 8, 10–17, the Panslavic Movement 1908–1914 (šk) 219–221, and in Political Archive 23 of the United States of America (1867–1914).[17]

On the basis of the data of these archives, we may research the activities of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic consular officials in the U. S. among the emigrants, especially their efforts to preserve sympathies in that portion of the emigrants who had friendly inclinations towards the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and to take advantage of those sympathies by trying to persuade the American Slovenes to act

[15] Živko Šifrer, *Statistični podatki o izseljevanju s slovenskega ozemlja*, (Library of the Department of Geography, Faculty of Philosophy, Edvard Kardelj University, Ljubljana), p. 290.

[16] *Oesterreichische Statistik* Bd. 60.

[17] Cf. Monika Glettler, "Pittsburg–Wien–Budapest: Programm und Praxis der ungarischen Slowaken nach Amerika um 1900", *Studien zur Geschichte der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Herausgegeben von der Kommission für die Geschichte der oesterreichesch-ungarischen Monarchie (1848–1918) an der Oesterreicheschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band XIX, Schriften der DDR. Franz Josef Mayer-Gunthof-Founds NR. 13, (Wien, 1980), p. 409.

in favour of Austria-Hungary, which would, of course, have contravened the principle of the emigrants' loyalty to their new homeland.

Pro-Austrian thinking among the emigrants was cultivated and encouraged by Austro-Hungarian diplomats with the help of the clergy. Much money was spent on the founding and support of a pro-Habsburg Monarchy ethnic press. With the outbreak of World War I, while the United States remained neutral (between 1914 and 1917), the Austrian diplomats (through various articles in the American press) attempted to justify the Central Powers' war aims. When the hopes of Austria and Germany for the American neutrality were dashed, the diplomats attempted to hold back American arms production, thereby limiting the ability of the U. S. to sell weapons to the Allied Powers. They tried to undermine the production of arms by convincing the Austro-Hungarian citizens not to work in weapons factories, since by doing this they would indirectly harm Austria-Hungary. The famous case of Dr. Konstantin Dumba, who was dismissed as the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the U. S., was connected with this. Because Dr. Dumba was denied all means of uncensored correspondence with Austria-Hungary, an American journalist, Arthur Archibald (who was leaving for Berlin in 1915), offered to take Dr. Dumba's mail to a banquet meeting in Europe. Ambassador Dumba welcomed the offer. The letter taken by Archibald was addressed to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Baron Stephan Burian and, in it, Ambassador Dumba requested that the Government give him access to 30,000 dollars to help the Hungarian (Magyar) ethnic newspaper *Szabadság* (Freedom), as well as other periodicals of the Habsburg Monarchy's ethnic groups. With the help of the pro-Austrian propaganda put out by the aforementioned periodical, he sought to undermine the production of arms and ammunitions in the Bethlehem and Schalbov factories and in the factories of the Northwest of the country, by organizing a strike movement of Austrian workers. Slovene immigrants from the Prekomurje also worked in the munitions factory in Bethlehem, so this action would have directly affected the Slovene workers in the United States as well. Archibald's delivery of the official Austrian correspondence was discovered by employees of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate in New York, who were of Czech origin, and they informed the British Consulate in New York. Archibald's ship, *Rotterdam*, sailed under a British flag. The British searched the ship and uncovered Dumba's letters. Thus, Dr. Dumba became *persona non grata* in the United States and the Imperial-Royal Austro-Hungarian Government was forced to dismiss him. Evidence of the financial support Dr. Dumba allegedly received from the Austro-Hungarian Government shows he was granted the use of 100,000 dollars for disseminating pro-Austrian propaganda among emigrants from Austria-Hungary to the U. S.[18]

On the basis of diplomatic correspondence of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic consular officials, we can research the attitudes of some Austro-Hungarian consuls

[18] Gerald H. Davis, *The Fall of Ambassador Dumba*, (School of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State College, Atlanta, 1965), p. 40.

of Slovene nationality to the question of emigration, as well as the social and national political activities of Slovene emigrants, particularly of Baron Schwegel and Dr. Josip Goričar. Baron Schwegel was the Austro-Hungarian consul in Denver (Colorado), and was involved in the strikes of the miners there. Among other things, he announced that the Emperor forbade striking by his subjects in the United States.[19] Dr. Goričar was the Austrian vice consul in Denver, who, during World War I, in the face of pan-Slavistic agitation, moved to the side of the Allied Powers.[20]

Especially important for the study of the relations between the Slovene emigrants and the regimes in their homeland after World War I to 1945, are the diplomatic archives of the consulates, consulates general and embassies of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Of particular interest are the correspondences of Dr. Josip Mally, an emigrant Slovene from Cleveland, who was named honorary consul of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Cleveland. It is interesting that the correspondence between the diplomatic consular representatives of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the representatives of the Slovene national benefit and cultural political organizations in the United States were carried out exclusively in the Slovene language, which testifies to the officials' acute sense of the Slovene emigrants' sensitivity to the question of language.[21] The action of the Yugoslav Government on Louis Adamič's writings about the conditions in Old Yugoslavia, as well as the directives of the pro-regime oriented organizations of the Slovene emigrants in connection with their response to Adamič's book *The Native's Return*, may be found in the correspondences of the diplomatic consular officials of Old Yugoslavia. The abundant number of diplomatic correspondence written between the two world wars was stored in the archives of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for External Affairs in Belgrade and amounts to more than 70 boxes, almost all of which are interesting to researchers of Slovene and other Yugoslav emigrant questions.[22]

Also of interest is the material compiled by Italian diplomatic consular officials relating to the question of the post-World War I Yugoslav–Italian border. The material documents, the agitation of a great number of Italian citizens of Slovene and Croat nationality who emigrated after World War II from the Slovene ethnic territory of the Littoral and Istria to the U. S., and the ties between them and the Italian democrats (who between the two world wars also fled from Italy to the U. S. in the wake of Italian fascism)–this material may be found in the archives of the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Rome.

[19] Matjaž Klemenčić, "Vyst'ahovalectvo Slovincov z Rakusko-Uhorska a Vyst'ahovalecka politika do prvej svetovej vojny", *Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*, (Matica Slovenska, 1982), p. 109.

[20] Dr. Goričar denounced Austrian and German spies to the US authorities, *Glasilo* KSKJ, December 14, 1915, p. 1

[21] The correspondence between the Yugoslav Embassy and Yugoslav American organizations can be found in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Archives.

[22] Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Archives, Belgrade, Yugoslav Embassy, Washington D. C., Archives.

Information on the activities of Slovene emigrants during World War II may be found in the diplomatic archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade. It consists of two archives: the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government in Exile of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from the period 1941–1944, and the archives of the legation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Washington from the period 1941–1945. In the archives of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade are found the very important archives of the Government in Exile[23] and the personal archives of a Minister in the Government and later ambassador of New Yugoslavia to the United States, Save Kosanović.[24]

On the basis of the documents in these archives it is possible to draw a picture about the activities of the Yugoslav Government in Exile among the immigrants in the U. S. during World War II, as well as the reactions of the Yugoslav Americans to the attempts of the Government in Exile to exploit the political activities of the immigrants in the U. S., with regard to the homeland, for their own aims.

The documents of the diplomatic archives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are not yet available to researchers; when they are opened up, they will represent an inexhaustible source for studying the state and conditions among the immigrants from individual Yugoslav nations in the U. S., as well as for researching Yugoslav policies on the emigrants after World War II.

Researchers have also found that the old homelands are an inexhaustible source for the study of all questions related to the emigrants, especially the problems experienced by the individual during the first phase of emigration and the problem of emigrant policies in the emigrated countries.

At my workshop on World History at the University of Maribor, we are presently perusing the major Slovene press from the period: mainly the clerical *Slovenec* and the liberal *Slovenski narod* dating from before World War I and from the period between the two world wars. In the period between 1900–1910 alone, we have read over 1,600 arcticles and short reports dealing with Slovene immigrants in the United States, European countries, Egypt, South America and Canada. These articles and reports discuss primarily the problem of evasion of military service obligations, emigrant policies and "Rafael's Company", the causes of Slovene emigration from Austria-Hungary, American immigration policies, the problem of emigrant returnees and various financial questions connected with emigration; particularly the question of whether or not emigration is advisable.[25]

[23] Archives of Yugoslavia, Archives of the Yugoslav Government in exile, Archvaldoc., No. 103.

[24] Archives of Yugoslavia, Personal Archives of Sava Kosanović, Archvaldoc., No. 83.

[25] Zadravec Danilo, Reports in "Slovenec" and in "Slovenski narod" on the emigration of Slovenes, B. A. Home Work, University of Maribor, Department of History, Maribor, 1984 p. 60; Nežman Alenka, *Poročila "Slovenca" in "Slovenskega naroda" o izseljevanju Slovencev iz Avstro-Ogrske monarhije v letih 1906–1910* (Reports in "S. . ." and in "S. n." on the emigration of Slovenes from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), B. A. Home Work, University of Maribor, Department of History, Maribor 1984 p. 73

On the basis of these articles we have discovered that those who had emigrated to evade military service were caught and sentenced to prison for 14 days.[26] A comparison with contemporary laws presents itself. Another consequence of emigration appeared during the military-service recruitment of 1905, when more than one-third of those registered were missing.[27] The press warned the emigrants about dishonest emigration agents, while at the same time they allowed advertising by the big emigration agencies. The "Rafael Company", for instance, was a Catholic organization set up to help emigrants and was advertised especially by clerical Slovenes. In describing the conditions among the emigrants in the U. S., as reflected in the emigrants' own accounts, it is necessary to consider the party affiliations of both papers.

In the clerical *Slovenec,* we can read many articles which criticize the Slovene immigrant press and organizations. In *Slovenski narod,* we find numerous articles which criticize the activities of the Slovene clergy in the U. S. There are also many articles which deal with problems faced by the returnees, whose fates were used primarily as examples to instill fear into the people and to propagandize against emigration to the U. S. The information from these newspapers also serves as a basis for studying current economic relations between the United States and the donor countries. In the newspapers of the lands of emigration we find numerous reviews of books, dealing with the problems of immigrants, which were published in the lands of emigration and re-immigration. Furthermore, in newspapers we can find many keys to the study of the actual activities taking place in the lands of emigration written by the emigrants themselves; however, the data that we find in this manner must be confirmed repeatedly.

An important source for the study of the problems of emigrants, especially the problem of the effects of emigration, are ethnological verbal sources. Moja Ravnik, for instance, prepared at the Symposium on the Life and Work of Louis Adamič, on the 30th anniversary of his death, a paper on the "Way of Life and Emigration of the People of Grosuplje and Its Surroundings Prior to World War I". In her paper, Ravnik presented a study of the extent of social and cultural relations between the way of life in the donor country and emigration. Through field trips, she studied the families from which the emigrants and their descendants descended from and those families that directly or indirectly preserved documents and memoirs, particularly photographs and letters. These data are in memory somewhat dim and unreliable, although it is sometimes possible to verify them with parish records. The material gathered and organized in this way provides a picture of the demographical characteristics, the economic and social position of individuals, and has made a somewhat accurate reconstruction of their life stories possible. Ravnik's research shows that, though the first emigrant left Grosuplje in 1898, emigration was at its peak in the years between 1908–1913. The majority of emigrants from this region

[26] "Dnevne novice-Dolenjski Amerikanci", *Slovenec,* January 27, 1902, Nr. 21, p. 3.
[27] Izseljevanje", *Slovenec,* October 14, 1905, No. 236, p. 1.

were between 17 and 25 years of age and, according to their social structure, most were cottagers and owners of small peasant farms; only one (Louis Adamič) was the son of a landowner. According to Ravnik's research, people left for America not just for social reasons, but partly because the eldest son, who inherited the family farm, had to pay a dowry. Very often a female emigrant was married via mail to a man who had sent a marriage proposal to the girl, along with his picture; if she wanted to take him as her husband, she received a ticket to cross the Atlantic. Verbal records tell much about what the relatives of emigrants did in the United States. Of particular interest are the discoveries in ethnological studies made of the returnees. The money made in America was apparently modest. The most successful emigrant was a young man who for 7 years sent money to his sweetheart and illegitimate child, and who, after returning home, married, invested his money in a wine store, built a house and opened a bakery. The majority of returnees lived meagerly, partly with the help of relatives, partly with the help of the Government. An analysis of this smaller area suggests that it would be necessary to carry out such analyses for the whole Slovene ethnic territory.[28]

Another important source for the study of emigrant policies in the lands of emigration are the articles of leading Austro-Hungarian politicians and officials about the emigration question, as well as the articles of Yugoslav politicians from the period between the two world wars and after the Second World War. On Austro-Hungarian emigration policies, I presented a paper at Bratislava at a symposium on emigration organized by Matica Slovenska. In the paper, I concluded that Austrian politicians did not give much consideration to the question of emigration until the problem that they were lacking recruits for military service became more acute. After discovering this fact, they, too, noticed that the emigration from Austria-Hungary was harmful.[29] Between the two world wars, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the first phase of its existence founded a specialized agency, the Emigrant Comissariat, in Zagreb, whose archives formed the basis for the Institute of Migration and Nationality, which joined the Center for Emigration in Zagreb to make one center. The archives of the Emigrant Commissariat represents an inexhaustible source for the study of the problem of Yugoslav emigration. The Old Yugoslav Kingdom was not concerned with emigrants; it did not even attempt to prevent emigration. The new Republic of Yugoslavia, however, after World War II, showed a great deal of interest in the emigrants. Also, speeches by politicians are an indispensable source for the study of Yugoslav emigrant policies—they are located in various collections of speeches of

[28] Mojca Ravnik, "Način življenja in izseljevanja prebivalcev Grosupljega in okolice do prve svetovne vojne" (The way of life and emigration of the inhabitants of Grosuplje and its surroundings up to the First World War), Louis Adamič Symposium, Ljubljana (Univerza Edvarda Kardelja v Ljubljani, September 16–18, 1981), pp. 41–48.

[29] Matjaž Klemenčić, "Vystahovalectvo Slovincov z Rakusko–Uhorska a vystahovalecka politika do prvej svetovej vojny", *Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*, (Matica Slovenska, 1982), pp. 110–112.

leading Yugoslav politicians, as well as in periodicals. The question of Marshal Tito's attitude towards the emigrants is treated in Ivo Smoljan's book.[30]

An important source for the study of the history of emigration is the stories of the emigrant-returnees. A study of American Slovenes and their problems is shown in the life of Vatroslav Grill, the editor of the Cleveland newspaper *Enakopravnost* (Equality), and in the life of the editor of the New York *Glas naroda* (Voice of the Nation), Anna Praček-Krasna, who now resides in Yugoslavia.

