# DISTRIBUTION OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION OF ILLINOIS

BY

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A. B. Augustana College, 1911

## **THESIS**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN SOCIOLOGY

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1912

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JULIUS ADAM REINEMUND DISTRIBUTION OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE **ENTITLED** POPULATION OF ILLINOIS. BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE OF Head of Department Recommendation concurred in: Committee on Final Examination

#### Section I.

### INTRODUCTION.

The United States is an experiment in government unique among the powers of the world. In a sense it cannot be called a nation, for the word nation usually implies common nativity and blood among the people of a political unit. The very thing that renders the use of the word nation questionable when speaking of the American Republic is the thing that makes that Republic a unique experiment in government. Neither at the present day nor in all the annals of recorded history is a similar society found existing under a similar government. Whether the United States can establish itself on a firm and stable basis is a matter of great concern to all the world and especially to the people of America. The vast extent of territory embraced within the boundaries of the American Republic presents a widely varied assortment of climatic and topographical conditions; the conglomerate mass of the population living upon those lands represents many races and nations, while the forces exerted upon the social, political, and economic institutions of the young government are exceedingly numerous and intricate. Whether or not the United States can fulfill the tremendous possibilities so evidently allotted to it as a world power, depends largely upon the character of those social, political, and economic institutions.

The institutions of a people grow out of the

mores of that people. The mores are the product of the physiological and psychological nature of the inhabitants and the social and material environment by which they are surrounded. Or, in other words, the mores of a people are the results of the reactions of that people upon its environment.

When America was first settled by Europeans, the settlers brought with them to their new home those habits, customs, and institutions to which they had been accustomed in the Old World. But the environment in America was in many respects different from the environment in the mother countries. New conditions presented themselves, and new problems had to be solved. The result has been the introduction of new mores in many instances. At the present time American institutions cannot be said to be permanently fixed. Old mores are constantly undergoing change, and new mores are arising due to the introduction into the population of vast hordes of immigrants possessing great heterogeneity of physical and psychical traits which will react upon the local environment in a great variety of ways. Since the character of the institutions will do much to determine the ultimate success or failure of the government, it is necessary to guide the growth of those institutions into the proper channels. Since the institutions grow out of the mores, it becomes essential to determine the character of those mores in so far as it is possible to do so. In so far as the character of the mores is determined by the reaction of a people on its environment, it is possible to form the character of the mores by introducing into the population only such individuals, races, or nationalities as will react upon the existing environment in the desired way. Hence it is not an idle

exaggeration to say that, of all the problems confronting the United States, the immigration question is one of the most vital and fundamental.

Immigration is not a thing peculiar to America. Migration is as old as the human family, and even in the lower forms of animal life it is regularly found. It requires little effort to account for these peregrinations. Concealed beneath a great variety of apparent reasons there are seldom found more than two or three prime causes for the wandering of any people from one home to another. Some decades ago migration was frequently produced by religious persecutions. However, the desire for religious freedom has of late played little part in emigration because there are few nations to-day where there is not religious liberty. The second cause of migration is political. In proportion as a government is tyrannical, emigration will be heavy. Most of the powers of the world have granted a large measure of political liberty to the people during the last century, and the result has been a diminution in emigration for political reasons. The last and most important cause is the economic. Men are forced to tear themselves from their home ties and to start life anew in other lands by the desire to improve conditions. It is but one phase of that ever-present struggle among men for existence. This is the cause that is responsible for most of the immigration into the United States at the present time.

But simple as its causes may have been, this proclivity for migration has produced most complex and far-reaching results. It has destroyed and raised up empires, modified and improved the lands of the earth, and given birth

to the high degree of culture which the world to-day enjoys.

All this is due to that inevitable result of migration known as race contact.

Race contact is a thing partly biological and partly social. It means the bringing together of two or more peoples differing, possibly, in physical and psychical character, and most probably also, in degree of culture. The crossing of the two or more biological strains may result in a different type of human being; the crossing of the several cultures is sure to result in a new culture characterized by new elements unlike anything before known. This crossing of strains is a source of progress, and it is reasonably safe to say that one of the chief things contributing to progress is the collision of ideas usually brought about by race contact.

There are four possible kinds of race contact, classified according to the results produced by that contact. History furnishes more or less clear examples of each of these phenomena.

result in the supremacy of the one and the subserviency of the other. Neither race is affected to any great degree by its contact with the other. Each retains its own character and institutions, and there is very little change in the type of either. Such a case is fairly well exemplified by the Egyptian captivity of the Jews. When the Children of Israel emerged from that period of bondage they remained essentially Jewish and left the Egyptians practically as they had found them. There were, to be sure, some evidences of Egyptian life and thought carried away by some of the Jews, but it is scarcely

changing, at least in any marked degree, the characteristic culture of the Jewish people. Another example of this class, and one the workings of which can be observed to-day, is the attempt by the Magyars in Hungary to "Maygarize" the Slovaks. The most drastic measures taken to accomplish this end have resulted in almost utter failure, and there seems to be every prospect for a continuation of the two distinct types in Hungary.

The second kind of phenomena arising from race contact is that resulting in a complete absorption of the residents of a country by a party of invaders. Such was the case when the seething flood of German tribes poured over the Roman Empire. In but a short time, the Romans as well as the inhabitants of the Roman colonies were gone, and a new race had taken their place. So effectual was the absorption that we do not know to-day what the typical characteristics of the Roman people were except in so far as we are able to judge from the literary and archeological remains that have been preserved.

the third possibility is that the invaders will be entirely swallowed up and become a part of the stock of those invaded. Historical examples of this are comparatively rare. In the case of a successful invasion, the invaders are usually superior to the invaded in numbers, and often in intelligence and ability also. Hence, most often the invader will swallow up the invaded, and the example will fall in the second class. But there are some few illustrations of the third class, and as such may be cited the Manchus in China. With the exception of the royal family they can be said to have been knit together into the fibre of their conquered subjects.

Finally, there is the result arising most
frequently of all, perhaps, when collision occurs: the
coalescence of races, forming an entirely new people unlike
either of the component types. This is the case in England
where the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and later, the Normans, were
all amalgamated into Englishmen who are neither Angles, Saxons,
Jutes, nor Normans, but a distinct type bearing some resemblance
to each of the four tribes, and yet showing characteristics
entirely new to all of them.

It must not be supposed that absorption such as that mentioned in the second and third classes ever took place, or ever could take place, without there being some changes in the character of the predominant race due to peculiarities in the character of the weaker people. The illustrations used are not perfect examples, and it is doubtful whether such perfect examples could ever be found. But theoretically, there exist these several possible results of race contact, even though it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between them in actual practice. In the last mentioned case, however, there is no doubt as to the character of the result. The characteristics of all the component peoples unite, and there emerges a resultant type which is entirely new.

attention of so many Americans is nothing more nor less than another example of race contact, but it is the most peculiar among such examples. In the first place, there is no American people to either absorb or to be absorbed by the incoming hordes. Every citizen of this country is himself a member of some foreign race. Hence, it is obvious that a hostile invasion

and forcible union of these varied elements cannot be expected.

The process must be a slow and evolutionary one. In this respect
the immigration question of the American people falls into the
fourth general group into which we have divided race contacts.

In the second place, we deal now, not with two or even three races and those of similar nature, but we see the unprecedented coming together of representatives of a great many races and nations, each of which has its own social standards and institutions even more strongly developed than those of the United States. It has been truly well said that America is the great melting-pot of the nations. Into this crucible there are being constantly poured thousands and millions of immigrants differing from each other and from the native-born Americans in their physical, mental, moral, and social characters. Eventually the stream must cease to flow, for even this enormously large country will some day have all the inhabitants it can comfortably care for, and when the influx ceases the molding process will also draw rapidly to a close. Out of the bewildering, heterogeneous mass will emerge a new type---the American, an ethnic character differing from anything before known. What will he be?

That question is the most tremendously important problem confronting the American people, and yet it does not seem that they fully realize how vital it really is. There can be no doubt, in view of what has been said of the historic examples of race amalgamation, that the new American will be widely different from the type we now call by that name. He can be either better or worse, and which-ever he becomes will be determined largely by the way the evolutionary process is

directed---by the way the pot is stirred. There are qualities and characteristics in all of the immigrant peoples that would be desirable in the future American race, but there are also countless traits that would be very unpleasant. The problem, then, consists in adding to the mixture such relative portions of each race as are necessary to result in the presence of the desirable elements and the absence of the undesirable qualities.

as this can never be solved, and we grant immediately that it cannot if the present methods of study are continued. To reach a successful solution it is absolutely necessary that a complete knowledge of the character, physical and mental, of each race and nationality represented among the immigrants be had and that the effects of the environment upon the immigrant and of the immigrant upon his environment be known. The methods by which the immigration question has been studied in the past have not, and in their nature could not have produced this knowledge.

In the subject of immigration, as in many other subjects, the American people have obtained a broad and somewhat hazy outline of the problem, and as a result they have said and written a great deal. But nearly all this is the merest generalization based very largely upon assumptions which may or may not be true. The surface has been scratched in a good many places, but only deep plowing will get at the true significance of the facts. There have been many studies made of special nationalities in this country, and almost invariably they have been highly colored by more or less prejudiced writers. There have been studies of particular

problems such as the influence of the foreign element in the labor market, or the effect of immigration upon city growth.

Of these, some are good; some are bad, and some indifferent, but few of them do any more than point out questions for further investigation.

Such methods of studying the immigration question are radically wrong. The country is too broad and varied to permit of such studies. The individuals of any nationality located in Minnesota, for example, will soon show important differences from individuals of the same nationality located in Texas. The effect of the foreign element upon labor or the growth of cities may be entirely different in New England and in California. The elements entering into such considerations are so varied that it is not safe to generalize until all the conditions have been investigated and all the facts known.

If really valuable scientific data, from which significant conclusions can be drawn, are to be found, the immigration question must be studied intensively. That is, one section of the country should be selected and an investigation of the minutest possible details made, for the purpose of determining every force exerted by the foreign element of each type upon the environment, physical and social, and every effect produced by the environment upon each nationality, also physical and social. This process should be repeated in every section of the country. After all the facts are definitely known, measures can be taken to solve the immigration problem. Then it will be possible to encourage the distribution of immigrants into those sections of the country where they are most needed and where they can develop

into the best type of American citizens. The accomplishment of this much-to-be desired result is largely a matter of surrounding the immigrants with the kind of physical and social environments best suited to their respective racial types.

This paper is intended to be, when completed, precisely such an intensive study of the immigration question as described above. The section of the United States lying within the borders of the state of Illinois has been chosen as the locus operandi largely because of the fact that Illinois is one of the most typical of the states. It presents advantages for such a work that no other state possesses. It is large, being three hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide, and containing about fifty-six thousand square miles of land. Its location is admirable, being situated as it is in the very center of the country. The upper end of the state is quite northern in character, while the lower end is typical of the southern states. The entire western boundary of Illinois is formed by the Mississippi River, and a part of the lower eastern boundary line is the Ohio. These, together with the Illinois River, the Rock River, and many other smaller streams which run through the state, as well as the location of Lake Michigan on its northeastern corner, make the land very fertile, and, what is more important for the purpose of this present investigation, have a significant effect upon the nature of the population elements found in the state.

Illinois is largely an agricultural state. Not one of the one hundred and two counties contains less than forty per cent of its land area in farms, and these farms are among the richest in the United States. But, although the state

is chiefly agricultural, it is also underlaid with rich deposits of bituminous coal. There are coal mines in more than half the counties, and in the total production of coal Illinois ranks third among the states of the Union. The mining industry lends many contrasts to the agricultural occupations in the matter of population.

Contrasted with its rural area are the cities of Illinois, and in this respect also this section of the country is ideal for a study of the immigration question, for it would be folly to make an intensive study of any American population unless opportunity was offered for a study of urban life. Illinois has many urban centers, ranging from Chicago, the second city in size in the United States, down to the smaller but scarcely less interesting agricultural and mining villages. The towns and cities are centers for a great variety of manufacturing and commercial industries which exert still other forces on the immigrants who come to work and live in their environs. For all these, and many other similar reasons, Illinois is an admirable section of the country for our present use.

We have now seen the general importance of the immigration problem to the people of the United States, and have explained the nature of that problem. We have pointed out the errors in the old methods of approaching the question of immigration, and have tried to define the advantages of what has been termed "the intensive" method. We have announced the field for this investigation, and have enumerated the heterogeneous conditions that make that field so fitted for such an investigation. It now becomes necessary to outline

briefly the nature of the special problem in hand, and to define the scope of that problem.

Naturally the first question to engage the attention of the student of this problem is the distribution of immigrants within the state, and this distribution is likewise first in importance because it forms the basis of all the other studies to be made in this connection.

of immigrants may be considered. First, there is distribution by large sections, such as the northern and southern portions of the state. In the second place, there are the more specific fields of distribution such as counties, urban and rural communities, mountainous regions, prairies and timber lands, and river basins. Finally, there is the important subject of distribution by industries, such as agriculture, mining and the various manufacturing occupations.

closely allied to the facts of distribution are its causes. The tendencies of any particular race or nationality to settle in certain sections of the state, or to engage in special occupations, are of the greatest importance in a study of this kind. The movements of nationalities from one industry to another are of interest in that such movements throw light upon the change in social and economic status of such a nationality, and with the changes in social and economic status, the question of assimilation is closely bound up.

The second division of our field may be called the history of the settlement of Illinois, or the progress of each race and nationality in the state. The first settlements made in the Illinois country were trading and missionary posts established by the French explorers of the Mississippi Valley, and from that time to the present day the part played by the foreign element in the population of this state has been of very great importance. This division of the subject must be treated in a more or less superficial manner, for it is historical rather than sociological in nature. But some attention should be paid to it since it forms the logical groundwork for an investigation of the ethnic composition of the population. Under this head an effort should be made to correlate periods of political and economic unrest, and other factors in the life of European countries that caused emigration, with the settlement of people from those countries in this state. Here properly belongs also a discussion of the factors in the physical environment of certain sections of the state which may have attracted the particular nationalities that settled in those sections.

part of the work, namely, the effects produced by each race and nationality upon the character of the state and society, especially in that neighborhood in which each race and nationality has settled. This will include a somewhat detailed investigation of the standards of living of the various foreign elements; of the manner in which they are housed; and of their influence upon the religious and political life of the community. These things can be determined with considerable accuracy. An effort will also be made to collect statistics showing the influence of the several racial elements upon crime, pauperism, disease, illiteracy, suicide, divorce, birth and death rates, and many other such phenomena of sociological importance. It is probable that the figures for

to show the same definite relations of cause and effect that are possible in the case of housing, and religious and political influence. It will be impossible, for instance, to say that in a community where there is an unusually large amount of insanity and an exceptionally great number of Irish inhabitants, the insanity is characteristic of the Irish. But if this phenomenon happens often, it will be comparatively certain that the Irish, either because of their physical traits or their social practices, are peculiarly susceptible to insanity. In other words, an effort will be made to establish correlations between population groups and prevailing facts as shown by social and vital statistics. These will throw much light on the influence of the various racial elements, thereby contributing the knowledge necessary to solve the problems of distribution and assimilation.

In this same general division of the work will fall the investigation of the social and vital statistics of the native-born of native stock and of the native-born of foreign parentage which is necessary for purposes of comparison. A study of the influence of the native-born of foreign parentage is of the greatest importance, for it is the very center of the problem of assimilation. It is not to be supposed that any very great results can be secured in the attempt to thoroughly Americanize the immigrants themselves because they are too completely the product of other civilizations and cultures. But in the children of the immigrants there is a large possibility for a good, strong, and energetic body of American citizens, and there is an equally strong possibility that the inherent potentialities of these youths will be turned

into less desirable, and even positively vicious, channels.

This is a brief outline of the general scope of this intensive study of the population of Illinois. From it some faint idea can be gained as to the tremendous task involved in such an investigation. For the benefit of anyone desiring to prosecute such a study at first hand, it will be fitting to discuss briefly the sources from which information can be drawn, and to point out the deficiencies of those sources, as well as the other difficulties of acquiring adequate data on the subject.