Emigrant returnee data may also be found in social insurance sources. The U. S. General Consulate in Zagreb has data on the 15,000 American citizens who are emigrant-returnees now residing in Yugoslavia. Each returnee undoubtedly has his or her own story, and perhaps documents as well.

Other important sources are the archives of the specialized exile organizations, such as the International Refugee Organization, and the Parliamentary Minutes of the parliamentary sessions where the problems of emigrants were discussed. The economic section of the National Council of April 1903, for example, discussed the problem and called upon the Government to submit a summary of the law on emigration. According to the propositions, the major points of this law were the following:

a) The law should stipulate appropriate restrictions on the flow of emigration; control the companies and contracts of emigration; appoint agencies; provide for the safety, in the physical and financial sense, of the emigrants; and comply with all the other conditions of the modern development of emigration.

b) A body should be organized which would execute the emigration law and would have control over emigration. In the provincial governments of those lands in which emigration is extensive, reports and community committees should control and oversee emigration.

c) It is necessary to systematically support the initiative of emigrants at home and abroad, as well as all organizations which have the intention of carrying on economic ties between the emigrants and the homeland.

The economic committee also proposed that the Government provide statistical data on Austrian emigration, and on those emigrants who live abroad either permanently or temporarily. These statistics should note the social and economic conditions of the emigrants. The Government should also, the committee continued, ensure that the emigrants' journeys overseas are exclusively via Trieste, where the Government would take charge of all necessary details. The Government would also provide for a change in the stipulation on emigration of military recruits; it should prohibit the "business with the girls from Austria", and the Austrian consuls should begin to interest themselves more intensively in the legal status of the emigrants.[31]

An important source, especially for the study of the policies of individual parties

[30] Ivo Smoljan, *Tito i iseljenici* (Tito and the emigrants), (Matica iseljenika Hrvatske, Spektar 1984), p. 349.

[31] "Zakon za izseljence" (Law for emigrants), *Slovenec*, December 10, 1904, No. 282. p. 2.

towards the problem of emigration, as well as the study of the activities of the leaders of these parties among the emigrants, are the archives of these political parties and other foundations of socio-political and cultural life in the lands of emigration. In the Slovene ethnic territory prior to World War I, as well as between the two World wars, there were three active parties; *Slovenska ljudska stranka* (Slovene People's Party), a party with clerical orientation; *Narodna napredna stranka*, (National Progressive Party), with a liberal orientation; and the workers' *Jugoslovanska socialna demokratska stranka* (Yugoslav Social Democratic Party). One of the more important leaders of the Slovene People's Party, Janez Evangelist Krek, took a keen interest in the question of emigration from the point of view of Christian Socialism. The Ljubljana bishop, Jeglič, as well as a succeeding Ljubljana bishop Rožman, made many visits to emigrants in the U. S. We can read about their visits in reports which they sent to the Slovene People's Party after their return.

The Slovene People's Party and the Saint Rafael Society were two of the major organizers of the Slovene Emigrant Congress held in Ljubljana in 1931.[32] The liberal National Progressive Party, despite its social structure, did not particularly concern itself with immigrant problems. The Yugoslav Social Democratic Party, as a labour party, was inevitably forced to deal with this question, and even sent agitators among the Slovene emigrants sailing to the United States. One of the leaders of the progressive movement among the Slovene emigrants to the U. S., Joze Zavertnik, was the editor of *Eisenbahner* (Railwayman), an organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (or of steel workers who were members of the party), before he moved to the U. S.[33] Thus, we may study his political orientation on the basis of archival sources of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. The Yugoslav Social Democratic Party sent one of its own leaders, Etbin Kristan, who later remained in the United States as an agitator and lecturer. He later played an important role as a leader of the Slovene immigrants in the U. S. during the First and Second World Wars.

Between the two world wars, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia assigned an important role to emigration. Similarly, its importance was regarded carefully by the Yugoslav section of the Comintern, which sent agitators to the United States, among whom the most important was the Serbian communist Dr. Mirković. The Communist Party's agitation among the Slovenes in the United States did not have much success; it was much more successful among the Croats and Serbs. Nevertheless, for a study of the activities of the Yugoslav section of the Comintern among Slovenes in the United States, an important source is the archives of the foreign affairs department of the Comintern in Moscow, still closed to researchers. Also, the archives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will, when they are opened, represent an important source for the study of the development of the positions of the Party on emigration.

[32] Slovenski izseljenski kongres, Družba Sc., Rafaela, (Ljubljana, 1953).

[33] Ivan Molek, *Slovene Immigrant History 1900–1950, Autobiographical Sketches*, Translated from the Manuscript "Over Hill and Dale" by Mary Molek, (Dower, Delaware, 1981), p. 38.

The archives of the Interior Ministries of Austria and Hungary, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, are also an important source of emigration data, for in this period of Austria-Hungary's history, social and organization problems were dealt with in the Interior Ministry. In Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, we find the reactions of high-ranking officials in the Ministry to the changes in laws on immigration to the United States.[34] In these archives we also find documents which testify to the attempt of the Austrians to contain the emigration of military service evaders.[35] On the basis of the data of these archives, we may also study the legislation on passports and its subsequent implementation. Similar problems may also be studied on the basis of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior of Old Yugoslavia; or on the basis of documents of the now closed archives of the Ministry of the Interior for the period after World War II. In addition to these emigration problems, we would be able to study, on the basis of the data contained in these archives, questions on the organization and activities of political emigrants after World War II.

A special category of sources are the so-called transferred or stolen sources from the lands of emigration. Historians of the donor country are especially interested in the emigrants' political organizations in the host country and their activities connected with their old homeland. The documents related to the activities of the emigrants in the host country are an integral part of the cultural heritage of those countries; thus, original documents produced in those countries belong to their archives. Of course, these must be accessible to all researchers—including those from Europe, regardless of the political affiliation of the researchers. In public universities' and other archives (Immigration History Research Center, Balch Institute, etc.) access to materials does not present a problem. A researcher of Slovene emigration is faced with a great problem however, due to the inaccessibility of archival material in the Slovene Research Centre of America,[36] since much original material was transferred from the United States to Europe, including portions of Louis Adamič's original notes and some parts of his personal archives which he brought over himself. The archives of the Slovene American National Council of the Organization of American Slovenians, which acted in favour of New Yugoslavia (the Federal Republic) during and after World War II, was also transferred. There are also archival documents which were transferred by emigrant returnees. These archives are held at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

[34] Allgemeiner Verwaltungsarchiv KK K. u. k. Ministerium des Kaiserl. und Königl. Hauses und des Aussern, Nr. 33458/8 to K. K. Ministerium des Innern Praes. 8. Mai 1907, Nr. 1574.

[35] K. K. Statthalterei für Tirol und Vorarlberg, K. K. Ministerium des Innern Praes 29. Jan. 1907, Nr. 3370 to Das k. k. Ministerium des Innern, Nr. 65895–06, Innsbruck, 22. Janner 1907.

[36] Matjaž Klemenčić, "Slovenian Heritage". Volume I, edited by Edvard Gobetz, professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Kent State University, with the assistance of Milena Gobetz and Ruth Lakner (Willoughby Hills, O., 1980, 642 pp) in: *Slovene Studies Journal of the Society for Slovene Studies* 1983/2, pp. 233–235.

On the basis of this survey of the European sources for the study of the problems of migration to the United States, it is clear that there is an abundance of material available to researchers in both the old and new worlds. Only if we take all of it into consideration will the history of the migration process between the United States and our countries, a process which continued over centuries, be complete. Any negation or rejection of the activities of those who study these processes can only hinder the further development of scholarship on migration. Our task as scholars from the lands of emigration is to help to preserve the rights of free access to our archives for the researchers from the lands of immigration.

JÁN SIRÁCKY

ON THE PROBLEMS OF LOWLAND SLOVAK EMIGRATION IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Outflows of population, migrations from the territory of Slovakia were taking place long before what is referred to as the classic emigration of the late 1870s and early 1880s. Migration of Slovak people to the "Lowland", so called, was happening on a big scale from the end of the 17th century on, and particularly during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th.[1]

In the past, historians studying the Slovaks of the Lowland focussed primarily on their migration from the territory of Slovakia proper during the 18th and 19th centuries, their subsequent settlement of the wide open spaces of the Great Hungarian Plain (*Nagy Magyar Alföld*) and, eventually, of certain adjacent regions jointly referred to as the Lowland (*Alföld*). Previously, we concentrated on how the Lowland, situated in present-day Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania, with parts, too, in Bulgaria, came to be settled by Slovaks. As well as the origins and evolution of that process, we investigated the economic fortunes, the social, national and cultural development of Slovak settlers and their descendants. With the emergence of the successor states after the First World War, many of them emigrated from their homeland.

It was the centenary of the beginning of mass emigration of Slovaks overseas, commemorated, in this country, in July 1980,[2] that prompted us to try and examine the emigration of those sons and daughters of the Slovak nation whose ancestors had left their birthplace in Slovakia and moved to the Lowland (after the Turks had been driven out of the region) in the days of the great resettlement of Hungary, especially of its southern parts, where these Slovak people sought, and eventually found, their new homes.

Finding a new home was not an easy business even in those days, and it often took decades. The original Slovak immigrants, and sometimes even their descendants,

[1] Ján Sirácky, *Stahovanie Slovákov na Dolnú zem v 18. a 19. storočí* (Migration of Slovaks to the Lowland in the 18th and 19th centuries), (1st ed. Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences Press 1966; 2nd ed. Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1971). See also: Ján Sirácky *et al.*: *Slováci vo svete I.* (Slovaks in the world), (Martin: Matica Slovenská 1981).

[2] For more detail, see "Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete" (The emigration of Slovak compatriots and their fortunes in foreign countries), *K storočnici začiatkov masového vyst'ahovalectva slovenského l'udu do zamoria* (On the centenary of the beginnings of the mass emigration of the Slovak people overseas), Conference proceedings, ed. by F. Bielik, J. Sirácky, and C. Baláž, (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1982).

tried their luck in a number of communities and areas before they finally settled down, turning into real settlers and taking roots in their new surroundings.

This process, attended as it was by some accretion of their possessions and economic power, still left them on their guard, since newcomers are not, as a rule, received with open arms by an alien environment. When they had learned how to cultivate the fertile lowland plains, obtaining abundant yields; when they had finally established their municipal organizations, church congregations, and schools, which were to provide their children with education in their mother tongue, the spectre of Magyarization threatened to jeopardize their national existence. The Slovak peasants in the Lowland valiantly resisted the pressures for assimilation, especially in localities with a more or less compact Slovak population; they held out even after some craftsmen and intellectuals had lost their determination and ceased to provide leadership for the peasant masses in their struggle to preserve their national traditions, especially at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

But that was also the period that saw a rapid dwindling of the amount of available acres in the Lowland, described by the Hungarian poet Endre Ady as "the Magyar Fallow". Middle and poor peasants were especially hard hit, and they thus swelled the ranks of the landless and of agricultural labourers. These later on were to become increasingly susceptible to socialist ideas. The socialist movement and other progressive movements brought them closer, on the basis of class rather than nationality to the agricultural proletariat of neighbouring nations and ethnic groups, united as they were by the aim of freeing themselves of social oppression, of their "Lowland poverty", which afflicted not just the Slovak population. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century and especially at the beginning of the 20th many Lowland Slovaks joined the growing ranks of Hungarian transoceanic emigrants, among whom their compatriots from the north of Hungary, i.e. the Slovakian counties, predominated.

Even though the emigration of Slovaks from the Lowland was not on anything like the scale of emigration from the territory of Slovakia proper, it is an integral part[3] of the problem complex of Slovak emigration as a whole and of the subsequent fortunes of emigrants in the host countries. As such, it will have to be dealt with in an effort to provide a more comprehensive analysis of all Slovak migrations within and without Hungary in the course of over two centuries; as well as of migrations from the newly established states which included the Lowland Slovak enclaves after 1918.

[3] For more detail, see our study: "Dvestoročné migrácie Slovákov" (Two hundred years of Slovak Migrations), "K storočnici slovenského vyst'ahovalectva do zamoria" (On the centenary of Slovak emigration overseas), *Zbornik spolku vojvodinských slovakistov 2/1980*, ed. D. Dudok, (Novi Sad, 1981), pp. 5–44; See also our study: *"Dolnozemskí Slovaci ako vyst'ahovalci do zamoria koncom 19. a v prvych desat'ročiach 20. storočia"* (Lowland Slovaks as overseas emigrants in the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century), *Slováci v zahraničí* 4–5, eds. F. Bielik and Š. Veselý, (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1979), pp. 84–116.

As opposed to Slovak emigration from Hungary's northern counties, which began sporadically from the mid-1870s and grew in intensity in the late 1870s and early 1880s,[4] the emigration of Lowland Slovaks did not begin until the last years of the 19th century. It reached its peak in the first decade of the 20th century, but in the following decades it subsided somewhat. For the most part, this formed part of the third stage of emigration from Hungary, when emigration fever gripped the whole country.

In her recent studies on emigration from Hungary to the USA, the Hungarian historian Julianna Puskás[5] had defined the stages of this emigration as follows: the first, initial one, which she calls the preparatory stage, lasted up to 1880; the second, in which the foundations of the whole process were laid (*megalapozó*), started after 1880 and lasted up to the turn of the century. The third, which lasted from the early years of the 20th century up to the First World War, is defined as the stage of full-blown mass emigration (*kibontakozott tömeges kivándorlás*). As against certain previous attempts at marking off the different periods of emigration from Hungary (e.g. the one by L. Kovács, who in 1938 distinguished four stages: first: early 1870s up to the year 1899; second: 1899 to 1904; third: 1905 to 1907; and the fourth: 1908 to 1913), the periodization suggested by J. Puskás seems more accurate.