The first and most important source is, of course, the United States Census. The various publications of the Census since 1850 contain a great variety of information and tables dealing with the foreign-born population. Although nativity statistics have been gathered by the Bureau of the Census since 1850, the first detailed compilations of those statistics by counties were published in the Census Reports of 1870. Many of the enumerators' schedules are on file at the Bureau of the Census in Washington, and from them the nativity statistics can be compiled for 1850 and 1860. This will require a very considerable expenditure of time and money, but inasmuch as the importance of the foreign element in the early social and economic history of Illinois is very great, such an expenditure will be more than justified and, in fact, will be absolutely essential to a thorough study of this kind.

Many improvements could be wished for in the Census. The enumerations are not as detailed as could be desired. For instance, the inhabitants of Scandinavian birth are not given prior to 1880. In 1880 there was a very

considerable number of them in many counties. But since the earlier figures are not accessible, there is no exact method of studying the growth of the Scandinavian colonies. Likewise, it is known that there was a quite important influx of Polish farmers into the Lake Region during the decades of the sixties and seventies, but the number of Poles in each county is not published until 1890, and hence we are unable to tell just what sigificance the early tide had upon the population of this state.

unsatisfactory. They are not published at all for cities of less than 25,000 inhabitants although the foreign element in the smaller urban communities of the Middle-Western states is very important. The nativity statistics showing the country of birth should be published for all places of 2,500 and over.

In like manner, the detailed figures of birth should be given for agricultural laborers, farm tenants, and farm owners, as well as for those engaged in the various mining and manufacturing occupations. Some idea of these things is fundamentally necessary for an intensive study of any American population. The Federal Government is alone able to gather such statistics satisfactorily. If the state governments undertook the work, the results would be practically useless because they would lack uniformity, and also because they could not be as complete as it is possible for the Bureau of the Census to make them. It is to be hoped that the present inadequacy of the appropriations for Census work will soon be remedied so that this more detailed work can be undertaken.

In 1911 the special congressional committee

on Immigration made its report. This report is largely a compilation of Census materials although some original investigations were made by the committee. The chief value of the work lies in the fact that it assembles the materials of the Census on immigration in a convenient form. It also shows the possibilities that inhere in a scientific study of the immigration question.

of a less exact nature but none the less valuable on that account, are the county records and files of newspapers. These have never been collected and arranged in a form convenient for the investigator's use, and in many cases they have not even been preserved. Often newspaper files have to be obtained from attics and storerooms in private dwellings, but there are a considerable number of such files available in libraries and newspaper offices. In using such materials as these it is often necessary to judge of a person's nationality by his name, and hence there is always a great possibility of error. But in a general way these sources can be made highly useful in a population study.

Vital statistics are, of course, of very great importance to the sociologist. Unfortunately the authorities in the western states have only recently awakened to their value, and hence the records can be of little use for the early periods of Illinois' social history. But in so far as they do exist, they can furnish many significant hints as to the social effect produced on the community by the various population elements present therein.

In this state the publications of the State
Historical Society contain much valuable material. Although it

is primarily historical in nature, it is possible to derive much of a sociological character from many of the papers so published.

materials available. The general works on immigration and on the influence of particular nationalities are all more or less unsatisfactory. All of the Journals published by Sociological, Economic, and Historical societies, as well as many popular magazines, contain frequent papers on the question of immigration and its various phases. Usually these are of a general nature, and often they are questionable in their reliability. But they serve one purpose, namely, to offer suggestions to the student as to particular lines of research which may be productive of valuable results. All such general works and articles should be used mainly for the purpose of acquiring a broad acquaintance with the nature of the problems of race contact in the population of this country.

There are many historical works on Illinois as a whole and on each county of the state. At best, however, it is necessary to use them with considerable caution. Studies are now being made by the Historical Society and the department of history in the University of Illinois that, it is hoped, will result in reliable accounts of the settlement of the state and of the influx of the various foreign elements.

One of the most satisfactory methods of studying this question is to make personal investigations in each county and city. There are many difficulties in such work, but the benefits to be derived from it are great enough to override the difficulties. The immigration question is one in which it is

very easy to form prejudices that will color strongly the investigator's work, robbing it of much of its scientific value. To avoid this unfortunate tendency it is necessary to know the people, their mode of life and habits of thought, at first hand. It is not scientific to form a theory and then compile tables of figures to prove it, but rather is it essential to collect the facts in a broadly sympathetic way and deduce the inevitable conclusions from them. This is good chemistry and physics, and it is equally good sociology. To properly understand the facts one must be on the ground to see and know them. Much is to be expected in this study of the ethnic composition of the population of Illinois from the local surveys now being made by the department of sociology at the State University. They should reveal many interesting and valuable facts concerning the foreign elements in various sections of the state.

This present paper does not attempt to cover all the material outlined above. Indeed, a great part of the time since this work was undertaken has been devoted to a survey of the general field of the subject and to acquiring a knowledge of the literature available. The result has been the formulation of the plan along which the population can be studied, and a classification of the materials from which the needed information can be drawn.

In addition, however, this paper attempts to cover that part of the outline mentioned first and called by the name which heads the present study: "Distribution of Racial Elements in the Population of Illinois." Naturally this phase of the question cannot be worked out in all its details until the entire work is completed. The distribution

of the ethnic elements is very closely bound up with the history of the settlement of the state, and is also more or less dependent upon the sociological aspects of the problem. In the main, however, the distribution of the foreign-born elements is discussed in the second part of this essay in the same manner as it will be in the completed work. Only such changes will be made later as are necessitated by the discovery of additional points of detail. Changes in the population elements from 1870 to 1900 are discussed, and the distribution in various sections and in different industries is treated. Unfortunately the statistics of the 1910 Census on population have not yet been published, and hence the present study must close with the year 1900. Provision has been made, however, for bringing the discussion down to date just as soon as the new figures are available.

#### SECTION II

DISTRIBUTION OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION OF ILLINOIS.

The Question Of Race.

The use of the word "racial" in the title of this paper necessitates some explanation of the meaning of that term, and opens up a discussion of the question of race.

There are, in the population of Illinois, about a score of important foreign elements. These include representatives of nearly every nationality that is immigrating into the United States. Very frequently it happens that in immigration studies these foreign elements are divided into groups called "races." Thus we speak of the Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Slavic, and Iberic races. Even more frequently, perhaps, are the so-called races grouped according to their supposed superiority and inferiority. Accordingly we hear much of the superiority of the northern and western European peoples, and of the inferiority of the southern and eastern European peoples. This is of the greatest importance to the student of immigration at the present time because of the fact that the wave of the supposedly superior races is ebbing, while that of the inferior races, so-called, is flowing more and more strongly from year to year. The effect upon the ultimate character of the population is problematical, but it is precisely this problem that this study is seeking to solve.

Before undertaking a detailed study of the various population elements in Illinois, it will be well to

inquire into the reasons for racial classification. Upon what grounds do people separate immigrants into superior and inferior races? In this discussion attention will be limited to those nationalities with which the student of Illinois population is directly concerned.

Men are classified into races in two ways: first, according to biologic or physical similarities, and second, according to historical or cultural progress. In other words, when we speak of races we may mean groups of people characterized by similar physical traits and measurements, or we may mean groups that are marked by a parity of customs, habits, ideas, and institutions.

In the first instance, the division is made on the basis of resemblances in color, hair, height, features, and cranial measurements. It is the common belief that differences in the social and intellectual status of races correspond to differences in physical traits, such as variations in brain and nervous structure. In support of this contention the argument is used that the temperament, mental predisposition, and mental ability---upon which things intellectual and social progress rest--- are formed by bodily and cerebral structure. Just how far this assumption may be relied upon as true is a matter of doubt. Modern ethnologists and psychologists have come to the conclusion, from the results of elaborate researches and experiments, that there is not so much affinity between bodily form and mental ability as the popular mind would like to believe. Nearly all the races with which immigration students are dealing have, at some time or other, passed through stages of great culture. The Greeks at the time of Pericles

were the proud masters of the world, reaching, in that epoch, a level of intellectual greatness which is scarcely surpassed by even the great minds of the present. Yet the modern Greeks are held to be one of the most inferior of the races that reach our shores. The Russians during the reign of Peter the Great made great progress in many lines, but the Slavic inhabitants of the Russian Empire are now among the most contemned of peoples. The German tribes that swept over Rome in the fifth century were most certainly barbarians, yet those same tribes are to-day in the fore-front of the nations in point of material and intellectual achievement. They are held to be a very superior race. Italy has produced many of the world's greatest statesmen, artists, literary men, churchmen, and musicians. But the Italian laborer in American cities is said to be an inferior being, incapable of adopting American culture. Vienna, Prague, and Budapest are centers of high types of civilization, and yet many alarmists see the ruin of the United States if the Austrians, Bohemians, and Hungarians are not excluded from the country. Popular estimation places the Syrian immigrants at the very bottom of the scale of the inferior races, and yet these same people have a history that is almost unsurpassed in grandeur.

talk about superior and inferior races is due to nothing more than race prejudice. It is a distinctly human trait to imagine one's own race superior to all others, and to see in that race the "chosen people" who shall eventually become the masters of the world.

But if there is danger in exaggerating too much

the differences between races, there is also danger in minimizing those differences too greatly. There certainly are variations in physical traits among peoples, and those peculiarities are matters of stock, transmitted from generation to generation. It is still an open question as to just how far these racial distinctions can be modified. Recent investigations seem to show that even cranial measurements, which have always been held to be among the most permanent of racial characteristics, change even in the first generation when the environment in which men live has been changed.\* This would apparently indicate that men are very plastic, and can be molded by the operation upon them of environmental forces. How far such a modification can be carried is as yet an unsolved problem.

That which is most vital for this present study, however, is the so-called cultural and historical character of races. The problem is not so much to determine the physical form of the future American, as to discover what effect the union of a great many different cultures will have upon American civilization.

During all the ages of its history every race has acquired characteristic institutions of political, economic, and social nature. These institutions, as has been pointed out above, arise out of the mores of the people, and the mores are the results of the biologic nature of men reacting upon the surrounding environment. In the case of the older and more settled races, the mores have been gradually crystallized into

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. Boas: Abstr. of Imm. Comm. Report on Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants.

permanent institutions, and as long as no new elements are introduced, those institutions remain unchanged. They gradually become identified with the life of the race, and are thought of as characteristics peculiar to this or that stock.

America is just now witnessing the immigration of many different races. We have seen that all of these races have passed through periods of brilliant success and achievement, although vast chasms exist to-day in the levels of culture which they occupy. Because of the fact that the southern and eastern Europeans have achieved greatness at one time or another just as truly as the northern and western Europeans are doing in the present age, we can free ourselves of the old notion that the former are inferior to the latter. But there is another, and an equally important, matter requiring consideration. Each of the incoming races is bringing with it all the old culture that it has developed in its former home. It has definite ideas on religion, government, education, art, standard of living, and all the other things that go to make up a nation's life. These ideas will be nearly as varied as the number of races to which the immigrants belong. The important question, therefore, is: what will be the result of the infusion into American life of all these different standards, customs, and institutions?

No one can answer this question definitely. If a race is characterized by given institutions merely because all the members of that race happen to have been born in a given environment, then it is only necessary to change the environment in order to effect a change in the institutions. That is to say, if external conditions alone determine the character of a race's culture, then it is unimportant what the nature of the immigrant's civilization is, for it will eventually give way to a civilization resulting from the American environment. In such an event, the Slav, the Italian, and the Greek will develop into just the same kind of American, as far as culture is concerned, as will the German, the Englishman, and the Swede.

On the other hand, if a race's institutions, through long years of existence, have become ingrained into the stock of that race, or if their original rise was determined in part by innate predisposition, then the environment will not be the sole factor in determining the future of American culture and the character of American institutions. This means that if the character of a race's civilization is determined by heredity, the civilization of the United States will be fixed by the relative portions of each ethnic stock that become parts of the American population.

Those who hold that the latter alternative is
the correct one, do so because they believe in the existence
of such things as racial temperaments and racial types of mind
which determine the character of a race's culture. It is
perfectly true that temperament and mental type are dependent
upon cerebro-nervous structure. In other words, they are
biologic faculties, or, at least, manifestations of the physical
organism. As such they are, of course, hereditary. Moreover,
progress is affected to a great degree by temperament and type
of mind. But it is surely an error to say that these things

are racial traits. They are not co-extensive with racial lines. It is the common belief that the German people have a phlegmatic temperament, and that the French are marked by impetuosity. But there are any number of Germans who are not phlegmatic, and by no means all Frenchmen are impetuous. Italians are supposed to be uniformly marked by a sensuous love of color in art, but that judgement is based almost solely on a knowledge of a comparatively few leading Italian painters. The fact is that there are far greater variations in temperament among the individual members of any one race than between two racial units, and hence the institutions of any people cannot be the product of a racial temperament. There is no racial type of mind.

that may be drawn from this discussion: that, while the culture of a race is the joint product of innate predisposition and historical evolution, yet the latter is the more important element. The mere fact of ethnic stock is not sufficient to explain a nation's institutions, customs, and ideas. These things are the results largely of the social and physical environment through which a people has passed during the ages of its history. Hence there is little to fear as to the effect of the newer immigration upon American civilization. The immigrants who are coming to this country are representatives of strong, virile races which have demonstrated their abilities at some time or other. They have nothing in their ethnic make-up that will prevent their rising to the highest level of culture.

There may be, it is true, predispositions in a

race that will tend to a greater development along some one line than along others. If there should be an overwhelmingly large immigration of any one race, it might cause American culture to progress along some particular line rather than along other lines. But there is not such a preponderance of any one stock. Hence, there may be expected a normal progress in every direction.

Since the peculiarities of any race are largely due to the historical environment of that race, great changes are to be expected when that historical environment has been replaced by American surroundings. These changes will be both temporary and permanent. The sudden transition from one culture to another will result in certain temporary phenomena such as the tendency of the children of the immigrants toward crime. The old ideas and customs are losing their hold, while the true significance of the new culture has not yet been firmly grasped. In the course of time, however, these temporary anomalies will pass away, and permanent changes will take place. The new racial element will adopt American standards and American civilization. It is possible that this new element will make contributions of a constructive nature to the existing conditions, and then progress will result as it usually does when a cross-fertilization of cultures takes place. Out of the bewildering heterogeneity of cultures there will arise a new and superior type that will be distinctively American. This process is the record of the past, and conditions are now pointing to its recurrence in this country.

What, then, is the real purpose of this intensive

study of an American population? It is simply to learn the facts about the mixture of races in this common environment. It is hoped that light will be thrown upon the relative importance of race and historical environment in producing types of civilization; that the results of a change in environment will be ascertained; that it will be possible to determine how far those results are temporary and to what extent they may be expected to become permanent. The method of procedure by which these desired ends are to be approached has been explained in the fore-going section of this paper.

Distribution Of Racial Elements

By Sections.

It was said above that Illinois is particularly well adapted for a population study because of its great size. A more detailed description of the size and physical character of the state will serve to emphasize the truth of that remark. Illinois is 388 miles long, 212 miles wide, and contains 56,650 square miles, or 36,256,000 acres of land. Along the river bottoms the soil is of vegetable mold, forty feet in depth. The whole state is of rich mold soil underlaid by a solid bed of clay which keeps the loam from losing its moisture and thus contributes indirectly to the richness of the vegetation. The entire surface of the state is of limestone formation, and an extensive coal-bed stretches from northwest to southeast, 375 miles in length and approximately 200 miles in breadth. In the northwestern corner, near Galena in Jo Daviess county, are rich lead deposits, and in other parts of the state more or less extensive quantities of other minerals are found. The

climate of the state is also quite varied. While the mean annual temperature for the entire state is about fifty degrees, this varies from fifty eight and a half degrees in the extreme southern part to forty seven and a half degrees in the northern tier of counties.\*

On the whole, Illinois lies within what is known as the "Prairie Region" of the United States. The northeastern corner near Chicago, however, is a part of the "Lake Region," and the southern part of the state properly belongs in the "Interior Timberland Region."\*\* The fact that so much of its territory lies within the prairie belt, and the exceedingly rich soil structure of the state, makes Illinois a prosperous agricultural territory. Of the state's entire land area, over 9/10 is in farms. Only one county has less than 3/5, and only four other counties have less than 4/5, of their land area in farms. The counties in the central and northern parts of the state have, in the greater number of cases, from 90% to 95% of their land in farms. The southern counties show, in frequent instances, from 80% to 90% of their total area in farms.\*\*\*

All this may seem, at first glance, entirely superficial and extraneous to a study of population, but nothing is more potent in determining the character of the population of a region than the nature of the land and climate. This is true of the native-born population, and it is still more true of the immigrant element. This will become more

Ency. Brit.: Illinois. \*\*Cr. U. S. Census Bulletin #1 (1903) p 12 \*\*\* (1910) Agriculture: Illinois.

apparent in the course of the following pages.

When the tide of expansion began to spread into the middle-western country from the sea-board states, it followed three principal routes. The settlers from the New England states came through New York and by way of the Great Lakes, entering Illinois near the present site of Chicago. Large numbers of people came also through southern Pennsylvania and Maryland. But doubtless the greatest numbers moved westward through Virginia and Tennessee, or by way of the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and thence into Illinois through the southern portion of the state. Not only were these routes used by the native settlers, but they also formed the courses along which the tides of early immigration poured into the Illinois country. Especially was the northern route used by the aliens after Chicago had grown to a considerable size and had become the western metropolis which served as the distributing point for the new citizens.\* There was also a very considerable influx of immigrants, especially of the German nationality, through New Orleans. These came up the Mississippi River to St. Louis from which place they spread out in all directions, settling on the fertile lands of Missouri and Illinois. Hence, very early in the history of the territory the regions surrounding the cities of St. Louis and Chicago became the centers for the foreign-born population in Illinois. After these cities had grown, and the country generally had become rather thickly settled, Chicago and St. Louis not only served as distributing \*Cf. Faust: German Element, I, 434-5.

points for immigrants, but attracted many such to themselves because of the advantages which they, as large urban centers, offered in the way of employment. Thus an examination of the population maps of Illinois shows that at each census year, the counties immediately adjoining Chicago and St. Louis form the areas most densely settled by people of foreign birth.

The land in the southern portion of the state is the least desirable within the boundaries of Illinois. It was early settled by the "poor whites" from the mountainous regions of the eastern states, and it has always remained unprogressive, both in the character of its inhabitants and in the development of the country itself. There has been very little immigration into this country. The foreigners have shunned it because it offered no inducements to them. On the other hand, the central and northern parts of the state are rich prairie lands; they contain the mines and larger cities. Hence they have attracted the foreign-born of all nationalities. A study of the population maps shows that these sections of the state are at present very densely settled with foreigners, and that the same thing has been true for every census since 1870. Investigation also shows that the immigrant tide has always poured over the choicest territories of the state, and has never been turned towards the more undesirable regions of "Egypt."

Distribution Of Racial Elements

By Counties.

In 1870 Illinois was already quite densely populated with foreign-born settlers. Only four counties had

less than 1% of the foreign element in their populations, and very few counties show less than 10%. Cook county was more argely foreign in its population than any other, having the surprisingly large total of 47.6%, while St. Clair, Will, Monroe, Kankakee, and Du Page all have populations of which about one-third were born in other lands. These same counties retain their lead in the percentage of immigrants at the census of 1880, but there is a very appreciable falling off. The number of counties with less than 1% of the foreign element in their populations has fallen to three, and there is a more even distribution of this element over the state.

The general appearance of the 1890 map is still lighter than that of the 1880 map. There has been a very slight rise in the percentage of foreign-born in Cook county, but the adjoining counties, as well as those across the river from St. Louis, have become less thickly populated with immigrants. The one striking exception to this general decline is Grundy county. Here the foreign element has increased during the decade by 10%.

In 1900 the immigrant element was very much smaller all over the state than in 1900. By that is meant that the percentage of the foreign element to the total population was smaller. The actual number of immigrants was, of course, much greater in 1900 than in 1890, but the increase in the foreign element is not nearly so rapid as the increase of the native-born element.

The high water mark of foreign-born population compared with the total population at these four census years is thus seen to be 1870. The decline was more or less steady

for forty years until in 1900 there were comparatively few counties with more than 20% of their population foreign-born, and only one (Cook) with a foreign-born percentage of more than 30.

There are several interesting facts shown by these four general maps. A few may be mentioned. The six counties on the Wisconsin border line are especially dense with foreign-born population. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that the immigrants evince a tendency to settle in the northern states and especially in Wisconsin. Hence the northern counties of Illinois are apt to receive a greater share of the alien class than the southern counties.

Effingham county, although well towards the southern portion of the state, and although surrounded with counties having a rather small percentage of foreign-born in their populations, is an exception to the rule. It stands out quite prominently with a comparatively large immigrant element.

St. Louis show tremendous decline in the percentage of foreignborn in their populations. On the map for 1870 all these counties
stand out prominently, but in 1900 they have become more nearly
equal to the average. The reason for this is doubtless the
influx of native-born population. The proportion of immigrants
to the total population in the cities and in the country
adjacent to urban centers has a tendency to decline far more
rapidly than that in the country districts. More will be said
of this later.

The largest single racial element in the state

early and increased rapidly so that in 1900 there were more Germans in this state than in any other except New York. In order to appreciate fully the part played here by the Germans, it may be well to refer briefly to the history of the German settlements and to trace the tide of German immigration into this part of the country. The statements made in this connection are taken for the most part from A. B. Faust's history, "The German Element in the United States."

The first known settler of the German nationality in Illinois, was Julius A. Barnsbach who located, with his family, in Madison county, as early as 1809. Many of his relatives and friends followed and settled near him, thus forming the nucleus of a very important German colony. Adams county was first settled in 1821, and the first German, Georg Wolf, a native of the lower Rhine, arrived at Quincy in the summer of the following year.

In 1824, two Germans, Gottfried Duden and a man named Eversmann, settled on Missouri land. The former was wealthy and had his land cultivated for him, he spending much of his time writing a romantic description, part fact and part fiction, of his journey to this country and of the country itself. His account was so interesting and graphic that the book passed through many editions and was widely read throughout Germany. This and similar stories were largely responsible for the strong current of German immigration that set in after 1830. Many of the immigrants went first to Missouri and large numbers stayed there, but there were also a great many who were more or less dissatisfied with the country and moved over into

Illinois, taking land along the river bottoms where, as they supposed, the heavy timber betokened richness of soil. After the revolution of 1848 there was a great influx of German political exiles. They were, for the most part, university men of the highest type, and they soon became a powerful factor in the affairs of their new home.

of German immigration of the nineteenth century before 1880, and by far the largest part of this tide settled in the states of the northwest, Illinois receiving her full share of the newcomers. In 1880 the wave took a great upward sweep which continued until 1885. Then it fluctuated until the final rise of 1891-92, since when it has steadily declined. This is true of the total German immigration to the United States, and it is also true of the influx of Germans into Illinois.

the largest and most interesting is that which occupies the several counties just across the river from St. Louis, Missouri. There were some Germans who settled in St. Clair county before 1820. We find, for instance, a grand juryman in 1792, named Schoenberger, and the first piece of land sold by the sheriff in Cahokia was bought by Friederick Graeter in 1796. "St. Clair county became one of the centers of German influence in Illinois. Across the river from St. Louis, beginning at the north opposite the mouth of the Missouri and stretching southward to the outlet of the Kaskaskia River a little above Chester, there is a stretch of fertile upland about a hundred miles in length and six to ten miles in breadth. The higher portions of this plateau are wooded, and the bottoms, stretching toward the Kaskaskia, are

varied with woodlands, prairies, and lakes. Into this territory was poured the German immigration far outnumbering the few wealthy Virginian and American landholders, the latter often of German descent, coming from Pennsylvania or North Carolina. The Germans had among them large numbers of born leaders and 'Latin Farmers'. There were clustered together, notably at Belleville, a large group of men who had been members of the 'Burschenschaften', the German student fraternities of a political cast, which had been made special objects of vengeance by the arbitrary governors of the reactionary period. Many friends of gymnasium or university days were now gathered together within the radius of a few miles."\*

Besides showing the usual German qualities of industry and thrift, the Germans of St. Clair county were interested and wide awake in politics. In Belleville, with over 15,000 inhabitants, for years no native American sat in the city council, and all other civic offices were filled by Germans. The county officers were likewise Germans. Eduard Retz was three times state treasurer, and Gustav Koerner was lieutenant-governor of the state in 1852. From 1862-65 he was the United States minister to Spain, succeeding Carl Schurz, another eminent German-American from Wisconsin, in that post. It is estimated that at present three-fourths of the population of St. Clair county are either Germans or persons of German descent. As early as 1836 a "Deutsche-Bibliotheks-Gesellschaft" was formed in Belleville. This organization founded a library that, in 1879, contained more than five thousand volumes

<sup>\*</sup>Faust: German Element, I, 458-9.

exclusive of public documents. This was an enormous library in those days, and it clearly shows the high type of the new settlers. It was in this county also that the term "Latin Farmers" was first applied to the Germans. They earned this name because of the fact that most of them were highly educated and cultured university men.

But the German settlements were not confined to the neighborhood of St. Louis. Alton, Madison county, was early the most important commercial point in the state, and it attracted many Germans. This was true also of all other places that seemed to have a future before them, chief among which may be mentioned Vandalia, Peoria, Quincy, Springfield, Peru and Chicago. The first German settler in Peoria was G. F. Mueller who came there in 1836. The Germans were among the very first at Chicago, and the real German awakening of this part of the country may be said to have come in 1844 when a meeting was held to protest against the nativistic influences that were at work in state and national politics.

1870 the Germans had assumed a very prominent place in the state of Illinois and were a very important factor in the population. Referring to the German population map for that year it will be noticed that there were a goodly number of German-born in every county of the state, although the proportion to the entire population is rather small in many of the southern counties where the land is poor. By far the greatest percentages of Germans are found in the counties near St. Louis where the earliest German settlements were made. In Monroe county over one-fourth of the entire population in 1870

was born in Germany. From this region, the line of the heaviest German settlements stretches northeast to Chicago and the northern tier of counties, and also along the Mississippi River both north and south. An especially large proportion of the population of Adams county was German-born, and of the heavy foreign-born element in Effingham county, referred to above, by far the greater part was German. This was also true in Massac county in the extreme southern corner of the state.

contrasted with this uniform density of German population, two counties stand out sharply. With nearly one-fourth of its population foreign-born, Winnebago county has only a little more than 1% of Germans, and Grundy county also seems to have been slighted by the people of this nationality. The reasons for this are not clearly apparent except that these counties were settled by large groups of other nationalities with whom the Germans did not feel entirely at home.

All of the succeeding maps showing the percentages of the German-born to the total population of each county, show a marked decline in the ratio of Germans. The decline is most rapid in those counties near St. Louis. This does not mean that the Germans have moved, for those districts are still to-day as intensely German as ever, but the first generation has given way to succeeding generations and these are classed with the native-born. Almost the only exception to this decline is Du Page county where there has been a gradual rise in the proportion of Germans through the entire forty years.

It is far more difficult to trace the history of the English and Welsh in Illinois than of the Germans. This

is largely due to the fact that these people have similar names, speak the same language as the native Americans, and fit easily into American life. English immigration was, of course, the very first to come to the Illinois country, and it has been an important factor in the population, although not so strong numerically as the German and Irish waves. The larger part of the early settlers of Illinois, that coming from the eastern states, was of English extraction, although there was also a very considerable German and Scotch-Irish element present.

The first important settlement of English immigrants in this state came, however, in 1818 when a party of Englishmen laid out Albion, the county seat of Edwards county.\* This settlement grew rapidly and was joined by a great many settlers of the class known as "poor whites" who came from the mountains of the Atlantic sea-board states. The influx of the native element cut down the proportion of the English to the total population, but nevertheless in 1870 Edwards county still had a larger percentage of its population born in England and Wales than any other county in the state. Jo Daviess, Grundy, Kendall, and Boone counties also stand out at this early period with a comparatively large proportion of their populations English-born. Aside from these few exceptions there is a surprising uniformity throughout the state. Of all the nationalities, the English and Welsh are distributed most evenly over the state, the great majority of the counties containing from 1% to 5% of these peoples in their populations. The southern counties again show a relatively small proportion of \*Cf. Flower: English Settlement in Edwards County.

English and Welsh although this is not so marked in the case of these nationalities as in some other instances.

After 1870 Edwards county declines rapidly in respect to the English element in its population, and by 1880 Grundy county has assumed the lead which it holds at each of the succeeding census years. There is a noticeable lightening of the English element in the tier of counties due east from Adams and Hancock and due south from Logan and De Witt so that by 1900 the English element has been cut into two groups, namely, that in the northern counties and that in the region north from St. Clair to Sangamon and Morgan. If absolute figures instead of percentages be studied, it will be found that this peculiarity is due to the influx of other elements rather than to an egress of the English.

nationality in Illinois is the Irish. Irish immigration
preceded the German, although it did not play the important
part in the settlement of the middle-west that was played by
the Teutonic element. The Irish are not found on the frontier,
clearing the forests and breaking new farm lands. They are
distinctly an urban people, congregating in the cities and
going into the country districts only when there is an opportunity
there for the rough work which they do. In view of the fact
that in their native country the Irish are an agricultural
people, this tendency towards urbanization in America may seem
strange. Its explanation is probably found in the fact that the
Irish lack the initiative necessary for frontiersmen. They are
excellent workers, but their efforts are best exerted when

directed by someone else. Even though they are agriculturalists in Ireland, they are little more than farm laborers, working on some large estate. This is a far different kind of agriculture from that in vogue on the great plains of the western states of America. The latter has never been attractive for the Celtic peoples.

Of all the countries of Europe which have sent hosts of their people to America, Ireland is the only one, with the possible exception of Scandinavia, that has suffered. The birth rate in Ireland did not keep pace with the very heavy emigration, and hence there has been a marked decline in the wave of Irish immigration since the middle of the last century. This is excellently demonstrated by the population maps showing the location of the Irish in Illinois. The first map, for the year 1870, shows the Irish located in distinct groups instead of being spread evenly over the state as is the case with most other races. The rapidity with which these groups change and disappear in the succeeding census years is not only evidence to the truth of the statement that the Irish were located in urban centers, but it also shows that the occupations in which this people was engaged were more or less temporary, necessitating the removal of large bodies of men from time to time.

In 1870 Cook county was the center of the heaviest Irish settlement. The region adjacent to St. Louis, which has been seen to contain large numbers of other foreign-born elements, is not so thickly settled with the Irish, while there are several counties such as Alexander, Jersey, and Morgan where the Irish element is unusually strong. By 1900, however, all

of these counties have lost their large Irish elements, and although Cook county is still in the lead, it contains only a little more than 4% of Irish immigrants in its population. This shrinkage is due largely to the cessation of immigration and also, to a very considerable extent, to the rapid assimilation of the Celtic people. There is still a very powerful Irish influence in Illinois, but it is the influence exerted by the descendants of the original immigrants.

Everything that has been said of the Irish is equally true of the Scotch. Scotland has never sent as many people to America as did Ireland, and hence the percentages for the various counties in Illinois are much smaller, but the Scotch also settled in well defined groups, especially around Chicago and in Randolph and Jackson counties. Like the Irish, the Scotch did not take up rural work as extensively as did the Germans and English, although they are found to be pretty evenly distributed all over those sections of the country where the opportunities for rough, manual labor did not induce them to settle in larger numbers. But, unlike the Irish, the Scotch immigration has not fallen off so rapidly. The result is that there still remain, in 1900, several counties in the north-central part of the state where the Scotch element is fairly strong.

It is not usual to consider the Scotch element as playing a very important part in the affairs of the middle-western states generally, or in Illinois in particular. The reason for this is doubtless the fact that the Scotch are so easily identified with the Irish. But the Scotch element is

not as insignificant as is sometimes supposed. Nearly one-third of the governors of Illinois have been of Scotch descent, and many other citizens of the state, prominent in both political and social affairs, have been of this same race.\*

One of the first foreign elements in the state of Illinois was the French. The early explorers of the Mississippi Valley planted trading and missionary posts at several points along the river, and these gradually grew to positions of prominence. One of them, Kaskaskia, was the capital of the territory until its admission into the Union in 1818. After the cession of the Illinois country to England in 1763, however, the French element was not increased by many immigrants, and indeed, a large part of the French population at that time moved across the river in order to avoid the necessity of living under the hated English flag. There continued to be a very considerable settlement of French people in the southwestern part of the state, as is shown on the first population map, that of 1870. There was also a goodly number of French immigrants who came into the state through Chicago, and although they did not settle in Cook county in very large numbers, they did establish themselves in Du Page county and in several of the counties along the Illinois River.