As is known, the movement was triggered by the emigration of Slovaks from the counties of former Upper Hungary, which was also the greatest mass exodus of all the nationalities living in Hungary. Symptomatically, however, the Hungarian ruling classes paid scant attention to the problem until the emigration fever gripped other regions of the country as well, involving a large number of Magyars, too. Those who considered emigration to be a blessing in disguise based their reasoning on the fact that it had begun in the predominantly Slovak-populated northern parts of the country: *Felvidék*(—Upper Hungary, the present-day Slovakia). Having depleted the number of the ethnic minorities, while leaving the Magyar core of the population relatively intact, the outflow of these other nationalities, they argued, would tilt the ethnic balance in the Carpathian Basin in favour of the Magyars.[6] Voices were heard, too, all but rejoicing at the exodus because it supposedly reduced the level of unemployment. Others held the view that if people left the country resolved to come back after some years, emigration was something positive; but if they settled abroad for good, it was a real loss.

M. Szántó, quoted above, mentions some other interesting pronouncements and opinions on the question of emigration. One of them is a reflection by Bishop J. Majláth, who echoed the views of big landowners and representatives of the church

[4] See especially František Bielik *et al.: Slováci vo svete* 2, (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1980), pp. 27–40. See by the same author: "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo a jeho miesto v našich narodnych dejinách" (Slovak emigration and its place in our national history), *Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov vo svete*, pp. 25–46.

[5] Her findings were summarized in her excellent work *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940* (Hungarian emigrants in the USA: 1880–1940), (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982, 639 pp.)

[6] Miklós Szántó, *Magyarok a nagyvilágban* (Hungarians abroad), (Budapest, 1970), pp. 41—42.

hierachy. He wrote a book on emigration, which voices the following complaint: "Over the past twenty years, Upper Hungary has lost 13 per cent of its population. Twelve affected counties have lost 250,000 inhabitants. Emigration has thus drained off more than half of the natural population growth. In the old days, people from the area would have to go to the Lowland to get summer jobs. Now, workers have to be recruited from the Lowland or Galicia to harvest in Upper Hungary".[7]

At the turn of the century, emigration fever spread to the Lowland areas, hitting the Bácska and the Banat, too, in quite a big way. It did not spare the region's Slovak population either. In our view, the fact that the strong wave of emigration from these areas to the USA came somewhat later can be partly explained by splendid opportunities for settlement that neighbouring Syrmia and Slavonia afforded to the agricultural population. Later on, too, this region continued to admit a particularly large number of Slovak settlers from the Bácska.

As attested by contemporary Slovak press reports, the question of Slovak settlement in Syrmia or Slavonia was of great importance as far back as the 1870s—1880s. This is confirmed by numerous contributions on the migration of Banat Slovaks, written by people in Syrmian settlements, primarily in the Martin-based *Národný hlásnik* (National Courier), Lichard's *Obzor* (Review, published at Skalica) and in *Národnie noviny* (National news). New Slovak settlers in Syrmia who came not only from the Bácska and the Banat, but also from Slovakia, wrote that there was a sufficient amount of cheap and fertile land. They invited there "brother Slovaks from under the Kriváň Mountain" (from Slovakia), and to help them settle down and purchase tools.

There was an important wave of emigration in the 1880s among Banat Slovaks, especially at Padina. Albert Martiš, who had an intimate knowledge of conditions in that part of the country, believed that it would be a mistake to let all that manpower leave the country at a time when there was still plenty of fallow land in the Banat. "It is the poor harvest, but even more the widespread poverty of recent years, that is to blame for the emigration here. If the population of our village remains the same, we shall see it, within fifteen years as the latest, split into two classes: the rich and the poor. The poor here and in the Banat have a hard life... Our farmers would deserve it if most of the poor emigrated, because then they would learn to appreciate their labourers."[8]

The migration of Slovaks to Syrmia or Slavonia lasted, especially as far as the Slovaks of the Bácska were concerned, up to the First World War. It partly continued in the postwar years, as testified by a number of articles in the *Dolnozemský Slovák* (Lowland Slovak) and later in the *Národná jednota*, (National Unity) published in Petrovec, in the Bácska, from 1920 on.

The early part of the 20th century, however, saw a change of direction. Other, non-Slavonic inhabitants of the Bácska too, were now heading towards new

[7] *Ibid*, p. 41.

[8] *Národné noviny*, January 10, 1882.

destinations.[9] S. Mésároš reports that emigration from the region in the period indicated had grown considerably and completely reoriented itself, compared to previous decades, the US, and, to a lesser degree, Germany having replaced Slavonia and Syrmia as the favourites. Whereas in 1901, 2,992 people emigrated from the Bácska, in the first three months alone of the following year 2,920 emigration permits were issued. According to the data of the Szegedi Kereskedelmi és Ipari Kamara (Szeged Chamber of Commerce and Industry), 6,319 people emigrated from the Bácska in 1902, and 7,678 in 1903. As early as 1902, the deputy-lord lieutenant of Bács-Bodrog county issued a circular to district officials, instructing them to discourage people from emigrating. The county administration bodies blamed the emigration problem on delays in switching to an intensive method of farming, the slow rate of industrialization, and excess manpower in agriculture.

The monthly *Dolnozemský Slovák*, published in the years 1902–1914 in Novi Sad, frequently discussed the question of Slovak emigration from the Bácska, the Banat and Syrmia. It published letters from particular Slovak villages and from Lowland Slovaks in America. It also ran editorials on emigration from Hungary in general and the emigration of Lowland Slovaks in particular. Just as in other questions, on the emigration issue, too, the *Dolnozemský Slovák* shared the views and objectives of the Slovak National Party and applied these to the particular predicament of Lowland Slovaks.

Revealing in this context is the very first editorial on emigration published by the *Dolnozemský Slovák* in April 1903.[10] The anonymous author asserts that—possibly as a result of a lean year—"a veritable movement of emigration may be observed in our Bácska settlements, much like the one a hundred years ago when our forefathers were preparing to set off on their treks here. People are discontented, since even their basic needs are not met. They are restless... Some are thinking of moving to the Banat and settling there...", while "others are about to leave, as many have already left, for distant America. This process is of crucial importance and it may spell fateful consequences for the family and for the whole Slovak nation...[11] We are not so numerous as to be cramped for space. Why should those who feel restricted here have to cross an ocean to find their happiness? Right across the Danube lies our pleasant and fertile Syrmia, where land can still be purchased at a reasonable price and where we have already established ourselves in considerable numbers; why not settle there?"

Among Slovaks settled in Syrmia, Jozef Maliak, who lived at Ilok, was a fervent champion of Lowland Slovak settlement, as attested by his numerous articles in the contemporary Slovak press. The Slovak settlement of Syrmia was the subject of a

[9] Šandor Mésároš, *Radnički pokret u Backoj*..., pp. 109–110.

[10] *Dolnozemský Slovák*, Political and Social Monthly, Novi Sad. From Bács, April 15, 1903.

[11] Similar views were frequently voiced in *Národné noviny*, published in Martin. See e.g.: *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo. Dokumenty* (Slovak Emigration Documents), eds F. Bielik and E. Rákoš. (Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences Press 1969), pp. 142–143, 166–169.

lengthy study of his,[12] one which is important for an understanding of this fairly long process.

The very first issues of *Dolnozemský Slovák* feature a large number of letters from residents in Slovak Lowland settlements on emigration to America. A case in point is a letter from Pivnica,[13] a letter whose writer reported the fact, widely known for two years, that the people of the area "migrate in droves to America; once every 15 or 20 days whole armies sail across the wide ocean". In previous years, only the men were leaving. Now they were taking their families with them. We learn that the inhabitants of Pivnica went mostly to Akron and Johnstown, and found employment in factories. Two of them were killed in accidents there. In 1902, emigrants from Pivnica sent back 85,000 crowns to their families. A letter from Selenča, signed as "Gazda" and published in the same volume, reported that up till then "124 people, two of them with their wives" had left Selenča for America and another 50 were preparing to leave.

In November 1904, we find here the first mention of the return of some Slovaks from Petrovec and Selenča.[14] A contribution by the realist Lowland writer Jan Čajak affords a valuable insight into the problems of Lowland Slovak emigration.[15]

Examining the widespread poverty in the area, Čajak, with full justification, attributed it to the summer agricultural work periods, along with the fact that, in the absence of factories and a sufficiently developed domestic industry, people were idle in winter. In those days, wages were low and, as a result, workers had difficulty supporting themselves and their families. "These are the main causes of emigration from Bácska to America. From Petrovec alone, 500 able-bodied young men have left for America. There they are saving up to send part of their earnings. Those who have been penniless so far are now buying their own houses and plots of land. In this way, well-to-do families are formed. Housing prices have increased three-fold. As the conditions of industrial workers are improving, those of the peasants are getting worse, because a great many labourers have emigrated to America and those staying behind have joined the agricultural workers' associations. These are largely controlled by social democrats. Wages have been pushed up and farmers are now suffering the consequences."

[12] Jozef Malik, *Slovenské osadníctvo v Srieme* (Slovak settlers in Syrmia), Special impression of the revue *Naše Slovensko*, (Prague, 1908).

[13] *Dolnozemský Slovák* 1, No. 9. (1903).

[14] "Our emigrants. On November 3, 1904, a good many of our people returned from America; in particular, Mišo Arňaš, Ondriš Belička, Mišo Čani, Samo Kul'havý, Martin Labát, a tireless letter-writer and reader of *Národný Hlásnik*, Jano Meleg, Jano Sirácky (my grandfather—J. S.), Mišo Šproch, Jano Zátroch and one more person from Petrovec, all three Strehárskys and Ondriš Kalečik from Selenča. All of them spent extended periods (?) overseas; as hard-working, thrifty, and respectable people, they have brought back a few hundred crowns of their earnings each. During industrial disputes they suffered poverty and need. In summer, there were up to 200 Lowland Slovak workers in Midwall. They all stuck together, helping one another as, indeed, Slovak people should." *Dolnozemský Slovák* 1, No. 14 (1904).

[15] Ján Čajak, "Slováci v Báčke" (Slovaks in the Bácska), *Naše Slovensko* I (1908), pp. 108–109.

J. Čajak wrote his article at a time when emigration of Slovaks, especially from the Bácska, was at its peak. In 1907, close on 12,000 (11,911) people, 1,614 of them Slovaks, migrated from the Bácska. We may therefore give credence to his claim that 500 young men from Petrovec alone were in America. Characteristically, however, he described them as temporary emigrants, who had left in order to make money and so improve their living standards at home.

In those years Slovak industrial workers in the Bácska and Banat were organizing themselves mainly under the influence of the Slovak Social Democratic Party of Hungary, headquartered in Bratislava. Now, as earlier, when they had first entered the political arena towards the end of the 19th century, they evinced excellent morale both ideologically, as workers, and as Slovaks. In that period, Slovak agricultural workers were joining various Slovak social democratic organizations in great numbers in the Bácska: Petrovec (601), Kysáč (316), Holžany (283), Kulpin (187), Pivnica (170), Lalita (73), and, in the Banat: Kovačica (198) and Padina. Nineteen-hundred-and-seven was the year when cooperation between Slovak social democrats in the Bácska and the Slovak Social Democratic Party centre in Bratislava was at its closest. According to an item in *Sovenské robotnícke noviny* (Slovak worker's newspaper) on August 20, 1907, representatives of organized Slovak industrial workers travelled from the Lowland to the Budapest headquarters to discuss a proposal adopted the month before at Petrovec in the presence of the representatives of 5 communities with a joint membership of 1,500. They decided that each member was to subscribe to the papers *Slovenské robotnícke noviny* and *Napred* (Forward). They also called for a Slovak-language agricultural workers' paper to be published. Their opinion was expressed that a Slovak Party official should organize agricultural workers in the Lowland.[16]

Representatives of Slovak agricultural workers from the Bácska attended the 3rd congress of the Slovak Social Democratic Party, held in Bratislava, in 1908. There they made a passionate appeal for their national rights to be respected. A delegate to the congress, J. Slavka declared: "We shall continue to fight all forms of oppression. Yes, we are social democrats, but at the same time we want to be good Slovaks". The delegate P. Čapel'a (a prominent social democrat official at Petrovec in the postwar period too) came out in favour of Slovak schooling: "We demand Slovak schools for our children up to the age of 12. At present, we have only Hungarian schools, which reduces them to virtual illiteracy".[17]

Thus it can safely be stated that the socialist movement, particularly among Bácska Slovaks, made considerable gains in the period, despite repressive measures by the coalition government. After two victorious election campaigns in the Kulpin constituency (in 1905 and 1906), fought in close cooperation with the Serbs on a, by contemporary standards, progressive agrarian and national democratic platform by M. Hodža, the movement became an important national political force countrywide.

[16] *Slovenské robotnícke noviny*, Sept. 1, 1907.
[17] Šandor Mésaroš, *Radnički pokret u Bačkoj*... p. 210.

Slovak emigration from the area under scrutiny continued in the following years, albeit on a smaller scale than in the years 1905–1907. The greatest numbers were provided by the Bácska, fewer people left the Banat, with Syrmia at the bottom of the league table. This ratio was to characterize the whole period, from the end of the 19th century right up to the First World War. Emigration also hit, albeit to a lesser degree, the newly established Slovak settlements in Syrmia (Erdevik, Ilok and some others); Stara Pazova, their oldest and largest settlement in the area, however, was hardly affected at all.[18]

The above table[19] shows that, between the years 1899 and 1904, Bácska Slovaks represented 6.8 per cent of all emigrants; in the period when emigration was at its most intense, in 1905–1907 (both among Slovaks and among other peoples), up to 9.4 per cent of emigrants came from the Bácska; and in 1908–1913, their share was still 8.2 per cent. The intensity of their emigration is even more apparent if we consider that, in 1910, the Bácska Slovaks made up only 4.5 per cent of the region's total population; i.e. of 1,000 Bácska Slovaks counted in the 1910 census, an average of 15.2 emigrated yearly in the period 1905–1913. This emigration rate was surpassed in the region under examination only by the Germans (28.3 per cent of German inhabitants account, in the given period, for 54.1 per cent of all emigrants). For the Hungarians, the rate is smaller (42.2 per cent of the Hungarian population in the Bácska in 1910 accounted for a mere 15.8 per cent of emigrants). Emigration did not substantially affect the region's Serbian population, which represented in 1910, 18.6 per cent of the total population and contributed no more than 15.1 per cent to the number of emigrants in the years 1905–1913. Ukrainians (Ruthenes) living in the region did not have a high rate of emigration either (comprising 3.8 per cent of the population, they contributed 1.6 per cent of the emigrants according to the 1910 census data). Throughout the years 1905–1913, of 1,000 Banat (Torontál) Slovaks, counted at the 1910 census, an average of 12.4 Slovaks emigrated yearly. The same figure for Syrmian Slovaks is 6.4.[20] In this context, Auerhan comes up with the interesting finding that "in 1905–1913, out of every 1,000 Slovaks counted in 1910 in all the Hungarian Crown lands, an average of 12.7 Slovaks emigrated".[21]

This would imply that, in the period under discussion, Slovak emigrants from the Bácska exceeded, and those from the Banat equalled, the average emigration rate of Slovaks from Hungary as a whole, whereas Slovaks from Syrmia fell far short of the average. According to Puskás, Slovaks accounted for 15.4 per cent of the total number of emigrants from Austria-Hungary in the period 1899–1913; while in the period mentioned by Auerhan, the figure is 13.1 per cent. Irrespective of certain

[18] Karol Lilge, *Stará Pazova*, In 1932 Myjava stated that "the greater part (of Pazova's inhabitants) moved out to... Syrmian settlements. Only a few families emigrated to America". p. 30.

[19] Jan Auerhan, *Československá vétev v Jugoslávii*... p. 299.

[20] The 1910 population census reported the respective numbers of Slovaks in the Bácska, in the Banat, and in Syrmia at 30,092, 16,134 and 13,841, i.e. a total of 60,061 Slovaks. For more details see: Ján Svetoň, *Slováci v európskom zahraničí*, (Slovaks outside Europe), (Bratislava, 1943).

[21] Jan Auerhan, *op.cit.*, p. 299.

fluctuations, we should mention that, for example, in the years 1899–1901, Slovak emigration from Hungary exceeded 25 per cent. Only in 1908 did it fall below 10 per cent. According to official statistics, Slovaks in Hungary made up no more than 10.5 per cent of the population in 1900, and only 9.4 per cent in 1910. With that in mind, the above figures are even more telling.

As mentioned already, Slovak emigration from the area under study reached its peak in 1907 when a total of 1,614 Slovaks emigrated (723 from the Bácska, 599 from the Banat, and 292 from Syrmia). In the preceding two years, the figure exceeded 900 (for the whole area).

As is known, the migrants started to trickle back quite early. Although we have proof positive that some of them returned as early as 1904, the available data cover only the period from 1905 to 1910.

As is evident from the above, the ratio of those who returned over the years was 27.6 per cent.

Our tables clearly show that the emigration of Slovaks from the territory of present-day Voivodina declined considerably as the decade wore on. This was true also of the war years, and of the first postwar years.

Our data for the postwar period are even sketchier than for the prewar period. The Yugoslav sources still extant do not indicate nationality or national allegiance, and so are of little service in trying to obtain accurate figures on the emigration of Slovaks from that region. However, it does seem likely that the exodus of Slovaks in the interwar years slowed down compared to the hectic early years of the century, as evidenced by a general flagging of interest in the question in the local Slovak papers of the day. These mouthpieces now concentrated instead on how the old Slovak immigrants were making out in the USA, what national and cultural activities they engaged in, and how, if at all, they managed to keep in touch with their Yugoslavian Slovak brethren in the Voivodina.

The emigration of Yugoslavian Slovaks in the period between the two world wars can be at least partly described relying on the data covering the newly-formed Yugoslav state, especially its northern parts (the Voivodina and Croatia). By that time, the USA had ceased to be the prime destination for would-be emigrants among the Voivodina Slovaks. In the postwar years, the lure of Canada increased considerably. It attracted immigrants not only from far-away Europe, but from the USA too. The countries of South America and Australia were also popular. It was from the United States that people returned home in any appreciable numbers, a trend that lasted up until the thirties. The number of returners from other countries was small. The Great Depression of 1929 induced substantial numbers to return to their homeland, so much so that, as reported by the Croatian historian V. Holjevac[22] in the period 1930–1933, more people returned to Yugoslavia than left.

In the years 1927–1930, the Voivodina recorded the highest rate of overseas emigration of the interwar period, with more than 4,000 leaving a year. In the same period, Argentina, which had been for some time a favourite country of choice for

[22] Većeslav Holjevac, *Hrvati izvan damovine*, (Zagreb, 1967), p. 37/a.

Yugoslav and other Lowland Slovaks, received an average of 6,500 emigrants from Yugoslavia each year.[23]

Between the two wars, especially in the years 1924–1928 and after 1930, a good many Slovaks from Yugoslavia settled in Canada.[24]

On their arrival in the USA, Lowland Slovaks from the Voivodina settled mostly in the same industrial centres as Slovaks from Upper Hungary or other emigrants from Hungary, most of them Slavs. With regard to the way they organized themselves in the USA, all Slovak emigrants (not just those from the Lowland) show a number of striking similarities with Croatian emigrants. This is borne out by the activities of two assocations of long standing, which, indeed, cooperated with each other for years, "Národný slovenský spolok" and "Hrvatska bratska zajednica".[25]

Although we do not know just how large, in numerical terms, the respective Slovak communities of the particular industrial centres of the US were, it does seem plausible that they tended to concentrate their settlement in the state of Ohio, and especially in the city of Akron.[26]

Table 1

Data on Slovak emigration from present-day Voivodina

Region	Years			
	1899–1904	1905–1907	1908–1913	1899–1913
	Number of Slovak emigrants			Total
Bácska	352	1,775	1,688	3,815
Banat (Torontál)	196	1,033	553	1,782
Syrmia	22	401	302	725
Total:	570	3,209	2,543	6,322

[23] "The first Slovak immigrants arrived in Chaco in 1913. The first family were the Trnovskys from Gorna Mitropolja in Bulgaria, followed later by Slovaks from Romania and Yugoslavia. other groups of Slovaks arrived in 1922, mostly from Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and some of them from Slovakia." In: *Slovenský kalendár pre Južnu Ameriku na rok 1937*. Buenos Aires.—See also a contribution by Ludek Kapitola, "K historii slovenské emigrace v Argentině (On the history of Slovak emigrants in Argentina), in: *Slováci v zahraničí* 6/1908, eds: F. Bielik and C. Baláž, pp. 28–41.

[24] Elena Jakešová, "K problematike slovenského vyst'ahovalectva do Kanady" (On the problems of Slovak emigration to Canada), in: *Slováci v zahraničí* 2/1974, ed. J. Siracky, p. 76.—By the same author, see also the monograph: *Vyst'ahovalectvo Slovákov do Kanady* (Slovak emigration to Canada), (Bratislava, 1981. 158 pp.).

[25] More recent findings on the emigration of Yugoslavia's nationalities are provided in the proceeding *Iseljenistvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije. Zavod za migracije i narodnosti*, (Zagreb, 1978). See also: Ivan Čizmić, "Vyst'ahovalectvo z juhoslovanských krajín do druhej svetovej vojny" (Emigration from Yugoslav countries up to the Second World War), in: *Vyst'ahovalectvo a život krajanov*..., pp. 81–93.

[26] Even later, in the 1930s, this was the region where their numbers were concentrated, as corroborated by an article of Ján Javornik's from Selenča in the *Národny Kalendár* for the year 1934, published at Petrovec and entitled "Our People in America. Notes on the Life of Lowland Slovaks in

Just how Slovak emigrants from this part of the Lowland felt about their homeland and the national, cultural and social aspirations their brethren in the Bácska and in the Banat had shown manifested itself in the prewar years too. Then, as suggested by a host of articles in the *Dolnozemský Slovák,* they took a keen interest in developments back home and, conversely, acquainted those who had stayed behind with their life in America. Slovaks from Upper Hungary, who organized a whole range of national associations, in the USA, set an example to the Lowland Slovaks, who now became more active in pursuing their national goals. According to a communication published in the Detroit-based *"Dolnozemský Slovák* in February 1913,[27] Slovaks "from the lower parts" living there founded the *Association of Lowland Slovaks.* Although we know next to nothing about the activities of this association, it is clear that Lowland Slovaks had contributed earlier to the *Dolnozemský Slovák,* and to the support of the Slovak House at Novi Sad, because "they are loyal to their nation and, as far as they can, support their national institutions". "It is touching to see how these workers are trying to support their brothers' efforts and how they give up part of the money they earn with hard work in order to assist noble enterprises... We are bound together by feelings of solidarity, the distance between us notwithstanding."[28]

Following the First World War, when Yugoslavian Slovaks started to form their own national and cultural institutions under relatively favourable conditions (the Yugoslav Publishing Association and the Slovak Book Printing Works, Ltd. at Petrovec, or the Slovak Gymnasium at Petrovec), their keen efforts met with an enthusiastic response from their compatriots in America. Lowland Slovaks from Voivodina founded, in the USA, the *Association of Slovaks from Yugoslavia,* "which set itself the object of helping our compatriots in Yugoslavia".[29]

In the ensuing years, however, the American Slovaks of Lowland origin became increasingly preoccupied with their own problems, and so cared less about the fate of their countrymen who had stayed behind. Apart from a few individuals known for their involvement with Slovak newspapers and associations in the USA, with

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Akron". In it, he writes: "We Lowland Slovaks, driven from our homeland by hardship, are scattered all over the world. But most of us are based in Columbus's country. We came here utterly destitute, almost every one of us having been born into poor families. Our largest colonies are to be found in Acron, Barnerton, Bedford, Granite City and Peoria (?). But, if in smaller numbers, we can be found all over America."

[27] *Dolnozemský Slovák,* 11, No. 2, (1913)—Pavel Sabo from Petrovec writes that in Detroit there are a number of Slovaks from the Lowland who take an interest in what is going on in their homeland. he announces "the good news, which will greatly please American Slovaks", to wit, a visit to the USA by the Slovak politician Dr. Pavel Blaho. Dr. Blaho visited Detroit, too, where he was given a cordial welcome.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] As Martin Ruman-Pivnický, who helped organize the Association of Yugoslav Slovaks, wrote: "...They are eager to help, for they are not out for profit. Their organisation is a charity... We agreed to help with the construction of the school at Petrovec. We should like to help each and every community, every endeavour aimed at promoting our national goals". *Národná jednota,* July 2 and 9, 1920.

the journalist Ján Dendúr preeminent among them, they withdrew from many of their commitments to national and cultural activity.

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The Slovak emigration from the Békés-Csanád area was less intense than from the Bácska and the Banat.

As revealed by historical sources on the subject, the extent and scale of emigration from Hungary varied from region to region. Even some northern counties which had a predominantly Slovak population[30] showed certain differences.[31]

J. Puskás has pointed to striking differences in the numbers of emigrants from individual regions. She also found that the central regions of the country, the Danube–Tisza interfluve, and the areas whose centre of gravity was industrial Budapest virtually escaped emigration altogether, as did the lowland plains. The centre of emigration directed towards America was in the northern areas.[32] In addition to this emigration area, several additional, geographically more or less discrete "emigration hotbeds" formed: in the northeastern part of the Lowland, these comprised parts of the counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár; in Transdanubia, Veszprém and Győr; in southern Hungary, the counties of Bács-Bodrog, Temes and Torontál. At the same time J. Puskás has stressed that economic factors alone are not enough to explain just why the emigration hotbeds formed in the above regions rather than elsewhere.

As pointed out earlier, at the turn of the century, a pronounced social and class differentiation within the agricultural population took place in the Békés-Csanád region too. Here vigorous agrarian-socialist movements sprang up and later a peasant movement, headed by Ondrej (András/Andrew) Áchim and his *Magyarországi Független Szocialista Parasztpárt* (Independent Socialist Peasants' Party of Hungary) founded on March 17, 1906.

A great many of the Slovaks living in Békéscsaba and Tótkomlós joined Áchim's movement. They fought alongside the other nationalities for basic rights.

F. Virágh, who has studied emigration from Békés county, expressed the opinion that there is a certain relationship between the degree to which agricultural movements are organized, on the one hand, and the rate of emigration, on the other. We cannot explain why the population outflow from neighbouring counties was smaller, unless we grasp the above relationship. In movements which were better organized (e.g. in Békés county in 1906), the number of emigrants increased

[30] See F. Bielik's introductory study in the series: *Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo. Dokumenty I* (Slovak Emigration, Documents I.) Slovenská akadémia vied. 1969, pp. 29–30.

[31] Julianna Puskás, "Kivándorlás Magyarországról az Egyesült Államokba 1914 előtt." (Emigration from Hungary to the USA before 1914), *Történelmi Szemle*, XVII, Nos 1–2, (1974), pp. 45–47.

[32] "In 1889, of 22,366 people who emigrated from the country, 19,242 left the region to the right of the Tisza. The five counties situated to the right of the Tisza yielded 40 per cent of all the emigrants to America throughout the entire emigration period." *Ibid.*, p. 45.

even in those parts where previously only few people had chosen the path of emigration.[33]

Table 2

Year	Number of Departures	Number of Returns
1905	903	74
1906	992	216
1907	1,614	404
1908	306	387
1909	638	103
1910	618	202
Total	5,071	1,386

Like certain other authors (F. Szabó, J. Dedinský), he blames the dearth of sources and data on the subject for our inability to arrive at more definite conclusions. In considering the relative slackness of emigration from the mentioned region, let us remember that the region was subjected to extensive parcelling. New settlements were being established, and, when the northern counties of the Trans-Tisza region lost great numbers of people through emigration, these could no longer serve as a reservoir of cheap labour in the Lowland. Having several job opportunities in places not too far removed from their own settlements, the agricultural proletariat of the southern Trans-Tisza region did not opt for emigration on a massive scale. In this respect, the emigration of Slovaks (and of other nationalities) from the northern counties and the Lowland counties in question shows certain similarities.

A more intensive wave of emigration from Békés county started as late as the beginning of the 20th century. Inaccurate statistical data (taken from F. Virágh) give the following numbers for the county (within the administrative boundaries valid at the time) and for the particular years:

Year	Number of emigrants	Year	Number of emigrants
1899	44	1907	1,349
1900	71	1908	278
1901	65	1909	478
1902	62	1910	355
1903	164	1911	231
1904	156	1912	456
1905	475	1913	238
1906	1,263		

[33] Ferenc Virágh, "Adalékok a kivándorlás Békés megyei történetéhez" (A contribution to the history of emigration from Békés county), *Békési Élet*, Áchim memorial no. 2, (1971), p. 189.

The total of the emigrants in the above period was 5,685. Of these, 5,360 went to the USA.