At the three succeeding census years there is a marked falling off in the percentages of the French to the total population of all counties except Woodford, where that element retained its proportionate strength of about 1%. The French

<sup>\*</sup>Hanna: The Scotch-Irish, I, 50.

has never been a powerful element in the state, the heaviest percentage being that of Du Page county (2.8%) in 1870.

The Swiss element may be divided into two classes: those who are predominantly German, and those who affiliate with the French. The former were found in Illinois at an earlier date than the latter. They settled with the Germans across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. In 1816 there were several families of Swiss farmers located on what was called "Dutch Hill" in St. Clair county. They had come from Aargau under the leadership of a man named Leonhard Steiner.

"Twenty or thirty miles east of St. Louis in Madison county, Illinois, was founded a Swiss colony named Highland. The plateau, called the Looking Glass Prairie, was settled by the families Koepfli and Suppiger in October, 1831. They became the permanent owners although Americans had settled there ten years before. Proximity to St. Louis was an advantage for the disposal of their products."\*

These colonies continued to be quite prominent, and in 1870 the Swiss population map shows that they formed a comparatively large percentage of the total population in the counties in which they were located. There is a gradual diminution shown at each of the three succeeding census years although in 1900 Madison county still contains the largest proportion of Swiss found in any county of the state.

The other class of Swiss immigrants came into Illinois through the northern route and spread out along the

<sup>\*</sup>Faust: German Element, I, 460.

course of the Illinois River in much the same way that the French did. Like the colony in the southern part of the state, this one also diminished in proportion to the other population elements with each succeeding census year, but there still remained slightly more than 1% of Swiss immigrants in Woodford county in 1900.

One of the most interesting as well as important racial elements in the population of Illinois is the Scandinavian, composed of the immigrants from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Most of the Scandinavian immigrants are young and poor although very few are paupers. They are strong and robust, physically and morally. Many of them remain in the east, locating in large numbers at such Scandinavian centers as Jamestown, N. Y., but most of them are woodsmen and farmers, and hence they move on into the great northwest where they are pioneers of civilization in the truest sense of the word.

"The demeanor of the Scandinavian immigrant is quiet, unobtrusive, almost melancholy. He is homesick from the time he steps on board of ship until he reaches his new home; and the asylums of the northwest are full of Scandinavian men and women who have sunk into hopeless melancholia because of homesickness. Yet in spite of this most of the immigrants remain in America and more than any other foreigners blend completely with the national life."\*

Unfortunately there is no record of the numbers of Scandinavians in each county of this state prior to 1880.

<sup>\*</sup>Steiner: On The Trail Of The Immigrant, Chap VIII.

At that date their settlements were already quite far advanced, and hence there is no means of studying the earlier progression of the immigration from these northern countries. It will be interesting, however, to describe one of the early Swedish settlements in the state in order to obtain some idea as to the character of this people. The statements made in this connection are based upon Mr. O. N. Nelson's book: "History of the Scandinavians in the United States" and upon the personal observations of the writer, in that community.

In the early years of the nineteenth century there lived in Helsingsland, Sweden, a religiously inclined farmer named Eric Janson. Feeling that he had a divine call to purify the practices of the state church, he left his work and began preaching to his fellow peasants. His discourses were very Methodistic in nature and hence aroused the ire of the authorities of the established Lutheran Church. They imprisoned him time and again but without avail, and he finally left the country for America. Arriving in this country early in 1846, he settled at Victoria, Knox county, Illinois.

Many of those who had heard the sermons of

Janson in Sweden were much incensed at the treatment which he
had suffered at the hands of the government and desired to
follow him to America. So they sold all their possessions,
pooled their fortunes, and emigrated. They arrived, about
four hundred strong, toward the close of the year 1846 and
settled on a tract of land consisting of about three hundred
fifty acres in Weller Township, Henry county, which their
leader had procured from the government for the sum of \$200.00.

The colony was named Bishopshill after the name of Janson's birthplace (Biskopskulla).

The settlers organized themselves into a strictly communistic colony. One of their first acts was to provide a place of religious worship and proper school facilities, for they were by nature religiously inclined. They also built grist and saw mills and worked at the cultivation of their land. Their chief crops were wheat and flax, and it was not long until linen weaving became a leading industry in the colony. The extent of this work can be realized when it is known that in the decade from 1847 to 1857 these people sold 130,309 yards of linen and 22,569 mats, which numbers do not include that part consumed at home. Another important industry was the cultivation and preparation for sale of broom corn.

Everything went along nicely until 1853 when the colony was incorporated under a charter of the state legislature. The trustees, however, were incompetent and dishonest, and soon matters came to a bad pass. They tried to engage in a variety of occupations on a very extensive scale and failed. After a series of expensive law suits the colony finally dissolved in 1860-61, and although the members continued to live in Bishopshill, they abandoned all traces of their communistic organization. They had once been an intensely religious people, but now they became entirely indifferent to all dogma, and to-day they are not at all interested in religion.

This lengthy description of the Swedish colony at Bishopshill is introduced here because it serves admirably

to characterize the Scandinavian people. It shows their clannishness and their industrial ability; it proves that they are either intensely religious or just as intensely indifferent to dogmatic religion; it demonstrates the well-known fact that they are not successful in government affairs.

The Scandinavian element in the population of this state is very strong, especially in the northern counties, and in order to fully appreciate its influence, it is necessary to understand fully the many peculiarities of the Scandinavian character and temperament. This is true more of this racial element than, perhaps, of any other.

of these people to locate only in the northern part of the state. The settlements of these northern immigrants are chiefly in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and the Dakotas, but there is a considerable number of them in the northern part of Illinois as well. They do not, however, go south, and even that part of the state where all other peoples are more or less thickly settled, namely, the territory adjacent to St. Louis, numbers very few Scandinavians in its population.

In 1880 the heaviest settlements were in Knox and Henry counties. This was due in part to the Bishopshill colony and partly also to the large settlements in the neighborhood of Galesburg and Monmouth in Knox county. There was no particular cause for the choice of these counties in preference to any others where the land was good, but when the first settlers had chosen their homes the Scandinavian immigrants were attracted there in large numbers by that clannishness

which is so characteristic of their temperament.

In 1890 the number of Scandinavians in Rock Island county, Ford county, Kendall county, and Winnebago county had increased by leaps and bounds. Those settling in Ford county were largely agriculturalists, but in the other counties they were attracted by various manufacturing industries of which mention will be made in another place.

In 1900 the Scandinavian immigration had again receded somewhat in all counties except Knox, Henry, Rock Island, and Winnebago, and of these only the latter showed an increase in the percentage to the total population.

There are several counties in the state with no Bohemians in their populations at all, and most of the counties have only very small fractions of their populations from this country. In 1880 only Cook county had a Bohemian settlement numbering more than 1% of the total population. The Bohemian colony in Chicago is quite large compared with the numbers of that nationality in other places. Indeed, Chicago is one of the two or three chief centers of Bohemian population in the United States. Here this class of people is of a high order of intelligence, and they readily adapt themselves to the life as they find it.

The one striking feature of the Bohemian population maps is the great increase in the proportion of Bohemians in the population of Grundy county between 1880 and 1890. In the first map it may be seen that there was only 0.01% of Bohemians in the population of Grundy county. But in the second map that

number has increased to 1.4%.

There are few natives of Holland in Illinois.

In 1890, the first year for which there are accurate figures by counties, the only county having more than 1% of its population from this country was Whiteside. In 1900 Cook county also had more than 1% of Dutch immigrants, and there were very small increases in many other counties. The Dutch are largely agriculturalists, and the colony in Whiteside county is composed entirely of farmers.

Even less in number than the Dutch are the Belgians, but they are increasing far more rapidly than their neighbors from the Low Country. In 1890 the largest colony of Belgians in the state was located in Henry county, and in 1900 that same settlement had spread over into Rock Island county. The Belgians are not, like the Dutch, all farmers. Many of them are located in the cities where they do creditable work in the factories.

nationalities which come from southern and eastern Europe.

Immigration from these sources did not begin until late in the nineteenth century, and the first figures available for distribution by counties were published in the census of 1890.

The same things that are true for one of these nationalities are true for all, and hence it will only be necessary to point out the general tendencies in the settlement of all these races.

The number of southern and eastern Europeans in Illinois at the census of 1890 was very small, but in 1900 it had greatly increased. From the trend of the settlements

it will be noted that most of these immigrants apparently came to Chicago, and from that point were distributed over the state wherever there was a demand for their services. The settlements are confined almost entirely to those counties along the Illinois River where the coal mining industry is the most flourishing.

Of all these later immigrants, the greatest number come from Austria-Hungary. The greatest increases from 1890 to 1900 are shown by the Italians.

The last map of the series shows the Greek population in 1900. There were practically no Greeks in Illinois in 1890 with the exception of a very small colony of about 250 in the city of Chicago. Since that year, however, they have been arriving in vast numbers. The Chicago colony has increased until to-day it numbers about 15,000. The reason for the insertion of this single map here is that it gives the student a chance to study one class of immigration from the very beginning. As soon as the census of 1910 shall have been completed and published, it will be possible to compare the Greek population at the time of its beginning in 1900 with the same population after it has been increased by the immigration of a decade. The result will undoubtedly be exceedingly interesting.

Distribution Of Racial Elements
In Urban And Rural Communities.

Much has been said and written about the tendency of immigrants to settle in the large cities, and those who advocate more stringent exclusion laws make this one of their chief arguments. They claim that the presence of large bodies

of foreigners in the urban communities results in congested slums where social and moral conditions are very bad, and that the effect of these elements upon labor conditions is deleterious to the native workers. In view of all these contentions it is highly important that the question of the urbanization of the various racial elements in the state of Illinois be studied rather carefully. The study of the actual conditions surrounding the immigrants in the cities belongs properly in a later section of this work, but some general remarks may be in place here.

The detailed nativity statistics for cities are not obtainable prior to 1890. In 1890 there were in Illinois but three cities with a population of more than 25,000: Chicago, Peoria, and Quincy. In 1900 the number of cities in this class had risen to seven: Chicago, Peoria, East St. Louis, Joliet, Quincy, Springfield, and Rockford. It will be impossible to consider the towns smaller in size than 25,000 because the statistics for those places have never been compiled. The following table, compiled from the United States Census, gives the percentage of each of the more important racial elements in the population of Illinois, located in the above-mentioned cities of 25,000 or over at the census years 1890 and 1900.

Tot. For. Born Greece Bohemia Russia Poland Austria Italy Holland Hungary	1890 55.2 96.8 94.4 92.1 83.6 75.8 71.8 62.09 59.7	1900 64.9 97.07 94.7 86.4 88.8 75.1 70.4 85.09 77.6	Ireland Scandinavia Germany Scotland Eng. and Wales Belgium France Switzerland	1890 58.1 56.2 50.3 46.03 41.3 31.5 31.9	1900 69.6 62.03 55.7 56.2 49.7 28.1 43.2 41.6
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From this table it will be noted that slightly more than half of the immigrants in Illinois are located in the

large cities. Of the various racial elements, the Greeks, although very few in number, show the greatest percentage while the Swiss are the most rural. This is true in 1890, but the latter yield their place in 1900 to the Belgians. On the whole, those peoples who come from northern and western European countries show smaller percentages in the cities than those who emigrate from the southern and eastern European countries.

Before proceeding to a more detailed examination of these facts, however, it is advisable to point out some things which show certain inadequacies in this table. There are a great many towns in the state which have less than 25,000 population but which are nevertheless very largely inhabited by foreigners. These are mining and manufacturing communities which attract large numbers of casual and unskilled laborers, such as the immigrants. Although this is just as truly urban population as that mentioned in the table, it does not so appear in the figures here quoted. By far the greater part of the foreign element in Illinois cities, is located in Chicago alone. This is especially true of the later arrivals among the immigrants. This leads one to suppose that there must be something besides the mere fact that it is a large city that attracts immigration to a community.

So large a percentage of the later arrivals among the immigrants are located in Chicago because that city is the great distributing point of immigrants for the west. The later immigrants have reached Chicago, but they have not yet had time to filter through the rest of the country. As soon as they have been able to learn the language of their

adopted home, and as soon as opportunities for work outside
Chicago come to their attention, many of these people will leave
the congested quarters of that metropolis for other fields.
Hence it is unfair to say that the new immigration is attracted
to the great city. The fact is that it lands in the city without
any choice and has not yet had time to disperse over the country.
Those nationalities that came to this country in the early
decades of the last century are less heavily represented in the
cities of the state, not because there is less attraction for
them in the city, but because they have had a much greater
length of time to scatter over the country than have the later
arrivals.

Another cause for the heavy urban settlement of the southern and eastern European peoples is the scarcity of cheap land. The older races of immigrants found vast quantities of public lands in the middle and western states. All that was necessary was for them to locate on those lands, clear away the trees and brush, erect suitable dwellings, and they became the owners of broad and fertile acres surpassing in richness and extent even the grand estates of their masters at home.

Moreover, the tremendous cities with which this country is now so familiar did not exist a few decades ago.

Even as late as 1850 Chicago was only a small town, and the other urban centers of Illinois were, for the most part, unbroken prairies. There were no congested districts in which the newcomers of those days could settle, and hence they had no choice but to inhabit the rural communities.

Conditions to-day are totally different. Little

public land remains open for settlement. The broad expanse of country that so few years ago was practically given away by the government is now composed of farms whose value is so great that only the rich can aspire to their ownership. There is no opportunity for the present-day immigrant to settle on the land, for he is entirely without the means to do so.

Urban conditions have also changed. The great metropolis stands invitingly open to the newcomer. It offers him untold opportunities for labor of the kind that he can do. His single asset---his bodily strength---is much in demand in the factories, shops, and mines. He has no alternative but to accept the offer made to him by the city. Moreover, there is no reason why he should dread the urban community. True, he must work hard and long for small pay. But he and his forbears have grown used to hard work and miserable pay through long generations of serfdom on the steppes near the Baltic and on the rocky fields of the Mediterranean peninsulas. Indeed, the conditions from which he has come are so bad that the immigrant considers himself possessed of great luxuries even though he be forced to dwell in the slums of the cities.

The system of large production and great industry upon which the whole economic life of America is built requires large numbers of common laborers. The superior advantages by which the native American is surrounded soon raise him in respect to capacity and ability above the point where he is willing to furnish this kind of labor. Hence, it is necessary to obtain cheap labor from foreign lands. As long as this demand exists there will be found plenty of persons in Europe and Asia who

are willing to supply it. In order to supply that demand it is necessary for the immigrant to locate in the cities, for there are located the factories and mills. Distribution is certainly one of the most serious problems involved in the immigration question, but it is not so much a distribution of immigrants that is needed, as a distribution of industries.

To establish the great industries outside the large cities would greatly facilitate the problem of distribution of immigrants. This can be better appreciated after a more detailed study of the occupations of the various foreign elements in Illinois has been made.

Distribution Of Racial Elements
In Agriculture, Mining, And Manufacturing.

One has said that "the German and Irish millions, like the Negro, have a great deal of guano in their destiny. They are ferried over the Atlantic, to ditch and to drudge, to make corn cheap, and then to lie down prematurely to make a spot of green grass on the prairie."\* When these lines were penned many years ago they were indeed true. But to-day, when the population of the United States has increased many fold, it is even more correct to say that the immigrant is used for the purpose of performing those menial tasks which native Americans find so distasteful. The study of the immigrant is a study of the manual labor of the country; he is found wherever there is rough, hard work to do. And though he may no longer "lie down prematurely to make a spot of green grass on the

<sup>&</sup>quot;Emerson: Essay on Fate.

prairie," he does enrich society by leaving behind him a rising generation of strong and capable men and women.

Illinois, being very largely an agricultural state, has many of its citizens from foreign lands, on the farms. The following table, taken from a bulletin of the thirteenth census of the United States, shows the number of farmers in Illinois who are foreign-born.