A report by Békés county's deputy lord-lieutenant, presented to the county assembly on February 13, 1913, reveals that Békéscsaba, Endrőd and Tótkomlós were the towns hardest hit by the rush to emigrate, with Orosháza a close runner-up.[34]

It is impossible to determine exactly just how many people, and how many Slovaks, in particular, emigrated from Békéscsaba. It is clear, however, that the majority of them were Slovaks.[35] F. Szabó concluded that 7,000–8,000 people emigrated from Békés county, with the number of those who left Békéscsaba somewhere between 1,600 and 2,000, which suggests that Békéscsaba supplied 25–30 per cent of all the emigrants from the county.[36]

J. Svetoň published the official Hungarian statistics, according to which, in the period 1899 to 1913, 1,550 Slovaks emigrated from Békés county.[37] In reality, however, the figure must have been higher.

In the period 1899 to 1913, up to 600 people[38] emigrated from Tótkomlós, which had 10,502 inhabitants in 1910 (9,307, that is 88.6 per cent of these, were Slovaks).

A great many of the Slovaks who in the 1930s emigrated from Békés county to the USA, later ended up in Canada.

The Slovak emigrants from Tótkomlós deserve, in our view, special attention, as some of them continued to maintain contact with their native communities later on as well. It is interesting to note that when an underground Communist cell was formed at Tótkomlós in 1923, Slovak emigrants in the USA were instrumental in providing the cell activists with Marxist literature. They sent back, for example, copies of the paper *Munkás* (the mouthpiece of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the USA), the *Communist Manifesto,* and Lenin's *State and Revolution.* These, in turn, were duly studied and distributed among organized workers. As is known, several Slovaks from Tótkomlós based in the Canadian city of Niagara Falls joined the Slovak Benefit Society, which united Slovak and Hungarian progressive papers such as *Robotnícke slovo, Hlas l'udu, Ľudové zvesti* and *Magyar Szó* (Workers' Voice; People's Voice; Popular News; and Hungarian Voice, resp.).Choirs, theatrical performances and other cultural activities were organized.

[34] *Békésvármegye Hivatalos Lapja,* February 13, 1913.

[35] Gyula Dedinszky, "Békéscsaba nemzetiségi története" (Ethnic history of Békéscsaba) Manuscript for the Competition 1971, p.3. It puts the figure of emigrants from Békés county at 5,360, with 1,700–1,800 for Csaba itself. In 1906–1907, when emigration here reached its peak, 2,663 emigration passports were issued in the county, 263 of them to inhabitants of Csaba. Dedinszky published the famous emigrants' song, in the Csaba dialect of the Slovak language, "America is a big country, there's none other like it in the whole world . . .". The song expresses the nostalgia that Csaba Slovaks in far-away America felt for their homeland and their loved ones back home.

[36] Ferenc Szabó, *op.cit.,* p.151.

[37] Ján Svetoň, *Slováci v Maďarsku* (Slovaks in Hungary), (Bratislava, 1942), p. 113.

[38] *Ibid.,* p.111.—We have no dependable data, on the emigration from Szarvas. It is clear, however, that some tradesmen journeyed overseas from that town too.

The Society's propagandists, who included Ján and Pavel Bobor, Alžbeta Boborová, Pavel Hrbal and his wife Žužana (born at Kesztölc), and Ján Konečný, were active among the Slovaks of Tótkomlós.[39] This progressive society, whose membership was predominantly Slovak, enabled the Slovaks of Tótkomlós to forge closer links with their emigrant cousins. As evident from the above, Slovak emigrants from Tótkomlós, a town known for the commitment of its Slovak inhabitants to social change and national survival, were quite ready to campaign for social justice and to stand up for their national and cultural rights.

Emigration from Csanád county was on a smaller scale. Though the population there, most of them labourers employed in tobacco-growing, was poor, the fact that these were relatively recent settlements was also reflected in their comparatively smaller rate of emigration. Their inhabitants sought employment either in localities near their villages or in other parts of the country. The progressive Hungarian writer Géza Féja, who described the hard life of the people of the region in the 1930s put the number of emigrants from Csanád county in the period of 1900 to 1913 at a mere 3,449.[40]

Emigration from the Slovak village of Pitvaros in the Csanád area is also highly revealing. This community had 2,925 inhabitants in 1900, 2,699 (92.3 per cent) of whom were Slovaks. In 1910, the local population was only marginally higher (2,936), with 2,740 (93.5 per cent) of the inhabitants Slovaks.

As reported by M. Brňula, the region was afflicted by severe unemployment in the years after 1905, and, as more and more cajoling letters were coming from America, an increasing number of workers were leaving for the USA, year in, year out. Over a period of several years, more than 30 young men left the community, though determined to return after a certain period. Some of them did return after 5 or 6 years, others after 10 to 15 years, but several of them stayed on. They settled mainly in Cleveland.[41]

In 1903, the inhabitants of Pitvaros, too, founded their local organization of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. In 1904, the Party boasted more than 40 members in the village. They were also active in the Hungarian Country Union of agricultural Workers. Several of the social democrats emigrated to America. Just to complete the picture, it should be mentioned that several former inhabitants of Pitvaros have been found living in Syrmia, especially in Šíd and Erdevík.

A large number of the Slovaks who left Pitvaros emigrated to France in 1922–1924. The men were the first to leave, and they were later joined by their women and children. Twenty-eight families in all followed this route. They worked

[39] We are indebted for this piece of information to Ing. Ján Jančovič from Nitra.

[40] Géza Féja, *Viharsarok. Az alsó Tiszavidék földje és népe* (The Tisza region and its people), 2nd ed. (Budapest, n.d.), p. 36.

[41] Mihály Bernula, *Pitvaros rövid története 1816–1869* (A short history of Pitvaros), (Hódmező-vásárhely, 1969), p. 66.

in the mines of northern France. Some of them, however, moved on to Brazil in 1926.[42]

The populous village of Nadlak (Nagylak; Nadlăc) in Arad county, seems to have been left almost untouched by emigration. On this subject, however, we have no dependable data. J. Svetoň put the total number of Slovaks who emigrated from Csanád and Arad counties between 1889 and 1913 at 1,034. The comparable figure for Pest county (in which Budapest lies), which still had a relatively large Slovak population, was, according to his estimates, 1,102.

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We are perfectly aware that we have by no means exhausted our topic. We haven't said everything about the emigration of Lowland Slovaks under capitalism, about how these descendants of the eighteenth-century Slovak settlers of the Lowland joined, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the streams of emigrants from Hungary. The topic would deserve a more detailed analysis by both Slovak historians, with emphasis on Slovak national history, and other specialists—from the emigrants' original homelands as well as from the host countries, particularly the USA and Canada. Although the scale of Lowland Slovak emigration was nothing like the scale of emigration from the territory of Slovakia itself, it is important both as a chapter in the history of Slovak emigration as a whole and as a source of information on the life of Slovaks abroad.

[42] *Ibid.*—There is some evidence to show that, in 1920, 70 families emigrated from Kesztölc (in Pest county) to Belgium and France. Like several emigrants born in Pitvaros, these, too, became involved in progressive movements.

Mihály Hoppál

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SYMBOLIC ETHNICITY AMONG HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS IN NORTHERN INDIANA

THE PROBLEM OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

The so-called "ethnic revolution" flared up in the second half of the 1960s (Posern and Zielinski 1978). Contrary to the "melting pot" theory of the 1950s, it turned out that ethnic minorities living in the United States, groups originating from different European nations, are not easily assimilated into the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority (WASP). It has become evident that they have preserved for decades not only their own languages and religions but also their customs, beliefs and values, their holidays and, above all, their foodways and eating habits. The notion of the so-called "unmeltable ethnic" has become a key word in research. The unmeltability of different cultures first became most strikingly apparent in the case of immigrants with their origin in Chinese, Japanese and other Far Eastern cultures and in that of their descendants, but the separate identity of European immigrants has also been observed.

The problem of awakening ethnic identity is not confined to America—it is a worldwide phenomenon (it is sufficient to refer to the Irish, the Basque or the recent unrest among the Sikhs). Research into the phenomenon of "new ethnicity" (see Petersen, Novak and Gleason 1982, pp. 29–32) is especially important because it helps to give a better understanding of our own world. There are no doubts that "ethnitude" is such a strong compulsion that it is sometimes mentioned as "ethnic imperative" (Stein and Hill 1977), which means that each individual has necessarily and, by all means, culturally, to belong to an ethnic community. It is interesting, however, to note (which is a new observation in such research) that the expression of ethnic belonging (allegiance) has been transferred to the symbolic sphere of culture (Gans 1979) and the choice of symbols and of certain aspects of traditions is always a result of conscious selection.

As is usual in social sciences, there are a number of different definitions of ethnic identity; so it is a rather fuzzy concept. There are two different approaches to define it. The first is based on some inner-group criteria, and the other, on how the ethnic group is seen from the outside.

Anya Peterson Royce gives us important guidelines for a definition of the first kind, when she proposes a definition of the ethnic group as a basic conceptional unit for further research in her book, entitled *Ethnic Identity: Strategies for Diversity* (Royce 1982, p. 27) "...an ethnic group is a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style, which may only be assumed, based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others,

identify themselves as sharing that style". One can find an example for the other type of definition in the conclusion of another important book: *"Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Changes"*, which goes as follows: "Ethnic identity requires the maintenance of sufficiently consistent behavior to enable others to place an individual or a group in some given social category, thus permitting appropriate interactive behavior" (De Vos, Romanucci–Ross eds 1982, p. 374). Both definitions share one common feature, and depend on the fact that a kind of distinguishable behavior is necessary for defining ethnic identity. In other words, ethinicity must be manifest and observable in activities which help keep the cultural heritage alive.

There is another common point of agreement in the various approaches to ethnic identity in the literature, namely that all these studies lay emphasis on the fact that ethnicity is a problem of minorities. Recent ethnic studies showed clearly the process of white ethnics becoming a "new minority" within the United States (Weed 1973, p. 18). It is important to note that 'old' and 'new minorities' have gradually become self-conscious, and—as Michael Novak puts it—"the new ethnicity to gain self-consciousness... and to concretize in language inner things which are so difficult to put into words" (Novak 1977, p. 4).

The problem of ethnic identity, and especially of its definition, is a difficult one, because an ethnic community is very often not a community in the strict sense of the word, when it lives in *diaspora* (in the state of dispersion), in a minority status within the framework of multi-ethnic states. So, the new ethnicity or ethnic revival means that social scientists as well as politicians have to deal with ethnic problems both in politically monolithic and in pluralistic societies, where the "ethnic dimension" must not be underestimated (see La Gumina and Cavaioli 1974).

TRADITIONALIZING AMONG HUNGARIANS IN INDIANA

In 1979, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the American Council of Learned Societies set up a committee to elaborate projects for joint research in the field of social sciences. In addition to literary studies, history, sociology and linguistics, this research also included ethnography. After four years of preparation, three Hungarian ethnographers travelled to the United States to begin, in the first half of 1984, a study on the preservation of identity and traditions among Hungarians living in Indiana. The title of the project was: Identity Preservation through Traditionalizing: a Comparative Study in Modern Hungary and the United States. Participants were: Zoltán Fejős from the Ethnographic Museum of Budapest, Péter Niedermüller and Mihály Hoppál from Ethnographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On the American side, Linda Dégh supervised the project.

Planning our research, we took as a starting point the notion that tratidion acts in culture as a force permanently reproducing ethnic identity. This is, of course, not a Hungarian peculiarity. A part of the traditions is chosen by the community to be

handed down to following generations. And the choice of cultural features judged appropriate to serve ethnic identity is, in itself, very characteristic of a particular ethnic group or a community bound by certain definite historical and social ties.

Folklore, festive customs and the forms of everyday behavior are suitable vehicles allowing the individual to attest to his/her ethnic ties (see Dundes 1983). The traditions the immigrants brought with them have eroded over the years and decades, some elements have disappeared. New customs were born in the new homeland and were handed down for new generations as "traditions". The study of these has been our new and important task. It was also necessary to study the patterns formed by Hungarians back in their native country and also the ones formed by immigrants into the States as a symbolic expression of ethnic identity. We likewise wanted to find if these two classes of patterns have similarities with each other, and if so, to what extent.

The method we have chosen was direct participant observation, the technique of in-depth interview, in the course of which I collected life histories, I made about 100 hours of recordings. (On the importance of this neglected folklore genre, see Pentikainen 1980). We took part in the social events (gatherings) of Hungarians, to observe the forms of folklore present in the sphere of public life. I have to admit that this was not an easy task. That we were participating observers, while at the same time sharing the immigrants' culture detracted from the keenness of our observation. On the other hand, in that alien ethnic environment each object and gesture might have some symbolic meaning.

I worked among people whose cultural context I knew, whose language was my own, and to whom I was a welcome visitor from the old country. I had gone to the Hungarian-Americans with a bundle of questionnaires in my bag. Two things, however, soon became evident, namely that my informants somehow disliked the questionnaires and that I myself did not like them either. Yet our reasons for the distaste were, quite different: while my informants were annoyed by my attempts at systematic interrogation, I was sometimes rather conscious of the fact that the very act of observation changed the phenomenon observed.

My task was twofold. First, I aimed to describe and analyze the material which I had collected very meticulously. Secondly, I wanted to develop a theory which could apply as a general model of ethnicity, or to be more specific, to the maintenance of symbolic ethnicity.

My field of investigation was South Bend, a small town in the state of Indiana; out of its 110,000 inhabitants some 5,000 can be considered ethnic Hungarians. In the 1920s and 1930s the Magyar population was more numerous, about 10,000, making the South Bend community one of the largest such enclaves in the States. The famous Studebaker auto works and the Oliver plough factory were based in this town, providing abundant job opportunities for newcomers. By the thirties, this Hungarian community, which two years ago celebrated its centenary in South Bend, had built two big Catholic churches, one Reformed church, a Hungarian House, large blocs of houses for Hungarians, a Hungarian bank and clubrooms for the "Verhovay" life assurance Association. It was distressing to observe that all

these institutions have by now lost their Hungarian character. The Reformed Church has been closed; the Saint Stephen Church (R. Cath.) has been merged with the Mexicans' parish church. But masses in Hungarian are still being celebrated in the Church of Our Lady of Hungary. The Hungarian cinema closed down long ago and bankruptcy put an end to the bank's activities. Sadly, it is only the Hungarian cemetery that is left to us; it still exists, with more and more gravestones inscribed with Hungarian names. Three types of Hungarian immigrants can be distinguished in South Bend, who came in three main waves: the first came before or immediately after World War I—these are called "old Hungarians"; the second wave came after World War II (displaced persons, 70); and the last and biggest immigrant wave was that of the "fifty-sixers" after November 1956 (320—Scherer 1975, p. 20). The great majority of the immigrants came from the Western part of Hungary, specifically from the counties of Győr, Sopron and Vas. (The pronunciation features of their local dialect is clearly distinguishable from the other Hungarian immigrants' pronunciation.)

It is very important to distinguish between these groups, because each of them represents a different type of lifestyle model, and the three groups maintain three different patterns of traditionalizing (as it can be differentiated in this preliminary stage of our research), as follows:

	in Hungary	in the USA	traditionalizing
"old-timer Hungarians"	poor peasants	factory workers	use of Hungarian language, singing dancing
displaced	middle class intellectuals	simple workers	consciousness
"56-ers"	skilled workers	well-to-do Americans	nothing

These clear-cut differences can be found among the families' lifestyle patterns (the inner decoration of their houses, the use of the Hungarian language in everyday communication, etc.) which presumably derives from their different social backgrounds back in Hungary. They maintain and preserve common traditions mainly in cooking and in their patterns of behaviour at social events especially on festive occasions, looking back for a historical perspective to the 1930s. These are facts not only of folklore but also of Hungarian emigration. We do not wish to qualify them as sad or regrettable, because there are communities where buildings for Hungarians are not being demolished, but on the contrary, a new and imposing Hungarian House is being built (e.g. in New Brunswick). However, one thing is certain. In South Bend, the 1960s and 1970s, not to mention the 1980s, were decades of decline compared to the bustling life of the 1930s, 1940s and even of the 1950s. As it was mentioned above, there were three successive waves of Hungarian emigration to America: at the beginning of our century, after 1945, and in 1956. Considering the preservation of traditions by these groups it was interesting to observe—at least

in South Bend—that in the case of the first emigrants, simple peasants who became workers and who built so much in their new homeland, even the grandchildren have preserved a Hungarian identity. Even if they did not retain their Magyar language, they retained their ethnic identity. As to the displaced persons, who left Hungary after the Second World War, their children speak relatively good Hungarian, but their grandchildren do not. The majority of those who left in 1956 and their children do not feel any sense of relationship with the old country. We know that there can be a great many reasons for this phenomenon and also that over-simplification is always unjust, but the facts observed in South Bend reveal something of the general trends.

ON SYMBOLIC ETHNICITY

Let us have a closer look at the concept of 'symbolic ethnicity'. As it was argued earlier, ethnicity is largely a "working-class style" behaviour, more observable in the secular, than in the 'sacred' spheres of everyday life. What we observed (and this is a new tendency from the beginning of the seventies) was that the new ethnic consciousness was raised by the leading intellectuals of the communities both in the home country and abroad. Out data gathered during our recent fieldwork (in Northern Indiana) support J. H. Gans's view that "today's ethnics, have become more visible as a result of upward mobility" (Gans 1979, p. 5). Thus, to be an ethnic or to behave as an ethnic, especially as a white ethnic, has become very popular, even fashionable, among the middle and upper middle classes. Such a trend was monitored and described both by sociologists (see Novák 1971) and by the mass-media as a new movement of ethnic revival. When the economic pressures are eased on the East-European ethnics, they tend to express their ethnic affiliations in some new modes. To be an ethnic is not a 'social stigma' any longer, it is rather a pride. Members of communities therefore find it necessary to make visible their nostalgic allegiance to the culture of their ancestors, the culture of the old country. Ethnicity is communicated by the means of some consciously selected symbols.

To be more exact, symbolic ethnicity as a fact of social reality is a culturally constituted process of the production of signs, and this conscious reproduction of ethnic symbols keeps alive the traditions within an ethnic group. The concept of reproduction here indicates continuity as the main feature of this cultural process. Thus, symbolic ethnicity, which counteracts the impact of the multiethnic industrial 'melting-pot', could be understood in terms of the dynamics of tradition as one of the innermost mechanisms of culture. For immigrants (especially for the second, third or fourth generations to which most of the American-Hungarians belong), this process is not a revival, but a constant struggle to define themselves by the help of the elements of their own distinctive culture. Fragments though these elements are, as symbols, they put new life into traditions, the heritage of the past, thus casting a bridge between past and present. Ethnic symbolism and the search for identity make conceivable and acceptable the future in an alien (friendly, but different) cultural milieu for the once uprooted millions of ethnic minorities all around the world.

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PÉTER NIEDERMÜLLER

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF IMMIGRATION

The aim of this paper is to offer a brief survey of the characteristic views and approaches of current American anthropological, folkloristical and ethnographical research into the question of immigration. It is well known that in the United States many of the social sciences investigate the phenomena of immigration along with some related problems. This is particularly true of anthropology and folkloristics, which mostly deal with the cultural aspects and effects of immigration. The above statement, however, seems to be too superficial, so first of all we need to define the way in which different anthropological investigations determine the problems and effects of immigration. (Here I should like to add that, according to the classification usually applied in the US, the term "anthropology" also includes certain lines of study which in Europe would rather be included in ethnography or folkloristics.)

In the course of different historical periods—as well as more recently—people arrived in the United States from various linguistic, social, and cultural milieux. How could they develop a "new" culture and a new strategy of life in this totally unfamiliar world? What kind of norms and values were they obliged to form in order to organize their own lives? What is the mechanism of the whole process actually like? It seems to me that these are the most popular and very frequent questions in the anthropological approach to the study of immigration. To be more exact, this approach examines the way in which the immigrants tried and try even today to organize their day to day lives within a new social environment. It is clear that this approach placed emphasis on the question of assimilation, acculturation, adaptation and the maintenance of tradition or, more briefly, the problem of culture change.[1] The great waves of immigration at around the turn of the century, which affect mainly the Eastern and South-Eastern European peasantry, have long provided especially good material and possibilities for such analyses. The opportunities for investigations into these waves of emigration usually seemed to be ideal for scientific inquiry, and the above-mentioned questions were almost always brought up in seemingly definite forms. The majority of the immigrants joined the modern urban-industrial society from an environment based upon traditional peasant culture, and anthropologists discovered a very good opportunity to

[1] M. Gordon, 1964; R. Teske, B. H. Nelson, 1974.

juxtapose traditional and modern society and culture, the system of values and the different types of everyday life. Here I need to refer briefly to the fact that anthropological investigations into immigration are not confined solely to the study of the peasant immigration which took place at the beginning of the century. There are also a great number of other analyses which deal with immigration which took place more recently. Here I shall address myself only to those anthropological investigations which took as their main subject the peasant immigration at the turn of the century. My main motive for this is that these inquiries had the most important theoretical and methodological influence on later research.[2] According to the anthropological approach, immigration is interpreted as a dynamic process, in the course of which an individual or a social group leaves a given cultural and social structure and somehow tries to adapt himself to a qualitatively and structurally, socially and culturally different one. This is clearly a complicated process, having two stages which can be demonstrated quite plainly with the help of the following diagram:

A	→	modernization	→	B
traditional culture and society		village → city national → ethnic peasant → non-peasant		modern culture and society

Of course, the above categories function as the parts of a model, as examples of a Weberian ideal type. Nevertheless, they help us make a definite distinction between the different stages of the process, and in this way they also provide an opportunity to use a special technique through which the analysis can be meticulous enough to clarify more exactly the process of immigration, together with other related problems.

At this point I would like to add some remarks to the above schema and I should also like to make some comments on the process of culture change as well as the characteristics of a given anthropological approach. Our starting point should be the concept of traditional culture and society, partly because this has a very important role in different analyses. First we need to define the exact meaning of this notion and to clarify the sense in which it is used in connection with immigration, because history and social anthropology have already correctly defined the criteria and parameters on the basis of which a society can be regarded as a traditional one.[3] If we try to find these characteristics in the structure of Eastern or South-Eastern European societies at the beginning of the century, we will also come across a great number of other factors worth examining. It is obvious that certain criteria of traditionality can be found in the given social structures, but these mainly existed in the case of the peasantry. When looking at other social strata and classes, we have to

[2] O. Handlin, 1951; J. Bodnar, 1976; L. Dinnerstein and D. M. Reimers, 1975; R. L. Ehrlich (ed.), 1977.

[3] J. R. Gusfield, 1967; S. N. Eisenstadt, 1973.

treat the notion of traditionality very carefully for reasons I cannot go into here. The important consideration is that the immigrants, at the beginning of the century, originated not from a traditional society but from a social structure that represented an Eastern or South-Eastern European type of historical development. The most significant characteristic of this social structure was that it maintained and kept alive a class culture; namely the peasant culture, which was traditional in every respect. Accordingly, the immigrants left behind a social structure and a society which had developed in a totally different way to the American one. On the other hand, these immigrants brought with them a special culture, a culture which was considered traditional even in their home country. This traditional culture had always been connected with a special condition easily circumscribed with the help of different legal, economical and social parameters. This traditional culture had always come into existence within the compass of a particular locality,[4] and is therefore not to be confused with the whole society. The immigrants' chief problem was the very fact that their only heritage was their traditional class culture, with which—independently of their national or ethnic differences—they had to confront the American way of life and the American cultural structure. Perhaps by now it has become clear that all those studies that speak about the traditional society of the immigrants commit serious methodological mistakes. On the one hand, they describe a whole society on the basis of the characteristics of a given class, and, on the other, they generalize and extend the cultural manifestations of traditionality to other areas of social life (e.g. to the ideological, political, and economic spheres).

To put it briefly, the starting point that regards the societies left behind by the immigrants of the turn of the century as traditional ones is wrong, because, as a matter of fact, it was only the class culture brought in by the peasant immigrants that could be considered traditional. The next question worth discussing relates to the real essence of this culture. Obviously, when the immigrants arriving in America attempted not only to preserve the memory of their traditional culture but also to introduce or renew it in a totally new environment, they actually tried to revive certain cultural elements which had actually been torn out of their original context. This, however, involves a logical contradiction, because cultural elements can function only in their appropriate context. As we can see—partly as the result of the fact that certain cultural elements had been introduced into, and had to function in, a new social context—the system of the traditional peasant culture was reduced to a few cultural manifestations expressed by symbolic means and in different symbolic ways. These changes were not always taken into consideration by the anthropological investigations. Moreover, these symbolic manifestations were often considered to be equivalent to the traditional peasant culture arriving from the old country.[5] As a result of this error, the folkloristical and anthropological examinations of the

[4] V. Voigt, 1980.

[5] R. Dorson, 1961; L. Dégh, 1966; L. Dégh, 1968–1969; R. Klymasz, 1973; K. Rhigpen, 1980; B. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1983; S. Stern, 1977; R. Abrahams, 1980.

immigrants have tended almost exclusively towards a search for different expressive or symbolic elements of earlier traditional culture. The difficulties which arose in defining the essence of traditionality and traditional culture were made even more complicated by the problems of ethnic identity.[6] This problem is rather involved and requires further investigation. At first, it may seem that the immigrants felt their cultural-ethnic and their own entity to be the result of their special condition in the United States, the result of their immigration. In reality, this could only have happened if the immigrants had originated from an ethnically homogeneous nation-state. At the beginning of the century, such states were not characteristic of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Moreover, ethnic mixing was quite general. In this paper I cannot attempt to judge the extent to which the inhabitants of the home country or the immigrants themselves were conscious of the ethnic identity of their culture. What is important here is that in the US this became conscious in a very short time, and that this was partly due to folkloristical and anthropological investigations. For these investigations regarded the above-mentioned expressive and symbolic cultural manifestation—e.g. certain folkloristical phenomena, rites, songs, foods, customs, etc.—not only as the symbols of traditionalism but also as the manifestation, or as the symbols, of national feeling. Tradition, traditionalizing, traditionalism and national and/or ethnic identity were notions often mixed up by such analyses, or to be more exact, traditional culture "became" a national one, independently of its real character felt by the bearers of this culture.[7] Of course, this does not mean that the element of traditional culture—e.g. certain folkloristic elements—did not play an important role in the development and gradual stabilization of the new way of life, chiefly in the case of the first generations. These phenomena were always important and always had their own function, but they did not always appear on the level or in the form often reflected by the above approaches. In other words, the above-mentioned approach, to which I can refer only briefly, directs our attention merely to the so-called traditional culture of immigrants, to its symbolic manifestations and ethnic determination. And this is a very serious methodological mistake, because—as I have already pointed out—the immigrants were primarily the bearers of a special (traditional) class culture, of which these symbolic elements constitute only one level or part. The above-mentioned analyses often overlook this fact.

I hope that it is clear by now that, in my opinion, anthropological research into immigration contains a strand which calls for profound critical analysis. But anthropological approach has another strand which gives a more realistic and more exact picture of immigration and the process of cultural change. This holistic view, which is quite established in the history of anthropological investigation, sets the

[6] J. Dormon, 1980; H. Stein, 1975; A. Dashevsky, 1975; G. DeSantis and R. Benkin, 1980; G. De Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross (eds), 1975; C. Keyes (ed.), 1982; L. Liebman (ed.), 1982; N. Glazer and D. Moynihan (eds), 1975.