Color and Nativity	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Native White Foreign-Born White Non White	217,053 33,394 1,425	86.2 13.3 0.6
Total	251,872	100.0

From this table it is seen that over 6/7 of the Illinois farmers in 1910 were native whites and nearly 1/7 were foreign-born whites. On the native whites, 41.9% were tenants, as compared with 38.2% among the foreign-born whites. Hence it is apparent that a larger per cent of the immigrant farmers own their own land than of the native Americans in proportion to their numbers.\*

Aside from those engaged in farming on their own account, there are many immigrants in agriculture who are merely laborers. These may be divided into two general classes.

"First are the seasonal laborers, those having places of residence and, perhaps, a principal occupation in the city, who spend a few weeks of each year in the agricultural districts performing certain specific tasks, such as hoeing, berry-picking, vegetable gathering or the like. The second class are the

<sup>\*</sup>Bulletin of the Thirteenth Census: Agriculture: Illinois, p 7.

regular farm laborers as we know them, who usually become land owners."\*

agriculture, they have played an even more prominent role in mining. "The exploitation of our mineral wealth has been due largely to the immigrants---over 1/2 of the men employed in mining in 1880 being persons of foreign birth."\*\* In all forms of rough, unskilled labor immigrants are equally as prominent as in mining. "Of all persons engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries in Illinois in 1880, 43.3% were of foreign birth."\*\*\*

Prior to 1890 there were practically no mine workers in the Middle-West except native Americans, British, and Germans. Southern and eastern Europeans came during the decade of 1890-1900 and have been rapidly increasing in number since. "The greater proportion of the wage-earners at the present time engaged in manufacturing and mining are of foreign birth, and of the total number of foreign-born employees the larger part consists of representatives of races from the south and east of Europe and from Asia."\*\*\* About 60% of the bituminous coal miners are foreign-born. Of the old immigrants, Germans and English predominate. Of the new immigrants, Slovaks, Poles, and Italians predominate. The latter class are far more numerous than the Germans and English.\*\*\*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Cance: Immigrant Rural Communities; Ann. Amer. Acad., XL, 71. \*\*Mayo-Smith: Emigration and Immigration, p 94. \*\*\* Ibid., p 96.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Immigration Commission (1911): Abstract of the Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining, p 219.
\*\*\*\*\* Ibid., p 22.

The first coal discovered in the United States was found by Father Hennepin in La Salle county, Illinois, in 1679. As far as is known, however, the first coal mined in the state was from mines in Jackson county in the year 1810. From that time on the coal mining industry in Illinois has steadily advanced in importance until in 1902 coal was mined in fifty two counties. "Sangamon, with an output of 4,172,722 tons, ranked first among the coal producing counties; St. Clair second, with 2,822,248; and Vermillion third, with 2,585,291 tons.

Other large coal producing counties are Bureau, Grundy, La Salle, Macoupin, Madison, and Williamson; each have a production of more than 1,000,000 tons. Illinois ranks second among the coal producing states."\*

In the entire state there were, in 1902, 789 coal operators, and these gave employment to 36,617 wage-carners. The wages paid in this industry amounted in the same year to \$24,876,201. The total number of men employed in manufacturing, and in mines and quarries in Illinois, at the census years 1880, 1890 and 1900 was as follows:\*\*

1880 1890 1900 203,960 353,621 479,894

After this brief discussion of the general classes of occupations in Illinois, attention can be directed to each nationality in order to discern what part the various racial elements have played in the industrial life of the state.

\*\* Census of 1900, Special Report: Occupations, p "e."

<sup>\*</sup> Special Reports of the Census Office: Mines and Quarries, 1902, p 207.

As was stated above, the German immigrants in the early decades of the last century were pioneers in the westward expansion movement. German immigration may be divided into three classes corresponding to the periods of time in which the German aliens came to this country. The earliest immigrants in the nineteenth century were farmers who settled in the central and western states. They usually chose lands upon which there was a heavy growth of timber, for they believed that the timber, although hard to clear away, betokened the most fertile land. These people were not without money, and they were able to set up modest homes which became, within a few years, prosperous country places. This class mingled readily with the neighboring pioneers, and it was not long until the Germans had become thoroughly assimilated.

about the middle of the century. This class was quite different from its predecessor. Instead of going on the land, the new arrivals sought the cities. From humble beginnings, they managed, by industry and thrift, to become merchants, manufacturers, and professional men. In practically every Illinois city of any consequence to-day there are some of these people or their descendants, and they have become an important factor in the business world. But there is not the same tendency among this class to mingle with representatives of other nationalities and with native Americans that was shown by their predecessors. They desire to remain distinctively German and have instituted German schools, newspapers, music, and gymnastic societies to aid in carrying out this resolve.

After the Civil War, the character of German immigrants again changed. Now the newcomers are of the working class. They are usually well educated and intelligent, but they are strongly imbued with radical ideas on political, religious, and social subjects. They are not as valuable adjuncts to American population as were either of the earlier groups.\*

From the above it will be noted that the Germans have entered into every phase of the industrial life of the state and nation. They play an unusually prominent part in agriculture. Although the figures above quoted show a large majority of Illinois farmers native-born, yet it must be remembered that very many of those native-born farmers are of German and other parentage. Enthusiastic students of the German influence in Illinois life have declared that the very best and finest farms in the state are those occupied by German families. This statement is obviously extreme, but certain it is, that much of the prosperity of Illinois in agriculture is due to German thrift.

Next to the Germans, the British elements have been the most prominent in the industrial affairs of this state. These are harder to trace in this instance because of the fact that the British peoples are not so distinctly foreign as the Germans. But it has already been shown that the English were here very early, taking an active part in the opening up and settlement of the Illinois country.

The first generation of the Irish and Scotch did

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Muench: Der Deutsche Pioneer, vol I, pp 243-250.

not generally settle on the land. They were neither as capable nor as thrifty farmers as either the Germans or the English, and hence they flocked rather to the cities and towns and other communities where was opportunity for rough labor in mining and manufacturing. A large part of the work on railroads and the construction work in the towns and cities after the Civil War was done by Irish labor. Even to-day, although the Irishman is more rarely found doing the hard, manual labor on the railroads and in the cities of the state, he is still intimately connected with the industrial world, acting in the capacity of "boss."

All of the racial elements so far mentioned have been more or less prominent as mine-workers in the Illinois coal fields. When mining was still a young industry, not only in this state but also in the eastern fields, the workers were nearly all native Americans, Germans, and British. In those days the work was more or less skilled, for the elaborate machinery that is now used had not been invented at that time. Their great ability to do hard work, coupled with the energy and intelligence that characterizes the Germans and the British, made them excellent miners. When improved machinery was introduced so that the labor of coal mining was no longer highly skilled, the better grades of foreigners began to be displaced rapidly by inferior classes. This movement has been very rapid in the east, but it has taken somewhat longer for the later immigrants to filter through into the Illinois fields, and hence there are still many mine workers of German and British nationality in this state.

One of the most interesting of all racial elements

in Illinois is the Scandinavian. These people assimilate more rapidly than any other except the Irish, and in their work, they are equally as versatile as any other race. They are essentially pioneers. The lumber camps and frontier lines have always been well populated with Scandinavians, and the rural communities in this state composed of people of these nationalities are by no means few.

Intellectually and culturally, the Scandinavian immigrants did not stand as high as those from Germany. Shortly after the Civil War there was a very considerable influx of Swedes into Illinois, who were driven to leave their northern homes in Europe by the stern necessity of preserving life. They were unable to make even a respectable living in Sweden, and hence they moved. The great bodily strength of the Norsemen gave them opportunities for cheap, unskilled labor, and they readily accepted these opportunities. In the decades of the seventies and eighties they are found working on the railroads, in factories and in mines, as well as on farms. In this connection it may be of interest to quote from an old newspaper, which though not published in Illinois, nevertheless presents a fact that could be easily duplicated in many parts of this state. "A large gang of Swedes from Uniontown, Pa., arrived yesterday on an engagement with the C. R. I. & P., to work on the railroad."\*

In mining, the Scandinavians have done much.

There are to-day a great many of these people working in the

<sup>\*</sup> Muscatine (Iowa) Journal, April 19, 1882.

coal mines of the state. They are an unusually high class of miners, living in far better circumstances than is usual among men engaged in this sort of work.

work. The remarkable increase in the Scandinavian population of Winnebago county between the years 1880 and 1890 was due largely to the influx of these people into the furniture factories of the city of Rockford. In the cities of Rock Island and Moline, Rock Island county, the large farm implement manufacturing plants are likewise manned almost entirely with Swedes.

The phenomenon of successive waves in various industries which has been indicated in the above discussion and which will be brought out even more clearly when the newer immigration is considered, is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the tailoring industry in Chicago. When this work was first begun the employees were largely Germans, German Jews, and Bohemians with a few Americans and Poles. In the early nineties, these places were filled very largely by Scandinavians. Within the last decade the character of the workers has again changed, and now the employees are mostly Russian Jews, Italians, Lithuanians, and other Slavic peoples.\*

The later immigrants, those coming from southern and eastern Europe, do not usually settle on farms. The reason for this is simply that there are few farms available for settlement. In the early decades of the last century, when all the land of Illinois was part of the public domain, it was

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Immigration Commission (1911): Abstract of the Report on Manufacturing and Mining, p 242.

possible for the immigrant to take up a claim and, with very little expense to himself, build up a home. To-day these same lands are worth from \$75 to \$200 an acre, and the immigrant, being without much money, has no alternative but to crowd the towns and cities seeking work in the factories and mines.

Chicago is easily the center of the later immigration into Illinois. There are well defined and populous colonies in that city, composed of members of almost all the groups that have immigrated so rapidly during the last two decades. The earliest of the southern Europeans to come to this country were the Bohemians, and Chicago soon became the chief center of Bohemian life in America. There are more than 100,000 of these people in the Bohemian quarter of Chicago, and they constitute the highest class of the new immigrants. Of the Bohemians and Moravians 44% are skilled laborers, and only 1.5% over fourteen years of age are unable to read and write.\* Possibly the chief industry of the Bohemians in Chicago is tailoring. There are numerous shops in the Bohemian district where many people find employment, but there is also a large number of factories of other kinds employing skilled labor.

Shortly after the Bohemians, came the Poles. The first source of Polish immigration was Prussia, but of late years it has changed to Russian Poland. With this change in source there has also been a change in character of the immigrants. The first current of Polish immigrants came during the decades of the sixties and seventies. These new arrivals

<sup>\*</sup> Grose: Aliens or Americans?, p 164.

were a superior sort: intelligent, industrious, and more or less independent as far as their finances were concerned. They came directly to the middle-west, and many of them settled on farm lands in northern Illinois. They prospered greatly and were readily assimilated so that there is now little indication that the farmers in this community are Poles.

About 1885 the current of Polish immigration set in more strongly. Although these later arrivals were poorer than their predecessors, they nevertheless sought out the land, for there seems to be a strong desire in every Polish breast to own property. Not being able to purchase farms, they became tenants for a time. They were successful and have done much to make the poorer lands of the state profitable. Most of this class of immigrants had been farmers or farmers' sons in Poland before coming to this country.\*

In more recent years the character of Polish immigration has changed radically. There is at present a much smaller percentage of farmers among the Poles who come to this country. They are, for the most part, laborers who come to the United States because of the miserable condition in which they are forced to live in Russian Poland. The result is that fewer Poles are going into the country districts and more are found in the urban communities. All the mining and manufacturing industries in Illinois employ large numbers of Poles. The steel mills near Chicago and Jolict are run with little else than Polish labor, and the character of the mining camps is

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Immigration Commission (1911): Abstract of the Report on Recent Immigrants in Agriculture, p 45.

growing more and more Polish.\*

But, because of his innate desire to become a land owner, the Pole constantly strives to leave the mills and mines and to move into the country. These people have taken over many of the poorer areas in this state, and also in neighboring states, and have made them productive by hard work and thrift. They build comfortable homes and manage to retain most of their children on the farm so that improvements are made from generation to generation. A typical Polish community built up in this manner on the poorer lands of the state, is found in the southern part of Illinois. It is located in Jefferson, Perry, and Washington counties and was first established in 1875. It consists of five parishes, comprising over 700 families with nearly 8,000 members. Since the date of its foundation it has been growing constantly in size, being reinforced by additions from the later Polish immigrants.\*\*

In 1904 there were 123,887 Poles in Illinois.

Of these, 107,669 were located in the vicinity of the stockyards in Chicago. Of the later Polish immigrants in the country at large, about 85% are unskilled laborers and about 30% are illiterate.\*\*\* Even though so many are unskilled and illiterate, they are industrious and thrifty. In the Polish quarter of Chicago, which lies in the sixteenth ward of that city, nearly all the houses are owned by Poles who live in their own tenements. When they have acquired a little property they keep it, and there

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Cance: Immigrant Rural Communities; Ann. Amer. Acad. XL, 76. \*\* Cf. Immigration Commission (1911): Abstract of the Report on Recent Immigrants in Agriculture, p 43. \*\*\* Grose: Aliens or Americans?, pp 164, 172.

are very few pieces of property in this district for sale.\*

Russia and settle in Illinois are Jews. They almost invariably locate in the urban centers where they soon acquire considerable wealth. They frequently begin their new life as peddlers although there are many tailors among them. Indeed, the garment industry of Chicago is almost entirely in the hands of Jews. It does not take the Jew long to set himself up in business as a small storekeeper, and by his remarkable thrift and hard work he soon becomes a factor in the business world of the community in which he happens to be located. There are few unskilled laborers among the Jews, and they are rarely found in the mining or rougher manufacturing trades.\*\*

unskilled. Their occupations are usually street work or various other kinds of shoveling or heavy lifting. They have usually come from the rural districts of Southern Italy, and when they arrive in this country they are handicapped by their inability to speak the language and by their lack of general education. They come quickly under the leadership of one of their own nationality who is generally able to obtain for them work from the railroads or from the city."\*\*\*

The newest of all the waves of immigration is the Greek which began shortly before 1890 and which has grown

<sup>\*</sup> City Homes Association: Tenement Conditions in Chicago, pp 186-7. \*\* Ibid., p 199.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p 199.

marvelously since that time. By far the greatest majority of the Greeks in Illinois are found in the Greek quarter of the city of Chicago although there are more or less important colonies in Aurora, Madison, Moline, and Rock Island.

The Greek is a diligent worker although too often ill-prepared to enter the social and industrial life of his new home. A great many of the Greek immigrants are unskilled laborers and they, with the Italians, have practically taken over the railroad construction work which was formerly done by the Irish and Scandinavians. There are few cities in the state which do not have Greek fruit dealers and bootblacks. These occupations attract the people of this nationality very strongly, and they are usually successful in such business enterprises.

"Although when at home the Greeks are an agricultural people, they do not usually follow that occupation after they emigrate. They are shrewd in a business way and hence frequently engage in some mercantile pursuit."\*

"In 1908 there were the following places of business conducted by the Greeks (in Chicago):- 36 barber shops, 11 bakeries, 22 coffee houses, 8 dry goods stores, 31 groceries, 6 cigar and cigarette manufactories, 9 carpenters, 6 painters, 7 moving picture establishments, 4 printers, 5 tailors, 13 pool rooms, 6 hay and feed stores, 4 milk dealers, 6 harness and shoe makers, 3 underwear manufacturers, and 2 laundries. There are four newspapers published in Greek in Chicago. There are nine Greek physicians and surgeons, three lawyers, one druggist,

<sup>\*</sup> Fairchild: Greek Immigration to the United States, Chap I.

three brokers' offices, two teachers, and three poets. About 2,000 are employed as day laborers, builders, etc., or in the factories and packing plants."\*

## Conclusion.

There remain to be said in conclusion but a few words concerning the changes that have occurred in the racial make-up of the population of Illinois. Coincident with the first settlement of the state came the introduction of the northern European elements into the population. It has been seen that the very foremost on the frontier line were the Germans, British, French, and Scandinavians. Those elements continued to predominate throughout Illinois until very recent times. It is of interest to note that this early immigration was quite similar to the native American stock. Indeed, the latter was nothing but the former transplanted a few generations earlier. Hence there was a similarity of ideals, habits, practices, and institutions between the newcomers and those who had been here for some time. This made the work of assimilation comparatively easy and tended to preserve in the new country the best things that had characterized the life of the old.

But towards the latter part of the last century the complexion of immigration began to change, and it has gone on changing at a rate that is little short of tremendous. When the United States had exhausted its free land there was little attraction here for the people of northern and western Europe.