[7] M. Stanford, 1974; E. A. Shils, 1981.

concept of everyday life at the centre of its inquiries.[8] This approach deals with the real and whole life of immigrant communities instead of just their traditional cultures or their symbolic manifestation. In my opinion, we can see clearly how the theoretical approach shifted from the examination of certain selected cultural phenomena to the profound and meticulous analysis of the given way of life of different communities. This change in theoretical approach is, of course, incidental to a modification in the methodology of the investigations. These microanalyses have necessarily discovered and worked out the new possibilities of fieldwork and data collection. The examination of the life of ordinary people, the profound analysis of life histories, personal and family folklore and soft data in general have all become of capital importance. These sets of data—as opposed to the hard data preferred by history and sociology—provide an opportunity to analyse and interpret the processes from the participants', i.e. the immigrants', point of view.[9] The basic principle of these approaches is the idea that the examination of different cultural values and norms, and their survival, is useless, because they are, in actual fact, only abstractions constructed by the researcher. The basic theoretical and methodological principle should be the creation of a reliable definition of those connections which can be found between situations formed by history and the produced responses or reactions which appear in the domain of culture and lifestyle.[10] These reactions have their roots in the structure of everyday life, which—together with its different aspects—is considered to be very important in such investigations. At the moment, we do not have the opportunity to look at these examinations in detail, and I shall therefore mention only a few examples. At the beginning of the century, the majority of peasant immigrants found employment in industry, which, at that time, was developing strongly. Actually, in the first decades of the century, the economic basis for immigration to the United States was precisely this extraordinarily energetic industrialization. The different results that emerged from this fundamentally determined the immigrants' culture and way of life. Its influence could be felt in connection with seemingly unimportant factors, such as the length of the working day or the character of work performed. I have come across several very "romantic" folkloristical-anthropological studies which regarded the fact that the immigrants worked extremely hard as the manifestation of a peasant mentality or as the survival of a traditional attitude towards work. This was obviously not the case. The immigrants—especially if they belonged to the first generation—had no other option but to work day and night, as this was the only way to ensure a livelihood and material security for their families. And, besides, work was also the only means of social mobility and social advance.[11] At the same time, a workplace provided great opportunities to meet members of other ethnic

[8] R. Albrecht, 1982; A. Schutz and T. Luckmann, 1975; P. Niedermüller, 1981; U. Jeggle, 1978.

[9] L. Langness and G. Fank, 1981; L. Langness, 1965; M. V. Angrosino, 1976; L. Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn and R. Angell (eds), 1945; D. Bertaux (ed.), 1981; R. Brednich (ed.), 1982.

[10] Moore, 1966.

[11] H. G. Gutman, 1973; J. Bodnar, 1977.

communities. This fact, obviously, was of fundamental importance to the development and formation of ethnic or any other kind of identity.

Industrial work changed the internal structure of family and also modified its functions. Let us consider, for example, the structure of the division of labor within a family, which, gradually and over the generations, shifted towards the American middle-class ideal. This ideal family consisted of a husband, who had a certain job, and a wife, who directed, and took care of, family life. At the same time, the function of family in socialization has undergone a fundamental change. In the case of the peasantry, the process of socialization and the learning of values and norms had taken place within the scope of the family or within the broader village community. The socialization of the immigrants' children—generally speaking, the second generation—often occurred outside this traditional compass. Secondary social groups have gained increased importance, and therefore the degree of cohesion of values and norms acquired in the course of family socialization has been gradually diminishing. All these phenomena show that beside family, other reference groups have gained an increasing importance in value orientation.[12]

At a relatively early period of the immigrants' life, personal networks are established. The essence of these human relations can of course change, but nevertheless they play an important role in the development of the social status of the individual or the family, and—in a wider sense—in the stabilization of the structure of everyday life. At the beginning, these personal networks were usually based on ethnic distribution, but later on shared work or the workplace became equally important. Here I must refer to a special and institutionalized form of personal network, belonging to a given religious community, to a church, to a parish. It is well known that the religious organization of the immigrants was based primarily on their religious distribution. However, these communities have not only religious but also very important social (or ethnic) functions.[13]

On the basis of the above examples, we can arrive at several useful conclusions. Here I should emphasize the importance of one element. It is obvious that the above-listed (or other, similar) factors play an important role in the formation of individual and social identity. Different meticulous investigations and the examination of soft data have made it clear that whatever kind of identity we analyse, the previously mentioned symbolic manifestations represent only the "tip of the iceberg": they do not really play a part in the formation of identity, but are rather conscious expressions or manifestations of it. The actual formation and change of identity take place in the course of seemingly unimportant events of everyday life. These events often seem to be routine-like activities and life strategies which aim at a satisfactory solution of everyday problems. Nevertheless, these

[12] T. K. Hareven, 1974; L. Rainwater, 1977; T. K. Hareven (ed.), 1978.

[13] P. F. Lazarsfeld and R. K. Merton, 1964; C. S. Fischer, and M. Baldassare 1977; H. J. Abramson, 1975.

activities determine in a very important way both individual and social identity. As has been aptly said, identity is this function of the hidden dimension of everyday life.

The present survey could only briefly touch on the main issues of the subject, but, in spite of this, I hope it reveals the essential methodological aspects of certain anthropological approaches. Finally, I should like to draw attention to a further phenomenon. The earlier folkloristical investigations dealt almost solely with the questions of ethnic identity and with the cultural or symbolic manifestations of ethnic status. Later anthropological analyses have pointed out that besides ethnic identity—even in the case of immigant communities—social and class identity also have great importance. In the United States, immigrants were members not only of ethnic groups or communities but also of the American working class: peasants became workers.[14] This process meant partly a change in their position within the structure of the social division of labor but also a slow gradual and very important modification in their consciousness and identity. Although these peasants now worked in industry, they became real workers only when they started to give up the elements of their traditional peasant culture—together with its characteristic mentality, cognitive structures and behavioral features—and began to adopt those new mental patterns and cognitive structures which were characteristic of the American working class. Here we have reached one of the most important questions of the anthropological analysis of immigration, which deals with the structural nature and the hierarchical order of identity. Today, anthropological research has taken only the first steps towards the analysis of these questions. Nevertheless, I think that social anthropology has already achieved several scientific successes and that it has yielded findings in connection with immigration which may be useful to scholars of history as well.

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[14] A. Birenbaum and E. Greer, 1976; D. Brody, 1980; J. T. Cumbler, 1979; E. Grinsberg and H. Bermah, 1963.

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SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION

The following is a condensed account of the remarks and discussions on the individual presentations. To safeguard against omission we thought it best to group them in thematic order.

1) EXTERNAL VERSUS INTERNAL MIGRATION

One of the topics raised at the conference was the notion of the difference between internal and external migration. Both Klemenčić and Hoerder noted the immediate breakdown of terminology as the result of the effects of the arbitrariness and artificiality of national boundaries. Klemenčić noted that for a Slovene worker to migrate to Graz from his native Slovenia would be, according to the official Austrian statistics, an internal migration, since it occurred within the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. For the worker, however, such a move would constitute an external migration, since it would involve not only a change of residence but a change in the language and culture of his environment, thereby bringing the factors of acculturation into play. Slovenes in German-speaking territories, he pointed out, formed ethnic clubs and associations and became "Germanized" in the same way that Slovenes in the United States formed ethnic groups and became "Americanized". Hoerder, on the other hand, spoke of a so-called external migration which was at least partially an internal one. He mentioned the case of the labor migration from Belgium to France. For the Flemish-speaking workers, the border crossing was indeed an external migration as they entered into an area of French language and culture. For the French-speaking workers, it was in reality an internal move, one free from linguistic or cultural change. But, according to statistics, both are examples of external migration.

Everyone agreed on the place of internal/external migration within the context of labor force migration. Hoerder mentioned the so-called "industrial islands" and their influence on surrounding territories as a source of labor, attracting workers from the countryside or, if necessary, from more distant regions by means of recruitment. For a worker with a solely agrarian background and culture, the movement to and immersion in a European industrial culture was every bit as shocking a change and an adjustment as the much publicized adjustment to an American industrial culture. Therefore, the preoccupation up until now with North

America as somehow "special" is not valid.. The acculturation from agrarian to industrial was a common factor in all labor migration. Brożek tied the beginning of the Czech migrations of the 1850's with the modernization of Czech society and the changes in the social structure under capitalism. Melville added that internal migration within large states could serve as a potential model for the whole of labor migration. Although there are much more detailed records in emigration, net migration, however real, remains difficult to show from the available statistics.

Gellén linked the discussion on internal/external migration with the notion of migration regions claiming that the two are really one and the same. The problems created by internal and external migrations are simply complications caused by the eventualities of crossing borders. He suggested studying the topic on the basis of regional movement. Puskás also noted the tendency of these regions of emigration to cross borders, which emphasizes the need to approach the entire process at the level of regions, i.e., East-Central and Southeastern Europe, rather than as separate nations.

2) THE GEOGRAPHY OF MIGRATION AND ETHNIC MIX

One important topic of discussion was the transmission mechanism of the "emigration fever". Tajták raised the question of why the Sáros region of Slovakia/Northern Hungary was among the first areas of emigration. Both he and Puskás took note of the fact that it was the Germans who were the first to migrate, raising questions on the effect of ethnic mix on emigration. Hoerder had mentioned that workers within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy often spoke more than one language and were thus capable of communicating with each other. Tajták gave evidence of mixed migration from Slovakia across ethnic lines on the basis of religion, noting the close connection between Greek Catholic Ruthenians and Greek Catholic Slovaks, the latter referring to themselves as Ruthenians, although speaking the Slovak language. Puskás also pointed to the presence of Germans in the core areas of emigration from Northern Hungary/Slovakia, and set out to explain how the "fever" of emigration might naturally have spread to the other ethnic groups in the area. She pointed out that the villages from which the most people went away were in the first heavy period of emigration German and Slovak, later Hungarian and Slovak, and still later purely Hungarian, adding that the majority of ethnic Hungarians left from this part of Hungary. To think about the spread of the "fever" in this way, she suggested, would have a great effect on some of the open questions now being discussed. Gellén also took note of the German presence in areas of migration, suggesting that this could provide a basis of a meaningful model, which could explain the elements which took place in migration. He went on to explain that the ethnic elements in the first lines of migration were higher than for the rest of the population. This, claimed Gellén, was due to the fact that the ethnic sub-groups had already had some tradition of mobility and had established networks of communication between each other—which accounts for

concurrent migrations from separate geographic areas. He postulated that there could have been a chain reaction across ethnic lines: from Germans to the Slovaks who lived with them, then to the Ruthenians who lived near the Slovaks, all in a southward direction.

Gellén saw the channels of communication existing on the village level with migration being spread through a process of diffusion. This could account for the fact that most Hungarians who left Hungary left from the mainly Slovak regions while other, ethnically more homogeneous, Hungarian areas were hardly affected at all. Although useful, historical and economic explanations as a whole do not account for the extremely differential and selective character of the migration. So, there is a need to look beyond the historical sources and seek a model which could explain this behavior.

Kořalka commented on ethnic mix, noting that it was a problem in all emigration territories and that one half of the Czechs who went to America between 1920 and 1924 lived outside Czechoslovakia and, similarly, the majority of the Germans who emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were from areas which were other than Austrian. Kořalka also made mention of the so-called "sectarians", for example, Czechs who emigrated from Poland to the United States and who, once in the States, continued to regard themselves separate as to identity and unity from other Czechs, for example from Bohemians. He also agreed that the transmission of emigration was not closely related to the socio-economic situation of the people, noting that the areas of the largest emigration were not the areas of the gravest poverty. Hoerder noted that there needed to be an analysis of several factors in conjunction with one another, saying that for one group an economic explanation would no longer hold. Kořalka replied to this saying that he accepted economic explanations but only as a background, which by itself could not give decisive answers.

Klemenčić added that not only did the fewest numbers of emigrants leave from the poorest areas of Yugoslavia but pointed out in those who did leave an occurrence of two-stage migration. Many Slovenes, he said, went from Slovenia first to Germany and later to America. Kořalka concurred, giving evidence of Czechs who had migrated first to Germany where they worked as artisans in cities and who had gone from there to the U. S. in the 1920's. Klemenčić raised the point about the need to distinguish between two different groups of people: people living in original ethnic groupings, for example in Germany, and those joining them from other countries. Melville asked that the actual socio-economic situation be kept in the perspective of the actual situations of the people, noting that although it was the poorer Germans and Czechs who emigrated between 1890 and 1914, it was not economics which caused them to move but a decision of will, a personal choice between a number of options.

3) ON USE OF STATISTICS AND HISTORICAL SOURCES

Puskás raised some questions about sources and the measurement of emigration. Contemporaries always exaggerated their figures—e.g., the Hungarians claimed that by 1902, two million Hungarians were already in the U. S. The only way to make an accurate estimate of the actual figures would be to bring together the different kinds of statistical sources and subject them to source crititicism in order to analyze the backgrounds of the different sources and to find a logical connection between them. Kořalka was particularly critical of some of the statistical data available and of how they are being used. He pointed out that Austrian statistics were begun only in 1881 and that the many Czechs who emigrated in the thirty or so years prior to this date were never recorded officially; other pre-1881 statistics made no mention of nationality; in the United States, Czechs were registered as Germans until 1871. He concluded that it is necessary to find new sources rather than limiting research to statistics alone. He mentioned the 2,500 biographies on file in his institute.

In talking about historiography, Puskás outlined three distinct phases of methodology: The first was the "laundry list" method when historians tried to describe what happened and how, listing the causes. The second was the "model building" approach popular in the 60's, which focussed on econometrics. The third phase is the new "topographical analysis" favoring research on a local level with the data collected and transferred to maps in order to show the true emigration regions, migration routes, and tendencies.

4) CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS: WHO MIGRATED AND WHO DID NOT?

Questions were raised on the characteristics of the migrants themselves. Who where the first to go, who were the "pioneers"? According to Kořalka, the Czech pioneers who left in the 1850s were skilled tradesmen and craftsmen (with a few political dissenters) who influenced migration on the individual level. The first generation were not intellectuals but enterprising small people, tradesmen with some money. As Kořalka pointed out, it was impossible to go to America without money and the migrants' goal in going was to earn more. Yet, since they were the first, they had no relatives upon whom they could have depended for support. Thus, they were forced to build anew, and consequently raised villages and homesteads for themselves in the States. It was typical for the entire family to make the move together and from the 1850s to the 1880s it is revealed in letters that most Czechs, in spite of the hardships, had no intention of returning home, because there was land available for homesteading—a condition which lasted until the 1890s, after which the rate of Czech remigration rose. As mentioned in the first section, the territories of greatest poverty were never the territories of the greatest migration. This was true for the Czechs as well; those who left in the second half of the 19th century were not

the most impoverished or the most desperate individuals but large groups (whole families) who passed up economic and social opportunities at home, having enough physical and mental fortitude to start their life anew in an entirely different environment.

Hoerder added that workers migrated from one job to another on the basis of which jobs they were either qualified to do (if some sort of special skills were required) or at least had experience in. The distance they travelled was less important than has been thought until recently. They went to a work environment very similar to that which they left, e.g., the cigar makers who migrated from Hamburg to New York changed neither their work environment not their lifestyle.