<sup>\*</sup> Fairchild: Greek Immigration to the United States, pp 122-133.

Moreover, there was no desire on the part of those peoples to emigrate. Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries had been reduced to such small populations that there was plenty of work for all the people at home. Germany and England, on the other hand, have grown rapidly in population, and there is still a considerable emigration of the inhabitants of those countries, but the governments, realizing that all those who came to the United States were lost to the home countries, have instituted active campaigns for the colonization of other lands. This policy has resulted in the gradual diminution of immigration into the United States from these countries.

and western Europe came the rise of the wave from southern and eastern Europe. There was, and still is, an enormous opportunity for unskilled labor in the United States, for the resources of this country are scarcely yet tapped. When the Teutonic and Celtic immigrants no longer came to develop those resources, their places were speedily taken by Iberians and Slavs.\* The tremendous development of industry in all parts of the United States has created a large number of jobs, and the lower grades of immigrants have responded to supply that demand. It is most probably true, also, that the presence in this country of these newer immigrants provided such a large amount of cheap labor that industries were the better able to grow. In either case it is evident that the industrial expansion of the country and the immigration of southern and eastern European peoples have

<sup>\*</sup> This classification of races is the one by Prof. O. T. Mason. (See Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration 1902-3 The terms, with the possible exception of "Iberian", are in common usage. Iberians, as used here, means Italians and Greeks, as well as the other Mediterranean peoples.

gone hand in hand.

This has been the history of the waves of immigration in the United States as a whole, and it has also been the history of those waves in the state of Illinois. A glance at the accompanying charts shows that there was very little of the newer racial element in any county of the state in 1880. In 1890 there had been a very considerable growth, but in 1900 the increase was even more apparent. It will also be noted that the greatest increases in the percentages of southern and eastern European peoples have been in those counties where there are mines or large cities with their many big manufacturing industries. This confirms the statements made above concerning the newer immigration on the land.

The charts appended hereto also show that in nearly all counties of the state there has been a gradual decline in the proportion of foreign-born to the total population. This seems to indicate two things: first, that the settlement of the state was carried on largely by foreigners as has already been said, and, second, that the real problem of assimilation is not one concerned with the immigrants themselves but with their children and grandchildren. Immigration has not ceased. As a matter of fact, it is heavier to-day than ever before. Hence the native-born part of the population, which seems to be increasing, is in reality very largely composed of the various foreign elements. To attack the problem of assimilation, therefore, it is necessary to study carefully the social conditions of the various races of immigrants so that we may know what kind of citizens the offspring of the immigrants are going to be.

This constitutes the next great problem in that intensive study of the immigration question of which this paper is the first part.

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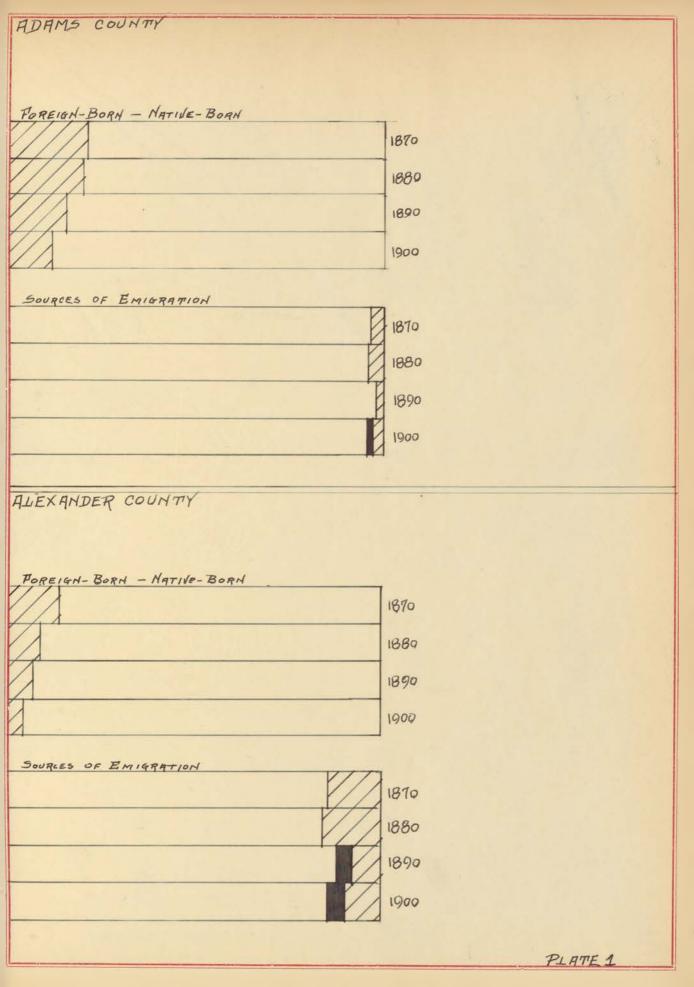
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POPULATION CHARTS AND MAPS.

## EXPLANATION OF POPULATION CHARTS.

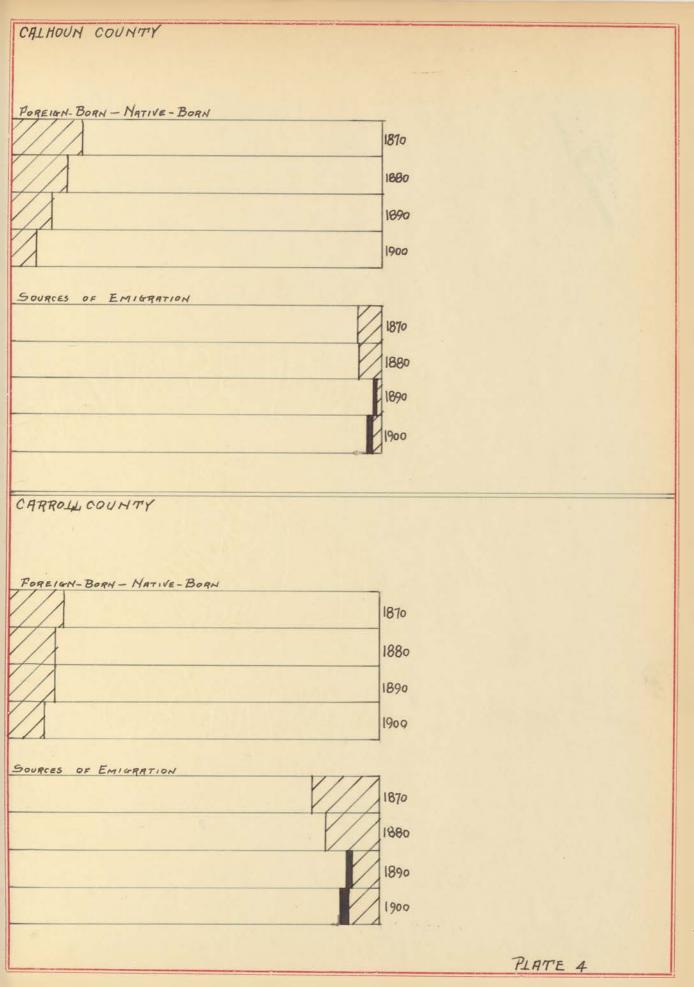
There are two charts for each county in the state. The first chart shows the relative numbers of all foreign-born and all native-born at each census year from 1870 to 1900. Each block is one hundred millimeters long, each millimeter representing 1% of the total population. That part of the block representing the foreign-born is shaded; the native-born section is white.

The second chart shows the sources of emigration at each census year from 1870 to 1900. Each block is, in this case also, one hundred millimeters long, representing the total foreignborn population. One millimeter represents 1% of the foreign-born population. That part of the block denoting the immigrants from Northern and Western European countries is white: the black sections show the percentage of the population born in Southern and Eastern European countries; the shaded portions represent all other foreignborn. All the foreign-born coming from countries from which there was not sufficiently large immigration to be deemed worthy of classification by nationality in the U.S. Census are also included in these shaded portions of the second charts.



BOND COUNTY	
POREIGH-BORN - HATIVE-BORN	
	1670
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1090
	1900
BOOHE COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - MATINE-BORN	
	1870
///	
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	A pertinant of the second of t
	PLATE 2.

BROWN COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN - NATINO-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
	1870
	1880
V	1890
- V	1090
	1900
BUREAU COUNTY	
201240 600111	
POREIGH-BORN - MATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1680
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 3



CASS COUNTY	
Table 18 November 19 and 19 an	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	1
//	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1909
CHAMPAIGH COUNTY	
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1,700
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	7
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 5

CHRISTIAN COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORY - NATIVE-BORN	
	1879
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
CLARK COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
- LMIGHTION	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1900
	PLATE 6

CLAY COUNTY	
	Transmission of the same of the
POREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
The state of the s	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
//	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
CLIHTON COUNTY	
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
////	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 7

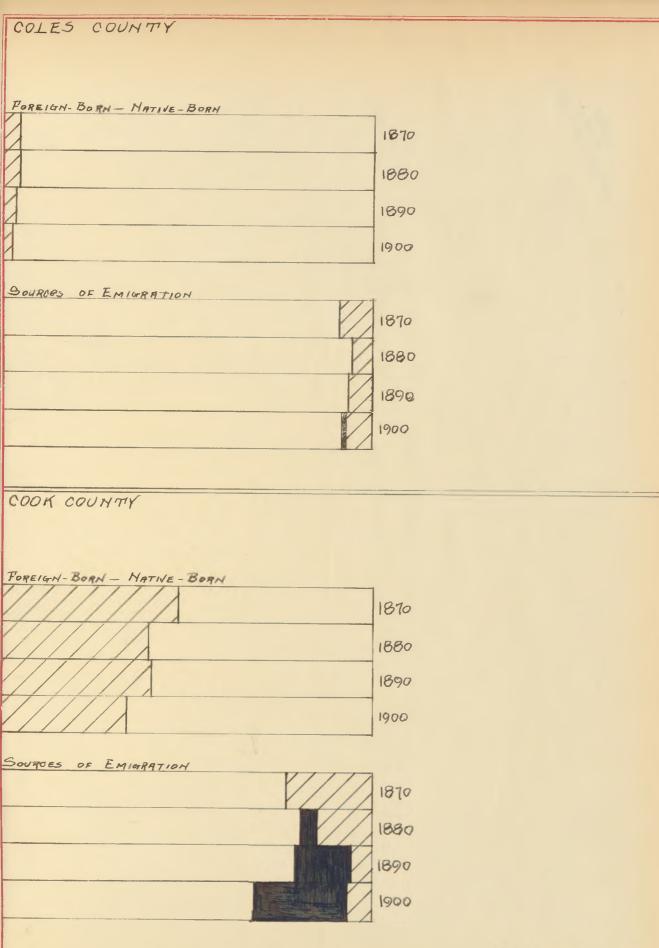


PLATE 8

CRAWPORD COUNTY	
	- (
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE- BORN	
THE POPULATION OF THE POPULATI	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
Y//.	
CUMBERLAND COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - HATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1900
	PLATE 9

DE KALB COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	190-
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
	1870
	laga
	1880
	1890
7,	1900
DE WITT COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN-NATIVE-BORN	1
	1870
	1880
	IRDA
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
//	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 10

DOUGLAS COUNTY		
FOREIGN-BORN - NATIVE - BORN		
TOTE IGN- COTH - TIATIVE - DORN	1879	
A		
4	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	P/7	
	1870	
	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
DU PAGE COUNTY		
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN		
	1870	
	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION		
THE THE THE TENT	1870	
	1889	
	1899	
	1900	
		PLATE 11

EDGAR COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	1
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1744
EDWARDS COUNTY	
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
//	1870
4	1880
	1890
	1909
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1980
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 12

EFFINGHAM COUNTY		
T 2 11 1 2		
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE - BORN	1270	
	1870	
	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	7	
	1870	
	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
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	<u> </u>	
FAYETTE COUNTY		
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN		
	1870	
	1880	
	1899	
	1900	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION		
SOUNCES OF EMIGRATION	1870	
	1880	
	1890	
	1900	
		PLATE 18

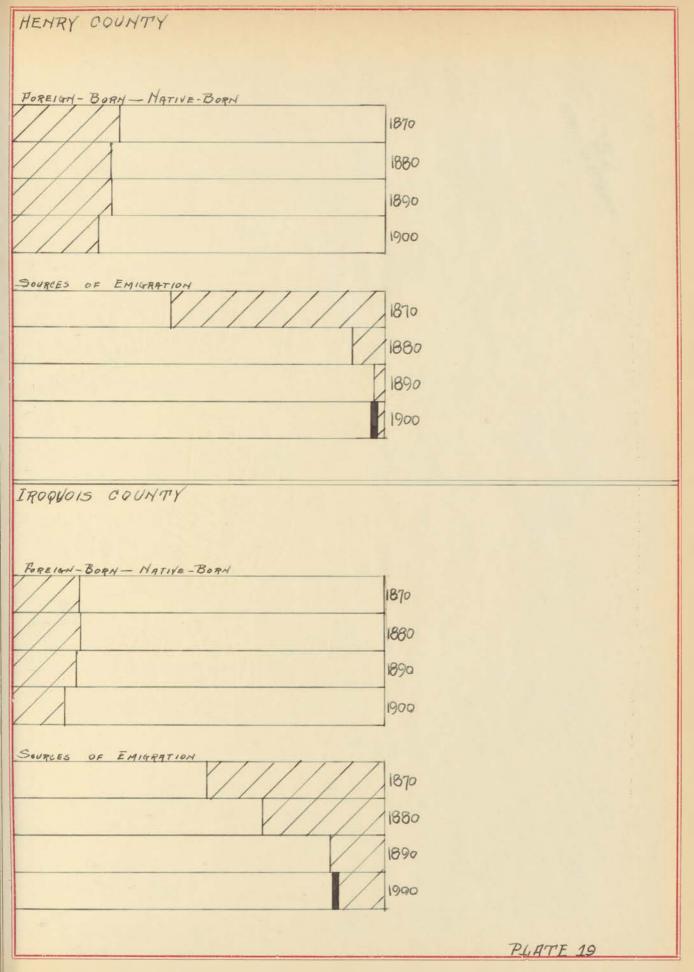
FORD COUNTY	
POREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	1
	1870
	1880
	1800
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
1/////	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
FRANKLIN COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
Sources OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
3	
	PLATF 14

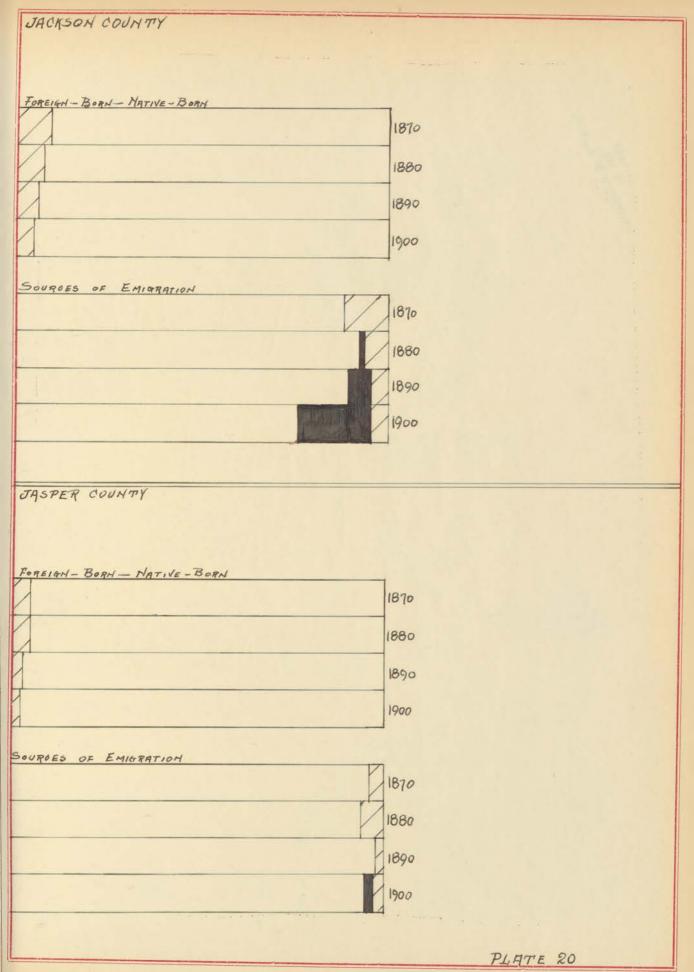
FULTON COUNTY	
POREIGH-BORH - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
4	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
GALLIATIN COUNTY	
GALLIATIN COORTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	4
	PLATE 15.

GREENE COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN-NATIVE-BORN	197
A	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
GRUNDY COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	T
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
////	1870
. //	1880
	1890
	1900
	d
	PLATE 16

HAMILITON COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - HATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1400
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	i -
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
HANCOCK COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN- NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
4	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
***	
	PLATE 17.

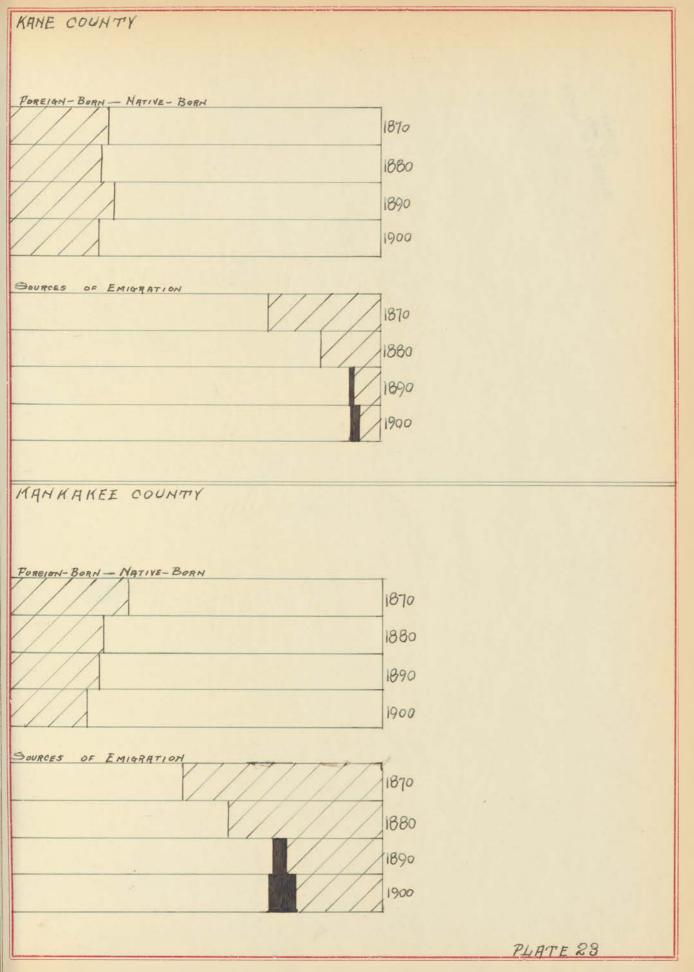
HARDIN COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - MATIVE- BORN	
The work - The work	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
1/	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
HENDERSON COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN MATIVE-BORN	lean.
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
/////	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	DI. DITE 18
	PLATE 18



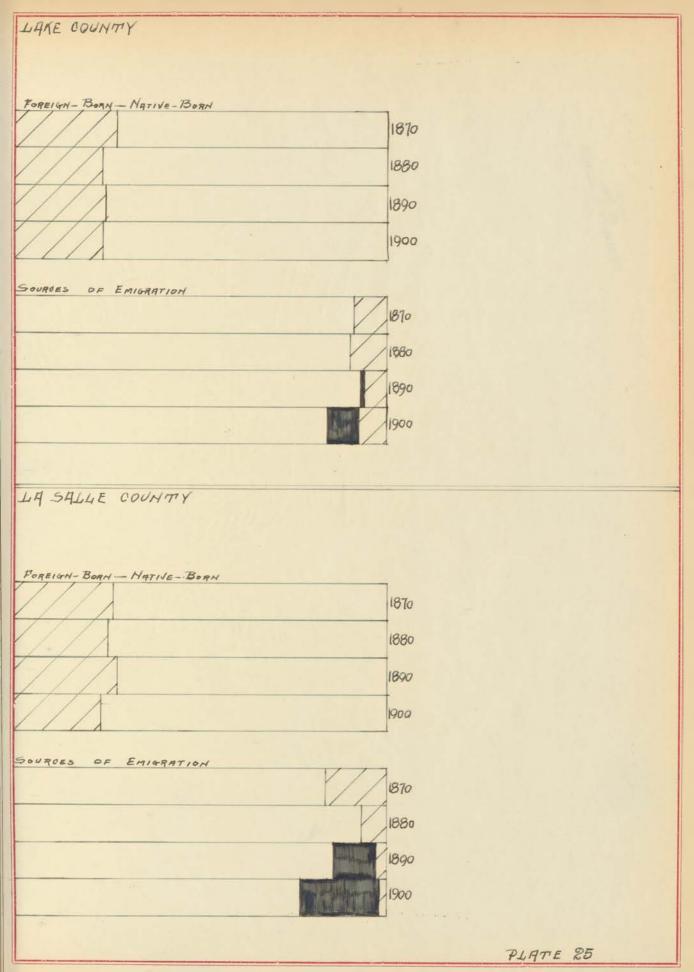


JEFFERSON COUNTY	
FOREIGH_BORN - MATIVE-BORN	1870
	1010
	1880
	1890
	1900
4	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	3
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1700
JERSEY COUNTY	
FOREIGH- BORN - NATIVE - BORN	
PONEIGN - DOWN - INVITTE - SOWN	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PLIATE 21

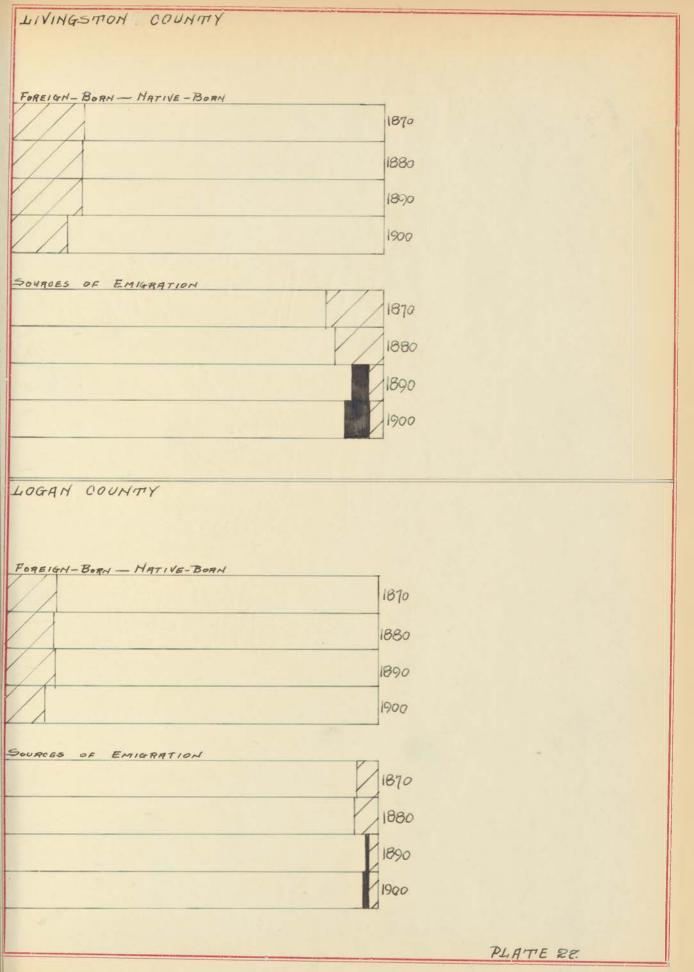
JO DAVIESS COUNTY	
FOREIGN - BORN - NATIVE - BORN	*
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1909
JOHNSON COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1080
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	1700
	PLATE 22



A CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACTOR	
KENDALL COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORH - NATIVE - BOAH	1,00
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1902
KNOX COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN-NATIVE -BORN	
The same of the same	1870
	1880
	1899
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
///////////////////////////////////////	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PI, DTF 24

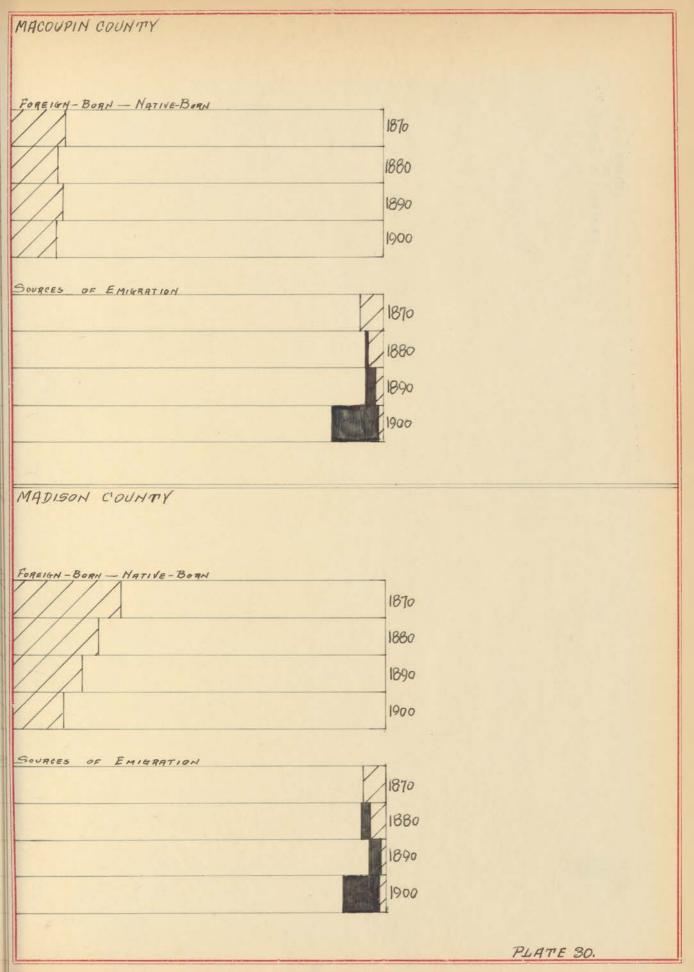


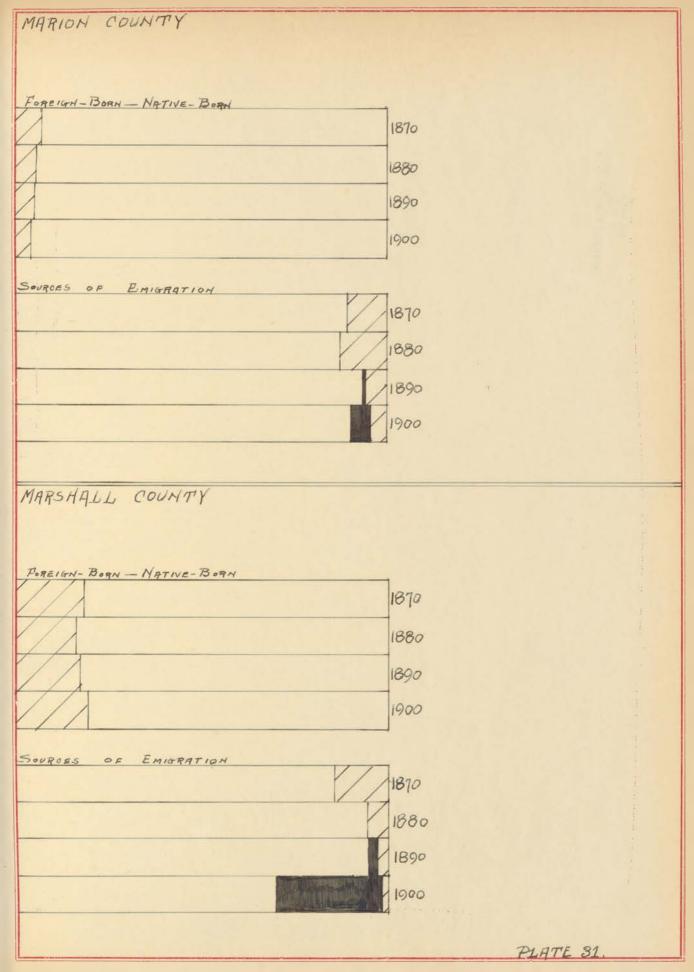
LAMRENCE COUNTY	
	Name of the Control o
FOREIGH-BORH - NATINE-BORH	ian
	1870
	1880
	1690
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
*	
LEE COUNTY	
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	Igna
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	PLATE 26



# Mª DONOUGH COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION MCHENRY COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - MATIVE-BORN Sources OF EMIGRATION PLATE 28

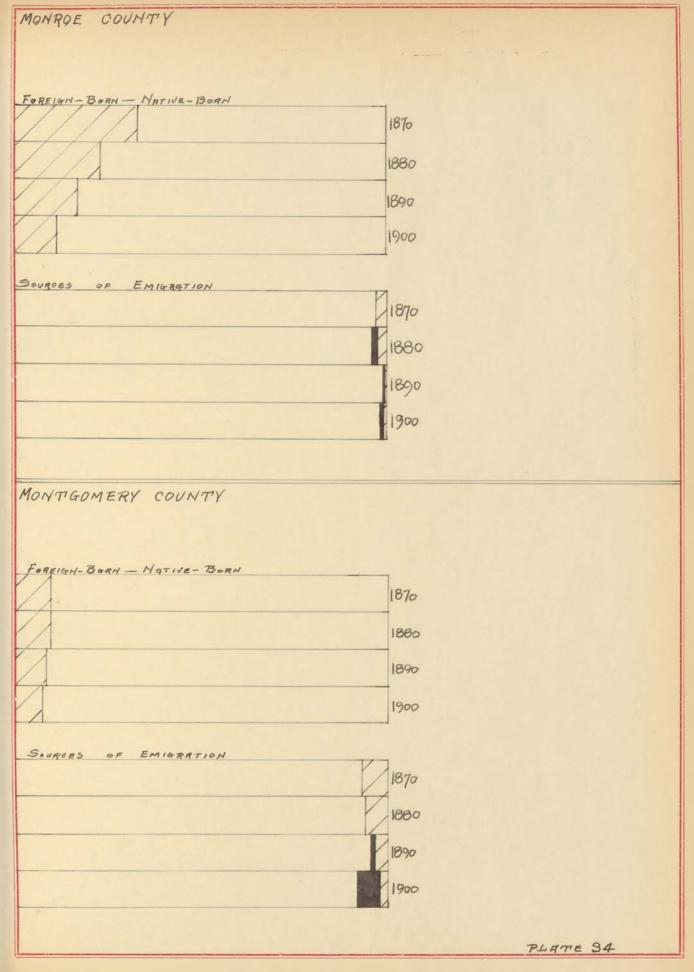
M°LEAN COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN - NATINE - BORN	7
	1870
1	
	1680
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	lon-
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	21
MACON COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN- NATIVE-BORN	7
	1870
A	1880
4	1000
	1890
	1900
	1300
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	4
	1900
F. Committee of the com	
	PLATE 29.