Melville spoke of the different types of migration: settlement and labor force migration, with Čizmić commenting that both were realized through chain systems. Melville then talked about the statistical breakdown of emigrants pointing to the statistics on the number of women emigrants, raising the question of their identity. U.S. immigration statistics are unclear about how the movement of families to America was actually realized. He noted that only 1/4 of the women arrived with children. Yet, as Čizmić reported, there were years when the number of women emigrating to the United States was higher than the number of men. Čizmić went on to point out that, with Croatian emigration, a small number of emigrants left with the intention of spending a few years abroad to earn money with the goal of eventually returning to Croatia to carry on their lives there. If and when these men decided to stay, they then called their wives to come and complete the family, although this is difficult to prove from statistics. Čizmić also proposed looking at this situation as a wave shaped phenomenon, with the rising side of the wave composed primarily of the male labor force and the subsiding side made up of their followers, as women in temporary labor migration were always the followers.

5) MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION: WHY?

But why did people emigrate in the first place? As Péter Hanák noted in his opening comments, there was a consensus among researchers that the determining factors of emigration were primarily economic ones, with a pull on entrepreneural talent and on labor forces, workers for emerging new territories of promising profit with higher wages and better conditions. The main causes of mass migration proved to be the mobile and discontented elements who lived in poverty but not in misery and where there was a shortage of land and labor opportunity.

Hoerder spoke of how industrialized areas, whether in Europe or in North America, were attractive to people from areas where there was not sufficient work or wages were low. Kořalka agreed with this, saying that, although social and economic reasons were the prime motivation behind Czech emigration, there were some political motivations as well. This was particularly due to the unequal position of the Czechs within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Hoerder continued by noting the complex historical labor migration in Europe, drawing attention to such

phenomena as: seasonal agricultural workers who were sedentary until harvest time; workers engaged in railway or road construction who, in Germany at least, were often Swedes or Italians; female domestic workers. Hoerder also borrowed the term "proletarian mass migration" (from Willcox and Ferenczi) to talk about people's proletarization. He noted that peasants were not proletarians as emigrants but as immigrants; they were proletarianized on the receiving end.

Hoerder further stated that people left not for abstract reasons of freedom or higher career opportunities but to raise their standard of living. Where the people went was determined by a number of factors: the chain mechanism, particularly through positive letters home, describing the available opportunities; ability to do the jobs which were available in a particular area; the presence of members of the workers' respective ethnic groups in those areas.

At the same time, noted Hoerder, there was also a mechanism of selection at work. This was conducted on one level by the health officials at Ellis Island and on another, even more basic, level by immigrants themselves. In their letters home, the migrants would frequently describe the jobs available and the physical requirements necessary, stating which individuals within the original sending group would be able to stand up under the stress and which individuals would be "bad investments", for they were not willing to help bring across people who would not eventually be able to support themselves. Gellén claimed that the selection process worked at the village level, with each village being a little bit different from the others. It was on this level and not on the level of government or national press that positive information was relayed from America via letters. This information was diffused across economic strata which streched across ethnic boundaries.

Puskás spoke about the hardships involved in this new life in America, particularly for the Hungarian peasants from the plains, who went to work in the mines. For them, this represented a tremendous upheaval in their lifestyles. Hoerder acknowledged this, yet criticized those American writers who have made so much fuss about the disruptions caused by the routines of industrialization. This over-emphasis on the effects of the work routine on the old lifestyle of the peasant farmers is a result of a false view of farm labour, which, as he pointed out, is full of routines, though they are admittedly quite different. In addition, Hoerder attacked the idea that people arrived in New York on one day and on the next became slaves to the industrial rhythm. Although the change from agrarian to industrial lifestyle was indeed a change, it was not as abrupt as some make it out to be. The change was eased somewhat by the machinery of industry itself; at this stage in its development, it was inefficient and subject to frequent breakdowns. Gellén speculated on the extent to which factory life influenced the daily routine of the workers, noting the sample English they were taught: "I get up at 6"; "I put on my overall"; "I clock in" etc., suggesting that these could have been problem areas in acculturation, an acculturation which began at the factory gates.

6) REMIGRATION

Another major topic of discussion was remigration. It was agreed that the rate of return was greater at the turn of the century than in the fifty years preceding it. Kořalka claimed that this was due to the shift in migration from settlement migration to labor migration because later migrants came not to settle on land but to find work in the industrial center. Gellén stated that many went to America with the intention of making only a temporary move for a few years in order to earn money. The return was planned as a means of continuing the original peasant livelihood by helping the family to buy land. Čizmić agreed, noting that 80 to 90 percent of the returning southern Slavs were peasants whose main purpose for returning was to purchase land.

Hoerder favored doing away with the terms "emigration" and "immigration" in favor of "migration", since it best describes the natural two-way movement of those involved. The labor migration, he contended, basically seemed to be a temporary migration with a return always planned, but sometimes put off until the very end of their lives. This would also explain the unwillingness on the part of some migrants to become acculturated to the new society. Another factor which has not been considered is the very high rate of return migration within the first two years. In these cases, it is the difficulty of either finding a job or of getting along in the new society, being unable to accumulate enough money in the new land, which causes the return. According to Gellén, the greatest number of returns occurred within one or two years of arrival in the United States with a 50 percent likely to return in the first year with the rate decreasing each year until only a fraction would be likely to return (after five years).

Hoerder commented on the interest the migrants had in wages. Until the 1920s they wanted simply to save as much as possible, with little or no investment in homes, furniture, etc., living instead as sojourners. Only in the second decade of the 20th century does there begin to be a settling down. Gellén said that the move to America was simply a means of acquiring money in order to save the traditional lifestyle in the face of growing industrialization. As Hoerder put it, it was a temporary proletarianization to avoid a permanent one.

Puskás noted the lack of a standard of measure for migration which would take into account this two-way movement. The statistics do not always add up, since the same people often moved several times. The gross migration figure therefore needs to be lower. Puskás recalled from the micro-study of her village that everyone who had gone away had wanted and intended to return. Naturally, there is a big difference between wanting to come back and actually realizing that desire. Their goal was simply to make some money, so they could come back home and get a little bit more land and have a new house of their own. Evidence of this intention can be demonstrated by the close contact between migrant and village. Brožek added that as long as the migrant had the intention of returning home, he would be much more likely to maintain a conservative attitude, i.e., saving money and perpetuating the old life-style and values. However, as soon as he begins to accept his life in America

as a permanent situation, the old conservatism fades in the face of the modernization of his general style of life. In the end, said Brožek, what began as a temporary migration ended up becoming a permanent settlement migration. Hoerder noted re-migration where some remigrants, once back in the old culture, realized how much they had changed, and began to consider life in America much better after all. Such was the slow, gradual effect of acculturation on social consciousness.

7) NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Both Hoerder and Brožek spoke of the effect of remigration on national consciousness. Hoerder claimed that one third of the migrants returned from North America to Europe, even if not to their country of origin. Coming back, a worker had not only increased his technical knowledge, which could help him advance personally into a higher wage category (as in Italy, for example), but also had a knowledge of democratic rights. In Austria, remigrants were regarded as undesirable not only because they were worn out by the work in America but because they were "full of ideas".

The formation of new nation states after the First World War also played a part in return migration. Brožek noted the complexity which this added to the already complex statistical data. A migrant could have gone to the United States from a pre-World War I country, identifying himself with its majority ethnic group and then after the war remigrating to one of the newly created nation states, and reporting himself as a member of a different ethnic group than at first.

Čizmić spoke of the role of ethnic newspapers and pointed out that the Croats in America had a very strong newspaper and that it, along with all the Slavic papers was constantly raising the question of national movements. According to Klemenčić, the heart of national consciousness for the nationless nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was in the ethnic newspapers of the U.S. Tajták said that such newspapers are a good indication of when the emigrants became conscious of their nationality. Sirácky suggested a study on national consciousness at home, not just from the point of view of national history but with regard to the interrelation of the ethnic groups, as many times ethnic consciousness is only manifested on the dialect level.

8) INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

Brožek and Tajták wondered about just where the assimilation process began. Tajták suggested Ellis Island itself. But if a migrant becomes an American, when does he cease to be a Slovak? Tajták said that American Slovaks could not be considered a part of Slovak history. Brožek brought up this same problem when he questioned the place of the migrant in history: European or American? As an

example, he noted the Polish ethnic group in the present-day U.S. consisted of Americans of Polish origin. They are clearly American, nevertheless they influence Polish–American relations, in this way affecting Polish history.

Brożek spoke of two periods of Slavic activity in the U.S., pre-1914 and post-1914. The first was dominated by the ideas of Slavic ethnic groups to help the process of unification and integration of their nation and to help their countrymen improve their economic and political situation. In the second stage, they changed their political aims and began to form larger Slavic political movements—not only in the U.S. but in other countries of immigration as well (e.g., the Yugoslav Commitee in London).

Kořalka spoke of the first generation of Czechs who settled in the United States in the 1850's and who after much hardship established themselves in homesteads. These migrants considered themselves, even in the first generation, Americans, American Czechs. The second generation, in spite of all their Czech clubs and cultural organizations were clearly Americans and not Czechs. Kořalka also pointed out the exaggeration of certain social concepts in Czech immigrants. The Catholics became more Catholic, the liberals more liberal once they arrived in America.

Čizmić commented on persistent problems with national identity, lasting even until today, in that many Croats, Serbs and Slovenes still declared themselves Austrians. Brożek agreed with Mark Stolarik that the U.S. census was wrong when it said that the number of U.S. Czechs was the same as the number of U.S. Slovaks. Some Americans, when asked about their ethnic origin, responded "Czecho-slovak", and were recorded as Czechs.

Gellén spoke of the so-called "Ethnic Renaissance" which occurred in the United States in the 1960s. It amounted to a resurgence of ethnicity in American life, and was a kind of reaction to black affirmative action movements, which were based not on the ideology of the individual but on group cohesion. He described the supporters of this new ethnicity: for the most part, they were intellectuals from all walks of life but who were the product of the "melting pot". That is, said Gellén, they had been through extensive assimilation and upward mobility. For reasons largely political, they jumped on the bandwagon of this ethnic awakening, in the wake of the black situation. It is important to separate the political and the ideological elements from this movement in order to concentrate on what is really a social process. Ethnic culture, he stated, was the way of life of the working-class people, a part of their everyday experience, an origin and an identity in symbols.

There was a strong correlation, claimed Gellén, between class and ethnicity. Kořalka pointed out the difference between the everyday ethnicity of the lower classes (symbolized by food, clothes etc.) and the high ethnic culture of the intelligentsia. Niedermüller stated that the migrants' culture (the old culture which the migrants took with them into their new country) was first of all a class culture which came into direct confrontation with the American middle class and working class cultures. For the migrants, their ethnic identity was of no value if they wanted to become a part of the American social structure as American workers. This, said

Niedermüller, was particularly true for the first and second generations; the second and third generations, because of the low social status of ethnics, would deny their own ethnic identity—the old culture—in order to improve their own social position and move up in American society. Only after they had achieved a higher social status would they admit to their Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian (or whatever) background. Only in the third or fourth generation would there be this turning back to their ethnic heritage.

Gellén spoke of this new upsurge in ethnic awareness as an ideological frame within which the descendants of the migrants could celebrate their ethnicity, since it had ceased to carry the social stigma it did in the past. Kořalka disagreed with this, saying that such a view was limited and did not take into account some of the immigration to areas other than industrial areas and the descendants of immigrants other than the descendants of industrial workers. In particular, he noted the Czech settlers of the American Midwestern plain states, who have maintained their ethnic identity in its original form even in language down to the fourth generation because of their isolation and lack of opportunity for social advancement. These people are not a part of any "ethnic celebration".

Puskás pointed out that not only did the migrants differ from each other in the U.S., but they differed from each other even before they left their original home country, simply because they came from different backgrounds. What resulted upon arrival was not so much a class culture as much as it was a special "immigrant culture", which was neither American nor (as in her example) Hungarian. Brożek went along with the notion of an immigrant versus a class culture because it was not only the immigrant peasants who were trying to shed their ethnic heritage and be acculturated by the receiving society but representatives of other classes as well. As an example, Brożek pointed to recent emigration of Poles to America. Upon arrival in the U.S. they lost their social status. The pre-condition to recovering at least a part of it was the breaking of their cultural ties with Poland and a concerted effort in every area to be accepted as soon as possible by American society as an American. This recent emigration works the same way as its 19th century predecessors did.

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The conclusion of the discussion was followed by a brief evaluation of the achievements of the conference. In her appraisal Puskás emphasized that it was generally accepted that the process of migration cannot be mechanically derived from its economic background. It is not claimed anymore that mass migration is characteristic of the poorest regions. Nobody denied that the tradition and the inner mechanism of migration have a role in the intensity of any given migration. It was agreed that the process of migration could be periodized concerning each ethnic group. In the beginning artisans and craftsmen were moving on; it became a rural emigration—peasants' emigration—in the period of its unfolding. A change in the character of overseas migration is showing throughout Europe from the 1880s on instead of the settlement, that is to say permanent migration, labor or temporary

migration comes to the fore. The changes in the character of migration are connected with the formation of the labor-market, and the changes in its requirements. This is why only by studying the labor-market can it be understood with what possibilities East-Central Europe got integrated into the Atlantic economy.

Seeing that the migration regions cut through the frontiers, frontiers have to be cut through, too, when studying them: common topographic studies were suggested. More attention must be given to find the link between the various types of migration: settlement, labor-migration, seasonal and temporary, external and internal. It was claimed that overseas migration was a peculiar type of migration.

In viewing the role of the economic and non-economic motivations, an ideological rapproachment took place at the conference, at least as far as realizing that it needs reconsideration and more rigorous source-criticism.

It is quite understandable that the most sensitive issue in this part of Europe should be the connection between migration and the nationality question. The development of consciousness and of national consciousness in immigrant groups cannot be denied, especially in the period of the group getting formed. To see how much and to what extent this influenced the masses, appropriate research methods have to be worked out and other sources than the newspapers or even Hungarian official organs have to be made use of.

The need for cooperation was underlined, so that sooner or later a method for an estimation of the much debated statistical data should be found acceptable for all concerned. The atmosphere of the conference showed very good signs that, given the possibilities to exchange ideas and confront views, ethnocentric attitudes could be eliminated.

It was agreed that the next conference be held in Yugoslavia.

Julianna Puskás

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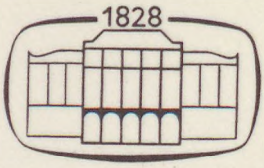

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