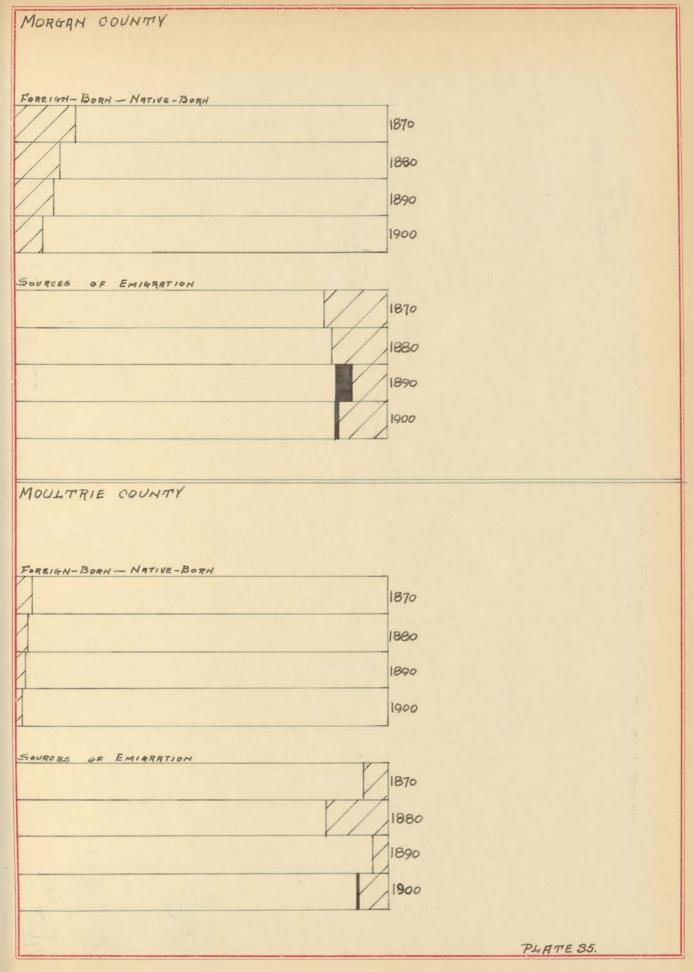




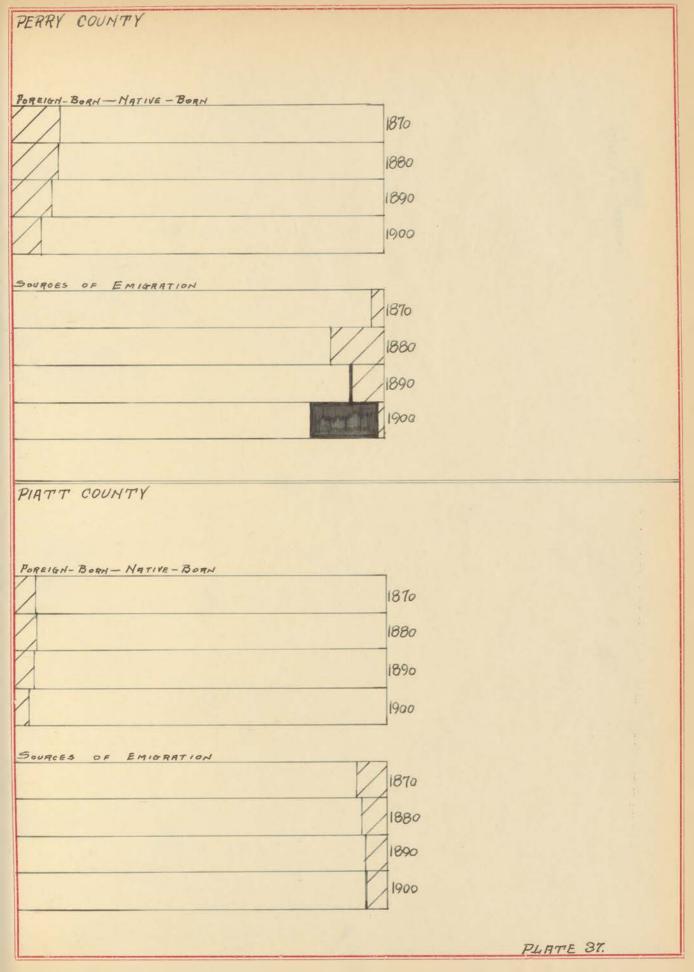
## MASON COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION MASSAC COUNTY POREIGN-BOAN - NATIVE - BOAN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION PLATE 32

## MENARD COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE- BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION MERCER COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION PLATE 33.

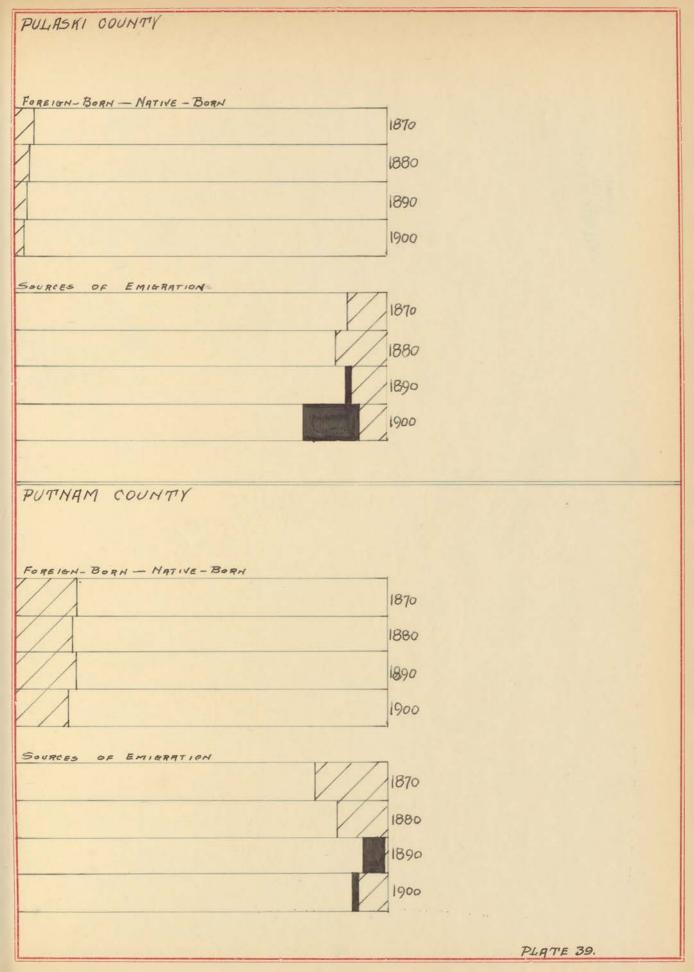


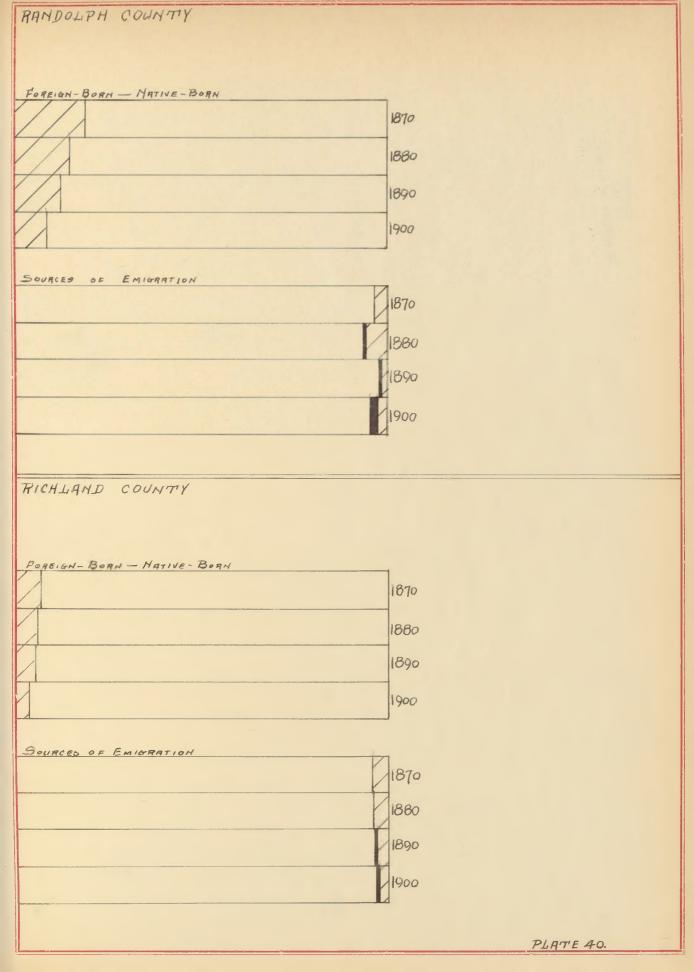


## OGLE COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN Sources OF EMIGRATION PEORIA COUNTY FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION PLATE 36.



PIKE COUNTY	
	- v- v
FOREIGH - BORN - NATIVE - BORN	
	1870
	1880
C'	1890
	1075
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1
	1870
	inn
	1680
	1890
	10
	1900
POPE COUNTY	
POREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1000
	1890
	1900
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	104
	1870
	1880
	1890
	4
	1900
	<b>4</b> • - • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	PLATE 38.



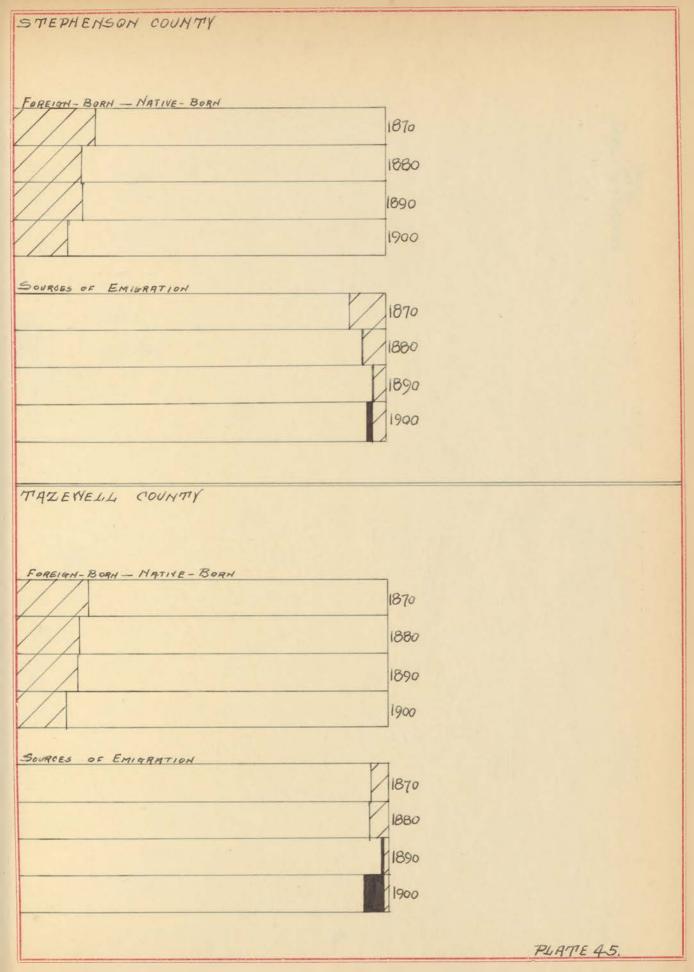


## ROCK ISLIAND COUNTY FOREIGH- BOAH - NATHE- BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION ST. CLAIR COUNTY FOREIGN-BORN - NATIVE-BORN SOURCES OF EMIGRATION PLATE 41.

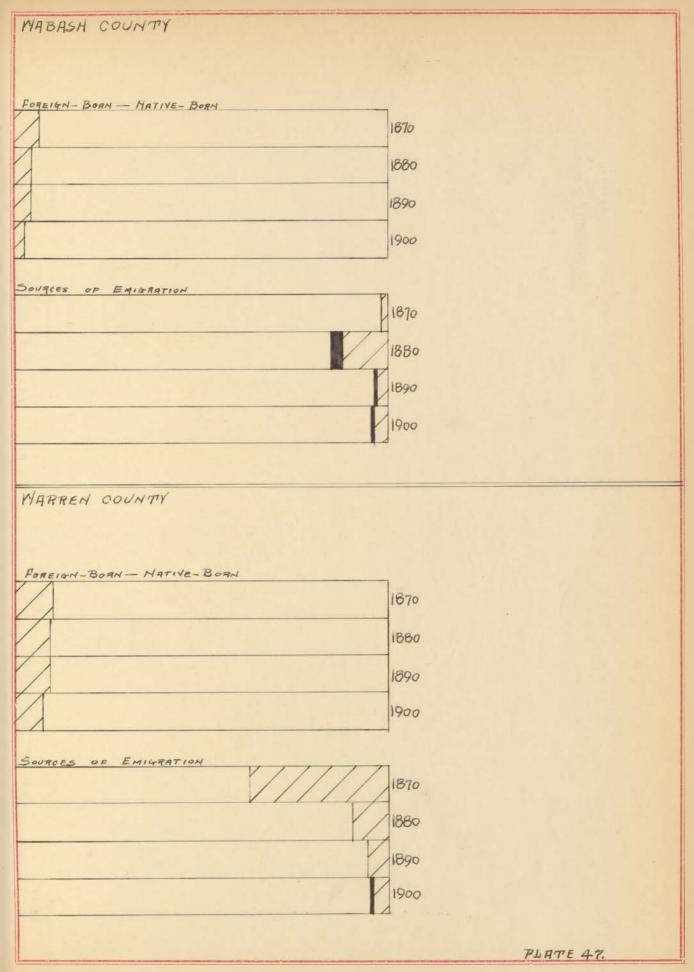
SALINE COUNTY	
	See and the second
FOREIGH-BORN - MATINE-BORN	1870
	10/0
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
- V Z	
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	
SANGAMON COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1909
BOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	P4AT€ 42.

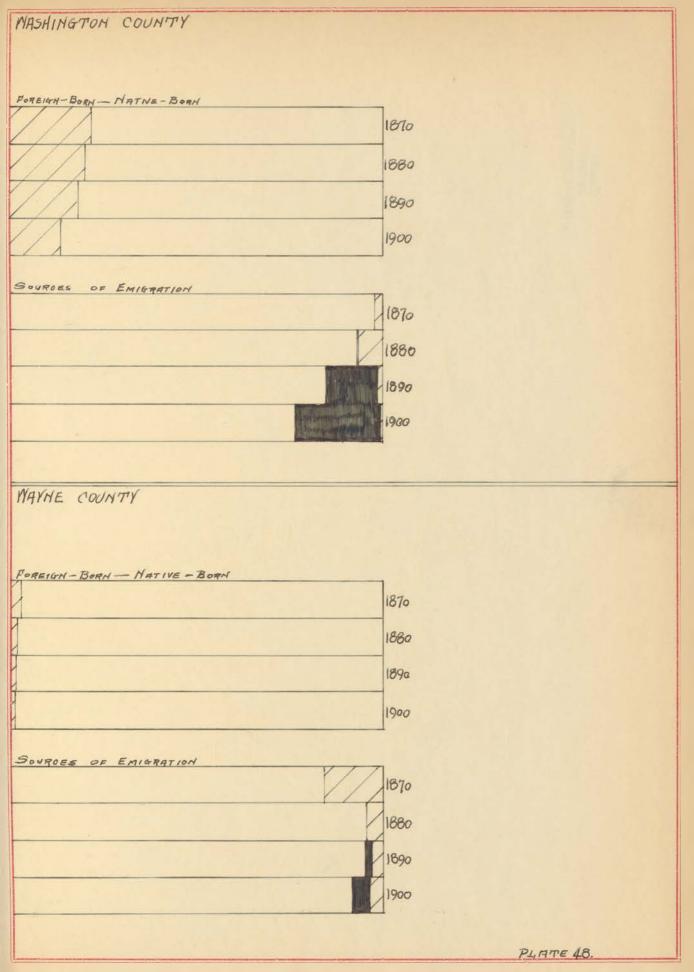
Property and the second	
SCHUYLER COUNTY	
POREIGH - BORH - HATIVE - BORH	log-
	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SCOTT COUNTY	
FORGIGN-BORN-NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
Salpass of Englishment	
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1880 1890
	1890
	1900
	4
	Dinme 19

SHELBY COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
LAIGHTION //	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	4
STARK COUNTY	
FOREIGN-BORN - NATINE-BORN	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
Sougoes OF EMIGRATION	
SUGGES OF EMIGRATION	]1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	4
	PLATE 44.



UNION COUNTY	
FOREIGN_BORN - MATINE-BORN	
	1670
	(880
1	
	1890
	1900
Sources of EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1689
	1890
	1900
	17500
VERMILLION COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	7
	1870
	IB80
	1890
	1900
	±
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
	DI ATIE AC





WHITE COUNTY	
FOREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	
FOREIGH - DOWN - MATTY E - WORN	1870
	1880
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	
	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
WHITESIDE COUNTY	
Inniverse Court	
POREIGH-BORN - NATIVE-BORN	T
	1870
	1660
	1890
	1900
SOURCES OF EMIGRATION	1870
	1860
	1890
	1900
V	
	PLATE 49.

